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James

ARCHBISHOP USHER'S

ANSWER TO A JESUIT;

WITH

OTHER TRACTS ON POPERY.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT THE PITT PRESS, BY JOHN SMITH,
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James Usher was born in Dublin, January 4, 1580, and was successively Provost of Trinity College 1610, Bishop of Meath 1620, and Archbishop of Armagh 1624. He died March 21, 1655–56.

The principal Treatise in this volume, *The Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, was first published by the learned Author in Dublin in 1624, when he was Bishop of Meath; and was reprinted in London in 1625. The third edition followed in 1631, "corrected and enlarged by the Author;" and the fourth in 1686, after his death, professing to be "corrected and augmented from a copy left under the Author's own hand." The augmentations, however, in this last edition amount to very little, and the corrections to almost less than nothing, as the errors of the third edition are very generally retained, and innumerable others of the grossest kind are superadded, so as to render the book almost illegible. Besides this, the Speech in the Castle-Chamber and Sermon before the Commons, which had been printed with the edition of 1631, are omitted; and also a few passages in the Answer to the Jesuit, which possibly the Author may have designed to omit in his last revision; but the present Editor has retained them, as not thinking it safe to omit any thing of this invaluable writer upon the mere authority of an edition so shamefully inaccurate. The passages alluded to the Reader will find pointed out by notes in the margin.

The Jesuit, whose Challenge called forth this noble Answer, was William Malone, though the initials affixed to his Challenge are W. B. The reason of this discrepancy I cannot explain. The same man published a Reply to Usher's Answer, "permissu Superiorum," in the year 1627, in the Preface to which he has given an account of the

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whole circumstance, as having originated in a remark made to him by a Protestant Knight, Sir Piers Crosby, "concerning the alteration of faith and religion in the Roman Church." The Reply occupies upwards of 700 very closely-printed pages; and the argument of it is helped out by whatever prejudice can be excited in its favour in the outset by a miserable pun in the title-page, (*If ye have ten thousand* USHERS *in Christ, yet not many* FATHERS,) and a grotesque vignette intended to represent the delightful unity found in the Roman Catholic Church, and the discord of what he calls "the jarring synagogues of severed novellers." To this latter device he seems to attach considerable importance from the satisfaction with which he speaks of it in his Preface, as "representing unto the very eyes of the discreet Reader" this comparative view of the one side and the other.

It does not appear that the Archbishop considered any other rejoinder necessary, than that which is incidentally contained in the enlarged edition of his Treatise published four years subsequent to the Jesuit's Reply.

The other treatises contained in the present volume require no explanation beyond what is furnished by the Author himself in his Dedication, &c. But the "Discourse of the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish" must be regarded as an invaluable supplement to the more general treatise on Popery, as it enters largely into the question of the Pope's Supremacy, which is a point that had not been brought forward in the Jesuit's Challenge; and its re-publication at the present crisis will be considered not unseasonable, especially as its statements on some points of leading importance are uncontradicted by historians on the other side.

J. S.

CAMBRIDGE, *May*, 1835.

ERRATUM.

In page 185, note 72, correct as follows:

אניח מריא אלהא נפשתהון ורוחתהון ופגריהון ורוס טאלא רחמא על גרמיהון.

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AN ANSWER

TO

A CHALLENGE

MADE BY A JESUIT IN IRELAND:

WHEREIN

THE JUDGMENT OF ANTIQUITY IN THE POINTS QUESTIONED IS TRULY DELIVERED, AND THE NOVELTY OF THE NOW ROMISH DOCTRINE PLAINLY DISCOVERED.

From the beginning it was not so. MATTH. XIX. 8.

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TO

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

JAMES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

WE find it recorded for the everlasting honour of Theodosius the younger, that it was his use [1]to reason with his Bishops of the things contained in the holy Scriptures, as if he himself had been one of their order; and of the Emperor Alexius in latter days, that [2]whatsoever time he could spare from the public cares of the commonwealth, he did wholly employ in the diligent reading of God's book, and in conferring thereof with worthy men, of whom his court was never empty. How little inferior, or how much superior rather, your Majesty is to either of these in this kind of praise, I need not speak: it is acknowledged even by such as differ from you in the point of religion, as a matter that hath [3]added more than ordinary lustre of ornament to your Royal estate, that you do not forbear so much as at the time of your bodily repast, to have, for the then like feeding of your intellectual part, your Highness' table surrounded with the attendance and conference of your grave and learned Divines.

What inward joy my heart conceived, as oft as I have had the happiness to be present at such seasons, I forbear to utter: only I will say with Job, that [4]*the ear which*

[1] Socrat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 22.

[2] Euthym. Zigaben. in Præfat. Dogmaticæ Panopliæ.

[3] Jo. Brereley, in his Epistle before St Augustine's Religion.

[4] Job xxix. 11.

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heard you blessed you; and the eye which saw you, gave witness to you. But of all other things which I observed, your singular dexterity in detecting the frauds of the Romish Church, and untying the most knotty arguments of the sophisters of that side, was it (I confess) that I admired most, especially where occasion was offered you to utter your skill, not in the word of God alone, but also in the antiquities of the Church; wherein you have attained such a measure of knowledge, as (with honour to God, I trust I may speak it, and without flattery to you) in a well studied Divine we would account very commendable, but in such a Monarch as yourself almost incredible. And this is one cause, most gracious Sovereign, beside my general duty, and the many special obligations whereby I am otherwise bound unto your Majesty, which hath emboldened me to entreat your patience at this time, in vouchsafing to be a spectator of this combat, which I am now entered into with a Jesuit, who chargeth us to disallow many chief Articles, which the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church did generally hold to be true; and undertaketh to make good, that they of his side do not disagree from that holy Church, either in these, or in any other point of religion.

Now true it is, if a man do only attend unto the bare sound of the word, (as in the question of *Merit*, for example,) or to the thing in general, without descending into the particular consideration of the true ground thereof, (as in the matter of *praying for the dead*,) he may easily be induced to believe, that in divers of these controversies the Fathers speak clearly for them and against us: neither is there any one thing that hath won more credit to that religion, or more advanced it in the consciences of simple men, than the conformity that it retaineth in some words and outward observances with the ancient Church of Christ. Whereas, if the thing itself were narrowly looked into, it

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would be found that they have only the shell without the kernel, and we the kernel without the shell; they having retained certain words and rites of the ancient Church, but applied them to a new invented doctrine; and we on the other side having relinquished these words and observances, but retained nevertheless the same primitive doctrine, unto which by their first institution they had relation.

The more cause have I to count myself happy, that am to answer of these matters before a king that is able to discern betwixt things that differ, and hath knowledge of all these questions, *before whom* therefore I may [5]*speak boldly; because I am persuaded that none of these things are hid from him.* For it is not of late days that your Majesty hath begun to take these things into your consideration: from a child have you been trained up to this warfare; yea, before you were twenty years of age, the Lord had taught your hands to fight against the man of sin, and your fingers to make battle against his Babel. Whereof your Paraphrase upon the Revelation of St John is a memorable monument left to all posterity; which I can never look upon, but those verses of the poet run always in my mind:

> Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem;
> Ingenium cœleste suis velocius annis
> Surgit, et ignavæ fert mala damna moræ. OVID.

How constant you have been ever since in the profession and maintenance of the truth, your late protestation, made unto both the houses of your Parliament, giveth sufficient evidence. So much whereof as may serve for a present antidote against that false and scandalous [6]Oration spread amongst foreigners under your Majesty's sacred name, I humbly make bold to insert in this place, as a perpetual testimony of your integrity in this behalf:

[5] Acts xxvi. 26.

[6] Merc. Gallobelgic. Ann. 1623.

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"[7] What my religion is, my books do declare, my profession and my behaviour do shew: and I hope in God, I shall never live to be thought otherwise; sure I am I shall never deserve it. And for my part I wish that it might be written in marble, and remain to posterity, as a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion: for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted by man. My Lords, I protest before God, my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase of Popery: and God is my judge, it hath been so great a grief unto me, that it hath been like thorns in mine eyes, and pricks in my sides; so far have I been, and ever shall be, from turning any other way. And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall be my confessors: if I knew any way better than other to hinder the growth of Popery, I would take it: and he cannot be an honest man, who knowing as I do, and being persuaded as I am, would do otherwise."

As you have so long since begun, and happily continued, so go on, most renowned King, and still shew yourself to be a Defender of the faith: fight the Lord's battles courageously, honour him evermore, and advance his truth, that when you have [8] fought this good fight, and finished your course, and kept the faith, you may receive the crown of righteousness, reserved in heaven for you: for the obtaining of which double blessing, both of grace and of glory, together with all outward prosperity and happiness in this life, you shall never want the instant prayers of

Your Majesty's most faithful Subject,

and humble Servant,

JA. MIDENSIS.

[7] His Majesty's Answer to the Petition of the Parliament touching Recusants, April 23, 1624.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

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TO THE READER.

It is now about six years, as I gather by the reckoning laid down in the 23rd page of this book, since this following Challenge was brought unto me from a Jesuit; and received that general Answer, which now serveth to make up the first chapter only of this present work. The particular points which were by him but barely named, I meddled not withal at that time; conceiving it to be his part (as in the 31st page is touched) who sustained the person of the assailant, to bring forth his arms, and give the first onset; and mine, as the defendant, to repel his encounter afterwards. Only I then collected certain materials out of the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers, which I meant to make use of for a second conflict, whensoever our Challenger should be pleased to descend to the handling of the particular articles by him proposed; the truth of every of which he had taken upon him to prove by the express testimonies of the Fathers of the primitive Church, as also by good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers' authority would not suffice.

Thus this matter lay dead for divers years together; and so would still have done, but that some of high place in both kingdoms, having been pleased to think far better of that little which I had done than the thing deserved, advised me to go forward, and to deliver the judgment of antiquity touching those particular points in controversy, wherein the Challenger was so confident that the whole current of the Doctors, Pastors and Fathers of the primitive Church did mainly run on his side. Hereupon I gathered my scattered notes together, and as the multitude of my employments would give me leave, now entered into the handling of one point, and then of another; treating of

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each, either more briefly or more largely, as the opportunity of my present leisure would give me leave. And so at last, after many interruptions, I have made up, in such manner as thou seest, a kind of a doctrinal history of those several points, which the Jesuit culled out as special instances of the consonancy of the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome with the perpetual and constant judgment of all antiquity.

The doctrine that here I take upon me to defend, (what different opinions soever I relate of others,) is that which by public authority is professed in the Church of England, and comprised in the book of Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at London in the year 1562; concerning which I dare be bold to challenge our Challenger and all his accomplices, that they shall never be able to prove, that there is either any one article of religion disallowed therein, which *the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church did generally hold to be true*, (I use the words of my challenging Jesuit,) or any one point of doctrine allowed, which by those Saints and Fathers was generally held to be untrue. As for the testimonies of the authors which I allege, I have been careful to set down in the margin their own words in their own language, (such places of the Greek Doctors only excepted, whereof the original text could not be had,) as well for the better satisfaction of the readers, (who either cannot come by that variety of books, whereof use is here made, or will not take the pains to enter into a curious search of every particular allegation,) as for the preventing of those trifling quarrels that are commonly made against translations: for if it fall out, that word be not every where precisely rendered by word, (as who would tie himself to such a pedantical observation?) none but an idle caviller can object, that this was done with any purpose to corrupt the meaning of the author; whose words he seeth laid down before his eyes, to the end he may the better judge of the translation, and rectify it where there is cause.

Again, because it is a thing very material in the historical handling of controversies, both to understand the times wherein the several authors lived, and likewise what books be truly or falsely ascribed to each of them; for some direc-

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tion of the reader in the first, I have annexed at the end of this book a chronological catalogue of the authors cited therein; wherein such as have no number of years affixed unto them, are thereby signified to be *incerti temporis;* their age being not found by me, upon this sudden search, to be noted by any: and for the second, I have seldom neglected in the work itself, whensoever a doubtful or supposititious writing was alleged, to give some intimation whereby it might be discerned, that it was not esteemed to be the book of that author, unto whom it was entitled. The exact discussion as well of the authors' times, as of the censures of their works, I refer to my Theological Bibliotheque; if God hereafter shall lend me life and leisure to make up that work, for the use of those that mean to give themselves to that noble study of the doctrine and rites of the ancient Church.

In the mean time I commit this book to thy favourable censure, and thyself to God's gracious direction; earnestly advising thee, that whatsoever other studies thou intermittest, the careful and conscionable reading of God's book may never be neglected by thee. For whatsoever becometh of our disputes touching other antiquities or novelties; thou mayest stand assured, that thou shalt there find so much by God's blessing, as shall be [1]*able to make thee wise unto salvation,* and [2]*to build thee up,* and *to give thee an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.* Which, next under God's glory, is the utmost thing (I know) thou aimest at; and for the attaining whereunto I heartily wish, that [3]*the word of Christ may dwell in thee richly in all wisdom.*

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 15. [2] Acts xx. 32. [3] Coloss. iii. 16.

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THE

JESUIT'S CHALLENGE.

How shall I answer to a Papist, demanding this question?

YOUR Doctors and Masters grant, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 years after Christ did hold the true religion. First, then, would I fain know, what Bishop of Rome did first alter that religion, which you commend in them of the first 400 years? In what Pope's days was the true religion overthrown in Rome?

Next, I would fain know, how can your religion be true, which disalloweth of many chief articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true?

For they of your side, that have read the Fathers of that unspotted Church, can well testify, (and if any deny it, it shall be presently shewn,) that the Doctors, Pastors and Fathers of that Church do allow of traditions: that they acknowledge the real presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar: that they exhorted the people to confess their sins unto their ghostly Fathers: that they affirmed, that Priests have power to forgive sins: that they taught, that there is a Purgatory; that prayer for the dead is both commendable and godly; that there is *Limbus Patrum;* and that our Saviour descended into hell to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament, because before his Passion none ever entered into heaven: that prayer to Saints and use of holy images was of great account amongst them: that man hath free-will, and that for his meritorious works he receiveth, through the assistance of God's grace, the bliss of everlasting happiness.

Now would I fain know, whether of both have the true religion, they that hold all these above-said points, with the primitive Church; or they that do most vehemently contradict and gainsay them? they that do not disagree with that holy Church in any point of religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?

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Will you say, that these Fathers maintained these opinions contrary to the word of God? Why, you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the champions of Christ's Church, and of the true Catholic Religion, which they most learnedly defended against divers heresies; and therefore spent all their time in a most serious study of the holy Scripture. Or will you say, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugn, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why, yourselves cannot deny, but that they lived most holy and virtuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting or perverting of God's holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to reign with God in his glory. Insomuch as their admirable learning may sufficiently cross out all suspicion of ignorant error; and their innocent sanctity freeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption.

Now would I willingly see what reasonable answer may be made to this. For the Protestants grant, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 years held the true religion of Christ: yet do they exclaim against the above-said Articles, which the same Church did maintain and uphold; as may be shewn by the express testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church, and shall be largely laid down, if any learned Protestant will deny it.

Yea, which is more, for the confirmation of all the above-mentioned points of our religion, we will produce good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers' authority will not suffice. And we do desire any Protestant to allege any one text out of the said Scripture, which condemneth any of the above-written points: which we hold for certain they shall never be able to do. For indeed they are neither more learned, more pious, nor more holy than the blessed Doctors and Martyrs of that first Church of Rome, which they allow and esteem of so much, and by which we most willingly will be tried, in any point which is in controversy betwixt the Protestants and the Catholics. Which we desire may be done with Christian charity and sincerity, to the glory of God and instruction of them that are astray.

W. B.

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AN

ANSWER

TO

THE FORMER CHALLENGE.

To uphold the religion which at this day is maintained in the Church of Rome, and to discredit the truth which we profess, three things are here urged, by one who hath undertaken to make good the Papists' cause against all gainsayers. The first concerneth the original of the errors wherewith that part standeth charged; the author and time whereof he requireth us to shew. The other two respect the testimony, both of the primitive Church, and of the sacred Scriptures; which, in the points wherein we vary, if this man may be believed, maketh wholly for them and against us.

First then would he fain know, what Bishop of Rome did first alter that religion, which we commend in them of the first 400 years? In what Pope's days was the true religion overthrown in Rome? To which I answer: First, that we do not hold that Rome was built in a day; or that the great dunghill of errors, which now we see in it, was raised in an age: and therefore it is a vain demand to require from us the name of any one Bishop of Rome, by whom or under whom this Babylonish confusion was brought in. Secondly, that a great difference is to be put betwixt heresies which openly oppose the foundations of our faith, and that apostasy which the Spirit hath evidently foretold should be brought in by such as *speak lies in hypocrisy*. (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2.) The impiety of the one is so notorious, that at the very first appearance it is manifestly discerned: the other is a *mystery of iniquity*, (as the Apostle termeth it, 2 Thes. ii. 7), *iniquitas, sed mystica*,

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id est, pietatis nomine palliata, (so the ordinary gloss expoundeth the place;) "an iniquity indeed, but mystical, that is, cloked with the name of piety." And therefore they who kept continual watch and ward against the one, might sleep while the seeds of the other were a sowing; yea, peradventure might at unawares themselves have some hand in bringing in of this Trojan horse, commended thus unto them under the name of religion and semblance of devotion. Thirdly, that the original of errors is oftentimes so obscure, and their breed so base, that howsoever it might be easily observed by such as lived in the same age, yet no wise man will marvel, if in tract of time the beginnings of many of them should be forgotten, and no register of the time of their birth found extant. We [1]read that the Sadducees taught, there were no angels: is any man able to declare unto us, under what High Priest they first broached this error? The Grecians, Circassians, Georgians, Syrians, Egyptians, Habassines, Muscovites, and Russians, dissent at this day from the Church of Rome in many particulars: will you take upon you to shew in what Bishop's days these several differences did first arise? When the point hath been well scanned, it will be found, that many errors have crept into their profession, the time of the entrance whereof you are not able to design: and some things also are maintained by you against them, which have not been delivered for catholic doctrine in the primitive times, but brought in afterwards, yourselves know not when.

Such, for example, is that sacrilege of yours, whereby you withhold from the people the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper; as also your doctrine of Indulgences and Purgatory: which they reject, and you defend. For touching the first, [2]Gregorius de Valentia, one of your principal champions, confesseth, that the use of receiving the Sacrament in one kind began first in some Churches, and grew to be a general custom in the Latin Church not much before the Council of Constance, in which at last (to wit, 200 years ago) this custom was made a law. But if you put the question to him, as you do to us, What Bishop of Rome did first bring in this custom? he giveth you this answer,

[1] Acts xxiii. 8. [2] Valent. de legit. usu Euchar. cap. 10.

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that it began to be used, not by the decree of any Bishop, but by the very use of the Churches, and the consent of the faithful. If you further question with him, *Quando primum vigere cœpit ea consuetudo in aliquibus Ecclesiis?* When first did that custom get footing in some Churches? he returneth you for answer, *Minime constat:* it is more than he can tell.

The like doth [3]Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and [4]Cardinal Cajetan give us to understand of Indulgences; that no certainty can be had, what their original was, or by whom they were first brought in. Fisher also further addeth concerning Purgatory, that in the ancient Fathers there is either none at all, or very rare mention of it; that by the Grecians it is not believed, even to this day; that the Latins also, not all at once, but by little and little, received it; and that, Purgatory being so lately known, it is not to be marvelled, that in the first times of the Church there was no use of Indulgences; seeing these had their beginning, after that men for a while had been affrighted with the torments of Purgatory. Out of which confession of the adverse part you may observe: 1. What little reason these men have to require us to set down the precise time wherein all their profane novelties were first brought in; seeing that this is more than they themselves are able to do. 2. That some of them may come in *pedetentim* (as Fisher acknowledgeth Purgatory did) by little and little, and by very slow steps, which are not so easy to be discerned, as fools be borne in hand they are. 3. [5]That it is a fond imagination to suppose that all such changes must be made by some Bishop, or any one certain author: whereas it is confessed, that some may come in by the tacit consent of many, and grow after into a general custom, the beginning whereof is past man's memory.

And as some superstitious usages may draw their original from the undiscreet devotion of the multitude; so some also may be derived from want of devotion in the people: and

[3] Roffen. Assert. Lutheran. Confutat. Art. 18.

[4] Cajet. Opusc. Tom. I. Tract. 15. de Indulgent. cap. 1.

[5] So saith Bonfrerius the Jesuit of the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. Pedetentim usu ipso et tacitâ Doctorum approbatione cœpit esse in pretio, hàc æstimatione sensim sine sensu crescente. Præloqu. in Scriptur. cap. 15. sect. 2.

some alterations likewise must be attributed to the very change of time itself. Of the one we cannot give a fitter instance, than in your private Mass, wherein the Priest receiveth the Sacrament alone; which [6]Harding fetcheth from no other ground, than *lack of devotion of the people's part*. When you therefore can tell us, in what Pope's days the people fell from their devotion; we may chance tell you, in what Pope's days your private Mass began. An experiment of the other we may see in the use of the Latin service in the Churches of Italy, France, and Spain. For if we be questioned, When that use first began there? and further demanded, [7]Whether the language formerly used in their Liturgy was changed upon a sudden? our answer must be, That Latin service was used in those countries from the beginning; but that the Latin tongue at that time was commonly understood of all, which afterward by little and little degenerated into those vulgar languages which now are used. When you therefore shall be pleased to certify us, in what Pope's days the Latin tongue was changed into the Italian, French, and Spanish, (which we pray you do for our learning;) we will then give you to understand, that from that time forward the language, not of the service, but of the people, was altered. *Nec enim lingua vulgaris populo subtracta est, sed populus ab eâ recessit,* saith [8]Erasmus: "the vulgar tongue was not taken away from the people, but the people departed from it."

If this which I have said will not satisfy you, I would wish you call unto your remembrance the answer which Arnobius sometimes gave to a foolish question, propounded by the enemies of the Christian faith: [9]*Nec si nequivero causas vobis exponere, cur aliquid fiat illo vel hoc modo, continuo sequitur, ut infecta fiant quæ facta sunt.* And consider whether I may not return the like answer unto you. If I be not able to declare unto you, by what Bishop of Rome, and in what Pope's days, the simplicity of the ancient faith was first corrupted; it will not presently follow, that what was done must needs be undone.

[6] Hard. Answer to the first Article of Jewel's Challenge, fol. 26. b. edit. Antuerp. Ann. 1565.

[7] Allen. Art. 11, demand. 9.

[8] Erasm. in declarationib. ad censuras Parisiens. tit. 12, sect. 41.

[9] Arnob. lib. ii. contra Gentes.

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Or rather, if you please, call to mind the parable in the Gospel, where [10]*the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man, which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.* These that slept, took no notice, when or by whom the tares were scattered among the wheat; neither at the first rising did they discern betwixt the one and the other, though they were awake. But [11]*when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares:* and then they put the question unto their master, *Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?* Their master indeed telleth them, it was the enemy's doing; but you could tell them otherwise, and come upon them thus: "You yourselves grant, that the seed which was first sown in this field, was good seed, and such as was put there by your master himself. If this which you call tares, be no good grain, and hath sprung from some other seed than that which was sown here at first; I would fain know that man's name, who was the sower of it; and likewise the time in which it was sown. Now, you being not able to shew either the one or the other, it must needs be, that your eyes here deceive you: or if these be tares, they are of no enemy's, but of your master's own sowing."

To let pass the slumberings of former times, we could tell you of an age, wherein men not only slept, but also snorted: it was (if you know it not) the tenth from Christ, the next neighbour to that wherein [12]hell broke loose: that "[13]unhappy age," (as Genebrard and other of your own writers term it,) "exhausted both of men of account for wit and learning, and of worthy princes and bishops;" in which there were "[14]no famous writers, nor councils;" than which (if we will credit Bellarmine) there was never age "[15]more unlearned and unhappy." If I be not able to discover what feats the devil wrought in that time of darkness, wherein men were not so vigilant in marking his conveyances; and

[10] Matth. xiii. 24, 25.
[11] Ib. 26, 27.
[12] Apoc. xx. 7.
[13] Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio et doctrinâ claris, sive etiam claris principibus et pontificibus. Genebrard. Chronic. lib. iv.
[14] Bellarmin. in Chronol. Ann. 970.
[15] Id. de Rom. Pontif. lib. iv. cap. 12.

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such as might see somewhat, were not so forward in writing books of their observations; must the infelicity of that age, wherein there was little learning and less writing, yea, which "for want of writers," as Cardinal [16] Baronius acknowledgeth, "hath been usually named the obscure age;" must this, I say, enforce me to yield, that the devil brought in no tares all that while, but let slip the opportunity of so dark a night, and slept himself for company? There are other means left unto us, whereby we may discern the tares brought in by the instruments of Satan from the good seed which was sown by the Apostles of Christ, besides this observation of times and seasons, which will often fail us. *Ipsa doctrina eorum*, saith [17] Tertullian, *cum Apostolicâ comparata, ex diversitate et contrarietate suâ pronuntiabit, neque Apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neque Apostolici.* "Their very doctrine itself, being compared with the Apostolic, by the diversity and contrariety thereof will pronounce, that it had for author neither any Apostle nor any man Apostolical." For there cannot be a better prescription against heretical novelties, than that which our Saviour Christ useth against the Pharisees, [18] *From the beginning it was not so;* nor a better preservative against the infection of seducers that are *crept in unawares*, than that which is prescribed by the Apostle [19] Jude, *earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.*

Now to the end we [20] *might know the certainty of those things*, wherein the saints were at the first instructed; God hath provided, that the memorial thereof should be recorded in his own book, that it might remain [21] *for the time to come, for ever and ever.* He then, who out of that book is able to demonstrate, that the doctrine and practice now prevailing swerveth from that which was at first established in the Church by the Apostles of Christ, doth as strongly prove, that a change hath been made in the middle times, as if he were able to nominate the place where, the time when, and the person by whom any such corruption was first brought in. In the Apostles' days, when a man had

[16] Baron. Annal. Tom. x. Ann. 900. sect. 1.

[17] Tertul. Præscript. advers. Hæret. cap. 32.

[18] Matth. xix. 8.

[19] Jude 3, 4.

[20] Luke i. 4.

[21] Esai. xxx. 8.

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examined himself, he was admitted unto the Lord's Table, there to *eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;* as appeareth plainly, 1 Cor. xi. 28. In the Church of Rome at this day the people are indeed permitted to eat of the bread, if bread they may call it, but not allowed to drink of the cup. Must all of us now shut our eyes, and sing, [22]*Sicut erat in principio, et nunc;* unless we be able to tell by whom, and when this first institution was altered? By St Paul's order, who would have all things done to edification, Christians should *pray with understanding*, and not in an unknown language: as may be seen in the fourteenth chapter of the same Epistle to the Corinthians. The case is now so altered, that the bringing in of a tongue not understood (which hindered the edifying of Babel itself, and scattered the builders thereof) is accounted a good means to further the edifying of your Babel, and to [23]hold her followers together. Is not this, then, a good ground to resolve a man's judgment, that things are not now kept in that order, wherein they were set at first by the Apostles; although he be not able to point unto the first author of the disorder?

And as we may thus discover innovations, by having recourse unto the first and best times; so may we do the like by comparing the state of things present with the middle times of the Church. Thus I find by the constant and approved practice of the ancient Church, that all sorts of people, men, women, and children, had free liberty to read the holy Scriptures. I find now the contrary among the Papists: and shall I say for all this, that they have not removed the bounds which were set by the Fathers, because perhaps I cannot name the Pope, that ventured to make the first inclosure of these commons of God's people? I hear St [24]Jerome say: *Judith, et Tobiæ, et Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit.* "The Church doth read indeed the books of Judith, and Tobit, and the Maccabees; but doth not receive them for Canonical Scripture." I see that at this day the

[22] As it was in the beginning, so now.

[23] Ledesim. de Scripturis quàvis linguà non legendis, cap. 17. Bellar. lib. ii. de Verbo Dei, cap. 15.

[24] Hieronym. Prefat. in Libros Salomon. Epist. 115.

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Church of Rome receiveth them for such. May not I then conclude, that betwixt St Jerome's time and ours there hath been a change; and that the Church of Rome now is not of the same judgment with the Church of God then; howsoever I cannot precisely lay down the time, wherein she first thought herself to be wiser herein than her forefathers?

But here our adversary closeth with us, and layeth down a number of points, held by them, and denied by us; which he undertaketh to make good, as well by the express testimonies of the Fathers of the primitive Church of Rome, as also by good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers' authority will not suffice. Where if he would change his order, and give the sacred Scriptures the precedency; he should therein do more right to God the author of them, who well deserveth to have audience in the first place; and withal ease both himself and us of a needless labour, in seeking any further authority to compose our differences. For if he can produce, as he beareth us in hand he can, good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures for the points in controversy, the matter is at an end: he that will not rest satisfied with such evidences as these, may (if he please) travel further, and speed worse. Therefore, as St [25]Augustine heretofore provoked the Donatists, so provoke I him: *Auferantur chartæ humanæ: sonent voces divinæ: ede mihi unam Scripturæ vocem pro parte Donati.* "Let human writings be removed: let God's voice sound: bring me one voice of the Scripture for the part of Donatus." Produce but one clear testimony of the sacred Scripture for the Pope's part, and it shall suffice: allege what authority you list without Scripture, and it cannot suffice. We reverence indeed the ancient Fathers, as it is fit we should, and hold it our duty to [26]*rise up before the hoary head, and to honour the person of the aged;* but still with reservation of the respect we owe to their Father and ours, that [27]*Ancient of days, the hair of whose head is like the pure wool.* We may not forget the lesson, which our great Master hath taught us: [28]*Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven.* Him therefore alone do we acknowledge for the

[25] Aug. de Pastorib. cap. 14.
[26] Levit. xix. 32.
[27] Dan. vii. 6.
[28] Matth. xxiii. 9.

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Father of our faith: no other father do we know, upon whose bare credit we may ground our consciences in things that are to be believed.

And this we say, not as if we feared that these men were able to produce better proofs out of the writings of the Fathers for the part of the Pope, than we can do for the Catholic cause; (when we come to join in the particulars, they shall find it otherwise:) but partly to bring the matter unto a shorter trial, partly to give the word of God his due, and to declare what that rock is, upon which alone we build our faith, even [29]*the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets;* from which no sleight that they can devise, shall ever draw us.

The same course did St Augustine take with the Pelagians; against whom he wanted not the authority of the Fathers of the Church: "[30]Which if I would collect," saith he, "and use their testimonies, it would be too long a work, and I might peradventure seem to have less confidence than I ought in the Canonical authorities, from which we ought not to be withdrawn." Yet was the Pelagian heresy then but newly budded: which is the time wherein the pressing of the Fathers' testimonies is thought to be best in season. With how much better warrant may we follow this precedent, having to deal with such as have had time and leisure enough to falsify the Fathers' writings, and to *teach them the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans?* The method of confuting heresies by the consent of holy Fathers is by none commended more than by Vincentius Lirinensis; who is careful notwithstanding, herein to give us this caveat: "[31]But neither always nor all kinds of heresies are to be impugned after this manner, but such only as are new and lately sprung; namely, when they do first

[29] Ephes. ii. 20.

[30] Quos si colligere et eorum testimoniis uti velim, et nimis longum erit, et de Canonicis auctoritatibus, a quibus non debemus averti, minus fortasse videbor præsumpsisse quam debui. Aug. de Nupt. et Concupiscent. lib. ii. cap. 29.

[31] Sed neque semper neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt, sed novitiæ recentesque tantummodo, cum primum scilicet exoriuntur; antequam infalsare vetustæ fidei regulas ipsius temporis vetantur angustiis, ac priusquam manante latius veneno majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Ceterum dilatatæ et inveteratæ hæreses nequaquam hâc viâ aggrediendæ sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa his furandæ veritatis patuerit occasio. Vincent. de Hæres. cap. 39.

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arise, while by the straitness of the time itself they be hindered from falsifying the rules of the ancient faith; and before the time that, their poison spreading farther, they attempt to corrupt the writings of the ancients. But far-spread and inveterate heresies are not to be dealt withal this way, forasmuch as by long continuance of time a long occasion hath lain open unto them to steal away the truth." The heresies with which we have to deal, have spread so far and continued so long, that the defenders of them are bold to make Universality and Duration the special marks of the Church: they had opportunity enough of time and place, to put in ure *all deceivableness of unrighteousness;* neither will they have it to say, that in coining and clipping and washing the monuments of antiquity, they have been wanting to themselves.

Before the Council of Nice, (as hath been observed by [32]one, who sometime was Pope himself,) little respect, to speak of, was had to the Church of Rome. If this may be thought to prejudice the dignity of that Church, which would be held to have sat as queen among the nations from the very beginning of Christianity; you shall have a crafty merchant, (Isidorus Mercator, I trow, they call him,) that will help the matter, by counterfeiting Decretal Epistles in the name of the primitive Bishops of Rome, and bringing in thirty of them in a row, as so many knights of the post, to bear witness of that great authority, which the Church of Rome enjoyed before the Nicene Fathers were assembled. If the Nicene Fathers have not amplified the bounds of her jurisdiction in so large a manner as she desired; she hath had her well-willers, that have supplied the Council's negligence in that behalf, and made Canons for the purpose in the name of the good Fathers, that never dreamed of such a business. If the power of judging all others will not content the Pope, unless he himself may be exempted from being judged by any other; another [33]Council, as ancient at least as that of Nice, shall be suborned; wherein it shall be concluded, by the consent of 284 imaginary Bishops, that "No man may judge the first seat:" and for failing, in an

[32] Æneas Sylvius, Epist. 288.

[33] Concil. Rom. sub Sylvest. cap. 20. Nemo enim judicabit primam sedem.

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elder [34]Council than that, consisting of 300 buckram Bishops of the very selfsame making, the like note shall be sung: *Quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam:* "The first seat must not be judged by any man." Lastly, if the Pope do not think that the fulness of spiritual power is sufficient for his greatness, unless he may be also lord paramount *in temporalibus;* he hath his followers ready at hand, to frame a fair donation, in the name of Constantine the Emperor, whereby his Holiness shall be estated, not only in the city of Rome, but also in the seigniory of the whole West. It would require a volume to rehearse the names of those several tractates, which have been basely bred in the former days of darkness, and fathered upon the ancient Doctors of the Church, who, if they were now alive, would be deposed that they were never privy to their begetting.

Neither hath this corrupting humour stayed itself in forging of whole Councils, and entire treatises of the ancient writers; but hath, like a canker, fretted away divers of their sound parts, and so altered their complexions, that they appear not to be the same men they were. To instance in the great question of Transubstantiation: we were wont to read in the books attributed unto St Ambrose, De Sacramentis, lib. iv. cap. 4. *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant; quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur?* "If therefore there be so great force in the speech of our Lord Jesus, that the things which were not, began to be (namely, at the first creation,) how much more is the same powerful to make, that things may still be that which they were, and yet be changed into another thing?" It is not unknown, how much those words, *ut sint quæ erant*, have troubled their brains, who maintain, that after the words of consecration the elements of bread and wine be not that thing which they were; and what devices they have found, to make the bread and wine in the Sacrament to be like unto the Beast in the Revelation, [35]*that was, and is not, and yet is.* But that Gordian knot, which they with their skill could not so readily untie, their masters at Rome (Alexander-like) have now cut asunder; paring clean away in their Roman edition, (which

[34] Concil. Sinuessan. circa fin. [35] Apoc. xvii. 8.

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is also followed in that set out at Paris, anno 1603,) those words that so much troubled them, and letting the rest run smoothly after this manner: *Quanto magis operatorius est, ut quæ erant, in aliud commutentur?* "How much more is the speech of our Lord powerful to make, that those things which were, should be changed into another thing?"

The author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, Homil. XI. writeth thus: *Si ergo hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur; quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in eis quod vult?* "If therefore it be so dangerous a matter to transfer unto private uses those holy vessels, in which the true body of Christ is not, but the mystery of his body is contained; how much more for the vessels of our body which God hath prepared for himself to dwell in, ought not we to give way unto the Devil, to do in them what he pleaseth?" Those words (*in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur;* "in which the true body of Christ is not, but the mystery of his body is contained") did threaten to cut the very throat of the Papists' *real presence;* and therefore in good policy they thought it fit to cut their throat first, for doing any further hurt. Whereupon, in the editions of this work printed at Antwerp, apud Joannem Steelsium, anno 1537; at Paris, apud Joannem Roigny, anno 1543; and at Paris again, apud Audoenum Parvum, anno 1557; not one syllable of them is to be seen; though extant in the ancienter editions, one whereof is as old as the year 1487. And to the same purpose, in the 19th Homily, instead of *Sacrificium panis et vini,* "the sacrifice of bread and wine," (which we find in the old impressions,) these latter editions have chopped in *Sacrificium corporis et sanguinis Christi,* "the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ."

In the year 1608 there were published at Paris certain works of Fulbertus, Bishop of Chartres, "[36]pertaining as well to the refuting of the heresies of this time" (for so saith the inscription) "as to the clearing of the History of the

[36] Quæ tam ad refutandas hæreses hujus temporis, quam ad Gallorum Hist. pertinent.

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French." Among those things that appertain to the confutation of the heresies of this time, there is one especially (fol. 168) laid down in these words: *Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo est, dicet hæreticus, præcipiens Passioni Domini esse communicandum tantum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoriâ, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.* "Unless, saith Christ, ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you. He seemeth to command an outrage or wickedness. It is therefore a figure, will the heretic say, requiring us only to communicate with the Lord's Passion, and sweetly and profitably to lay up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." He that put in those words *(dicet hæreticus)* thought he had notably met with the heretics of this time; but was not aware, that thereby he made St Augustine an heretic for company. For the heretic that speaketh thus, is even St Augustine himself: whose very words these are, in his third book *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, the 16th chapter. Which some belike having put the publisher in mind of, he was glad to put this among his *errata*, and to confess that these two words were not to be found in the MS. copy which he had from [37]Petavius; but telleth us not what we are to think of him, that for the countenancing of the Popish cause ventured so shamefully to abuse St Augustine.

In the year 1616 a tome of ancient writers, that never saw the light before, was set forth at Ingolstad, by Petrus Steuartius; where, among other tractates, a certain Penitential, written by Rabanus, that famous Archbishop of Mentz, is to be seen. In the 33d chapter of that book, Rabanus making answer unto an idle question moved by Bishop Heribaldus concerning the Eucharist, (what should become of it, after it was consumed, and sent into the draught, after the manner of other meats,) hath these words (initio pag. 669): *Nam quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes dixerunt, hoc ipsum corpus et sanguinem Domini, quod de Mariâ*

[37] Vide Tom. XI. Bibliotheca Patrum, edit. Col. p. 44. b.

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Virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulcro.........*[38] *cui errori quantum potuimus, ad Egilum Abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quid vere credendum sit aperuimus.* "For some of late, not holding rightly of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have said, that the very body and blood of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered on the cross, and rose again from the grave*.........Against which error, writing unto Abbot Egilus, according to our ability, we have declared, what is truly to be believed concerning Christ's body." You see Rabanus's tongue is clipt here for telling tales: but how this came to pass, were worth the learning. Steuartius freeth himself from the fact, telling us in his margin, [39] that "here there was a blank in the manuscript copy;" and we do easily believe him: for Possevine the Jesuit hath given us to understand, that "[40] manuscript books also are to be purged, as well as printed." But whence was this manuscript fetched, think you? Out of "[41] the famous monastery of Weingart," saith Steuartius. The monks of Weingart then belike must answer the matter: and they, I dare say, upon examination will take their oaths, that it was no part of their intention to give any furtherance unto the cause of the Protestants hereby. If hereunto we add, that Heribaldus and Rabanus both are [42] ranked among heretics by Thomas Walden [43] for holding the Eucharist to be subject to digestion and voidance, like other meats; the suspicion will be more vehement: whereunto yet I will adjoin one evidence more, that shall leave the matter past suspicion.

In the libraries of my worthy friends, Sir Robert Cotton (that noble baronet, so renowned for his great care in collecting and preserving all antiquities) and Dr Ward, the learned Master of Sidney College in Cambridge, I met with an ancient Treatise of the Sacrament, beginning thus: *Sicut ante nos quidam sapiens dixit, cujus sententiam probamus, licet nomen ignoremus;* which is the same with that

[38] Vide Mabil. Acta Bened. sect. 4. p. II. p. 596.

[39] Lacuna hic est in MS. exemplari.

[40] Ad istos enim quoque purgatio pertinet. Possevin. lib. i. Bibliothec. select. cap. 12.

[41] Ex MS. Cod. celeberrimi Monasterii Weingartensis.

[42] Wald. Tom. I. Doctrinal. in Prolog. ad Martinum V.

[43] Id. Tom. II. cap. 19 et 61.

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in the Jesuit's College at Louvaine, blindly [43]fathered upon Berengarius. The author of this Treatise, having first twitted Heribaldus for propounding, and Rabanus for resolving, this question of the voidance of the Eucharist, layeth down afterward the opinion of Paschasius Radbertus (whose writing is yet extant): *Quod non alia plane sit caro quæ sumitur de altari, quam quæ nata est de Maria Virgine, et passa in cruce, et quæ resurrexit de sepulchro, quæque et pro mundi vita adhuc hodie offertur.* "That the flesh which is received at the altar, is no other than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the cross, rose again from the grave, and as yet is daily offered for the life of the world." *Contra quem*, saith he, *satis argumentatur et Rabanus in Epistola ad* [44]*Egilonem Abbatem, et Ratrannus quidam libro composito ad Carolum Regem, dicentes aliam esse.* "Against whom both Rabanus in his Epistle to Abbot Egilo, and one Ratrannus in a book which he made to King Charles, argue largely; saying that it is another kind of flesh." Whereby, what Rabanus's opinion was of this point in his Epistle to Abbot Egilo or Egilus, and consequently what that was which the monks of Weingart could not endure in his Penitential, I trust is plain enough.

I omit other corruptions of antiquity in this same question, which I have touched [45]elsewhere: only that of Bertram I may not pass over; wherein the dishonesty of these men, in handling the writings of the ancients, is laid open, even by the confession of their own mouths. Thus the case standeth: that Ratrannus, who joined with Rabanus in refuting the error of the carnal presence at the first bringing in thereof by Paschasius Radbertus, is he who commonly is known by the name of Bertramus. The book which he wrote of this argument to Carolus Calvus the Emperor, was forbidden to be read, by order from the Roman Inquisition, confirmed afterwards by the Council of Trent. The divines of Douay, perceiving that the forbidding of the book did not keep men from reading it, but gave them rather occasion

[43] Ant. Possevin. Apparat. sac. in Berengario Turon.

[44] Al. Elgionem et Helgimonem, male. Neque enim alius hic intelligendus, quam Ægilo ille, cui in Fuldensis abbatiæ regimine proxime successit ipse Rabanus.

[45] De Christian. Eccl. Success. et Statu, edit. ann. 1613, p. 45 et 198.

to seek more earnestly after it, thought it better policy, that Bertram should be permitted to go abroad, but handled in such sort, as other ancient writers, that made against them, were wont to be. "Seeing therefore (say [46]they) we bear with very many errors in other of the old Catholic writers, and extenuate them, excuse them, by inventing some device oftentimes deny them, and feign some commodious sense for them when they are objected in disputations or conflicts with our adversaries; we do not see, why Bertram may not deserve the same equity and diligent revisal; lest the heretics cry out, that we burn and forbid such antiquity as maketh for them." Mark this dealing well. The world must be borne in hand, that all the Fathers make for the Church of Rome against us in all our controversies. When we bring forth express testimonies of the Fathers to the contrary, what must then be done? A good face must be put upon the matter, one device or other must be invented to elude the testimonies objected, and still it must be denied that the Fathers make against the doctrine of the Papists. Bertram, for example, writeth thus: "[47]The things which differ one from another, are not the same. The body of Christ which was dead, and rose again, and being made immortal now dieth not, (death no more having dominion over it,) is everlasting, and now not subject to suffering. But this which is celebrated in the Church, is temporal, not everlasting; it is corruptible, not free from corruption." What device must they find out here? They must say this is meant of the accidents or "[48]forms of the Sacrament, which are corruptible; or of the use of the Sacrament, which continueth only in this present world." But how will this shift serve the turn, when as the whole drift of the discourse tendeth

[46] Quum igitur in Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, et extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato commento persæpe negemus, et commodum iis sensum affingamus, dum opponuntur in disputationibus aut in conflictionibus cum adversariis; non videmus, cur non eandem æquitatem et diligentem recognitionem mereatur Bertramus, ne hæretici oggannient, nos antiquitatem pro ipsis facientem exurere et prohibere. Index Expurg. Belgic. p. 5, edit. Antuerp. ann. 1571.

[47] Quæ a se differunt, idem non sunt. Corpus Christi quod mortuum est, et resurrexit, et immortale factum jam non moritur, et mors illi ultra non dominabitur, æternum est, nec jam passibile. Hoc autem quod in Ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptum. Bertram. de Corp. et Sang. Dom.

[48] Secundum species Sacramenti corruptibiles: aut de re ipsa et usu sacramenti, qui non contingit, nisi præsenti in seculo. Index Expurg. p. 7.

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to prove, that that which is received by the mouth of the faithful in the Sacrament, is not that very body of Christ which died upon the cross, and rose again from death? *Non male aut inconsulte omittantur igitur omnia hæc:* "It were not amiss therefore," say our Popish censurers, "nor unadvisedly done, that all these things should be left out."

If this be your manner of dealing with antiquity, let all men judge whether it be not high time for us to listen unto the advice of Vincentius Lirinensis, and not be so forward to commit the trial of our controversies to the writings of the Fathers, who have had the ill hap to fall into such huckster's handling. Yet that you may see how confident we are in the goodness of our cause; we will not now stand upon our right, nor refuse to enter with you into this field; but give you leave for this time both to be the challenger, and the appointer of your own weapons. Let us then hear your challenge, wherein you would so fain be answered. "I would fain know," say you, "how can your religion be true, which disalloweth of many chief articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true? For they of your side, that have read the Fathers of that unspotted Church, can well testify (and if any deny it, it shall be presently shewn) that the Doctors, Pastors, and Fathers of that Church do allow of Traditions," &c. And again: "Now would I fain know, whether of both have the true religion; they that hold all these above-said points with the primitive Church, or they that do most vehemently contradict and gainsay them? they that do not disagree with that holy Church in any point of religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?" And the third time too, for failing: "Now would I willingly see what reasonable answer may be made to this. For the Protestants grant, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 years held the true religion of Christ: yet do they exclaim against the above-said articles which the same Church did maintain and uphold; as may be shewn by the express testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church, and shall be largely laid down, if any learned Protestant will deny it."

If Albertus Pighius had now been alive, as great a scholar as he was, he might have learned that he never

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knew before. "Who did ever yet (saith [49]he) by the Church of Rome understand the universal Church?" That doth this man, say I, who styleth all the ancient Doctors and Martyrs of the Church universal with the name of the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church of Rome. But it seemeth a small matter unto him, for the magnifying of that Church, to confound *urbem* and *orbem;* unless he mingle also heaven and earth together, by giving the title of that unspotted Church, which is the special privilege of the Church triumphant in heaven, unto the Church of Rome here militant upon earth. St Augustine surely would not have himself otherwise understood, whensoever he speaketh of the unspotted Church; and therefore, to prevent all mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself in his Retractations: "[50]Wheresoever in these books I have made mention of the Church not having spot or wrinkle; it is not so to be taken, as if she were so now, but that she is prepared to be so, when she shall appear glorious. For now, by reason of certain ignorances and infirmities of her members, the whole Church hath cause to say every day, Forgive us our trespasses." Now, as long as the Church is subject to these ignorances and infirmities, it cannot be otherwise, but there must be differences betwixt the members thereof: one part may understand that whereof another is ignorant; and ignorance being the mother of error, one particular Church may wrongly conceive of some points, wherein others may be rightly informed. Neither will it follow thereupon, that these Churches must be of different religions, because they fully agree not in all things; or that therefore the reformed Churches in our days must disclaim all kindred with those in ancient times, because they have washed away some spots from themselves, which they discerned to have been in them.

It is not every spot that taketh away the beauty of a Church, nor every sickness that taketh away the life thereof: and therefore though we should admit that the ancient Church

[49] Quis per Romanam Ecclesiam unquam intellexit aut universalem Ecclesiam, aut generale Concilium? Pigh. Eccles. Hierar. lib. vi. cap. 3.

[50] Ubicunque in his libris commemoravi Ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam; non sic accipiendum est quasi jam sit, sed quæ præparatur ut sit, quando apparebit etiam gloriosa. Nunc enim propter quasdam ignorantias et infirmitates membrorum suorum habet unde quotidie tota dicat: Dimitte nobis debita nostra. August. Retract. lib. ii. cap. 18.

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of Rome was somewhat impaired both in beauty and in health too, (wherein we have no reason to be sorry, that we are unlike unto her,) there is no necessity, that hereupon presently she must cease to be our sister. St Cyprian and the rest of the African Bishops that joined with him, held that such as were baptized by heretics, should be rebaptized: the African Bishops in the time of Aurelius were of another mind. Doth the diversity of their judgments in this point make them to have been of a diverse religion? It was the use of the ancient Church to minister the Communion unto infants: which is yet also practised by the Christians in Egypt and Ethiopia. The Church of Rome, upon better consideration, hath thought fit to do otherwise: and yet for all that will not yield, that either she herself hath forsaken the religion of her ancestors, because she followeth them not in this; or that they were of the same religion with the Cophtites and Habassines, because they agree together in this particular. So put case the Church of Rome now did use prayer for the dead in the same manner that the ancient Church did; (which we will shew to be otherwise;) the reformed Churches, that upon better advice have altered that usage, need not therefore grant, that either themselves hold a different religion from that of the Fathers, because they do not precisely follow them in this; nor yet that the Fathers were therefore Papists, because in this point they thus concurred. For as two may be discerned to be sisters by the likeness of their faces, although the one have some spots or blemishes which the other hath not; so a third may be brought in which may shew like spots and blemishes, and yet have no such likeness of visage as may bewray her to be the others' sister.

But our Challenger having first conceited in his mind an idea of an unspotted Church upon earth; then being far in love with the painted face of the present Church of Rome, and out of love with us, because we like not as he liketh; taketh a view of both our faces in the false glass of affection, and findeth her on whom he doteth, to answer his unspotted Church in all points, but us to agree with it in almost nothing. And thereupon he "would fain know whether of both have the true religion; they that do not disagree with that holy Church in any point of religion,

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or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?" Indeed, if that which he assumeth for granted could as easily be proved as it is boldly avouched, the question would quickly be resolved, "Whether of us both have the true religion?" But he is to understand, that strong conceits are but weak proofs; and that the Jesuits have not been the first, from whom such brags as these have been heard. Dioscorus the heretic was as pert, when he uttered these speeches in the Council of Chalcedon: "[51] I am cast out with the Fathers: I defend the doctrines of the Fathers: I transgress them not in any point; and I have their testimonies, not barely, but in their very books." Neither need we wonder that he should bear us down, that the Church of Rome at this day doth not disagree from the primitive Church "in any point of religion," who sticketh not so confidently to affirm, that we "agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all." For those few points wherein he confesseth we do agree with the ancient Church, must either be meant of such articles only wherein we disagree from the now Church of Rome, or else of the whole body of that religion which we profess. If in the former he yield that we do agree with the primitive Church, what credit doth he leave unto himself, who with the same breath hath given out, that the present Church of Rome "doth not disagree with that holy Church in any point?" If he mean the latter, with what face can he say, that we agree with that holy Church "but in very few points" of religion, "and disagree in almost all?" Irenæus, who was the disciple of those which heard St John the Apostle, [52]layeth down the articles of that faith, in the unity whereof the Churches that were founded in Germany, Spain, France, the East, Egypt, Libya, and all the world, did sweetly accord; as if they had all dwelt in one house, all had but one soul, and one heart, and one mouth. Is he able to shew one point, wherein we have broken that harmony which Irenæus commendeth in the Catholic Church of his time? But that "rule of faith" so much commended by him and

[51] Εγὼ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐκβάλλομαι. ἐγὼ συνίσταμαι τοῖς τῶν πατέρων δόγμασιν. οὐ παραβαίνω ἐν τινί. καὶ τούτων τὰς χρήσεις, οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν βιβλίοις ἔχω. Concil. Chalced. Act. I. p. 97. edit. Rom.

[52] Irenæ. lib. i. cap. 2, 3. Epiph. Hæres. 31.

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Tertullian, and the rest of the Fathers, and all the articles of the several creeds that were ever received in the ancient Church as badges of the Catholic profession, to which we willingly subscribe, is with this man almost nothing: none must now be counted a Catholic, but he that can conform his belief unto the [53]creed of the new fashion, compiled by Pope Pius the Fourth some four and fifty years ago.

As for the particular differences, wherein he thinketh he hath the advantage of us, when we come unto the sifting of them, it shall appear how far he was deceived in his imagination. In the meantime, having as yet not strucken one stroke, but threatened only to do wonders, if any would be so hardy to accept his challenge; he might have done very well to have deferred his triumph until such time as he had obtained the victory. For as if he had borne us down with the weight of the authority of the Fathers, and so astonished us therewith, that we could not tell what to say for ourselves, he thus bestirreth himself in a most ridiculous manner, fighting with his own shadow: "Will you say that these Fathers," saith he, who hath not hitherto laid down so much as the name of any one Father, "maintained these opinions contrary to the word of God? Why, you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the champions of Christ's Church, and of the true Catholic religion, which they most learnedly defended against divers heresies, and therefore spent all their time in a most serious study of the holy Scripture. Or will you say, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugn, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why, yourselves cannot deny but that they lived most holy and virtuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting or perverting of God's holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to reign with God in his glory. Insomuch as their admirable learning may sufficiently cross out all suspicion of ignorant error; and their innocent sanctity freeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption."

But by his leave, he is a little too hasty. He were best to bethink himself more advisedly of that which he hath undertaken to perform, and to remember the saying

[53] Forma Professionis Fidei, in Bulla Pii IV. edit. ann. 1564.

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of the king of Israel unto Benhadad, [54]*Let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself, as he that putteth it off.* He hath taken upon him to prove, that our religion cannot be true, because it "disalloweth of many chief articles which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true." For performance hereof, it will not be sufficient for him to shew, that "some of these Fathers maintained some of these opinions:" he must prove (if he will be as good as his word, and deal any thing to the purpose) that they held them generally, and held them too, not as opinions, but *tanquam de fide*, as appertaining to the substance of faith and religion. For, as Vincentius Lirinensis well observeth, "[55]the ancient consent of the holy Fathers is with great care to be sought and followed by us, not in every petty question belonging to the law of God, but only, or at least principally, in the rule of faith." But all the points propounded by our Challenger be not chief articles; and therefore, if in some of them the Fathers have held some opinions that will not bear weight in the balance of the sanctuary, (as some conceits they had herein, which the Papists themselves must confess to be erroneous,) their defects in that kind do abate nothing of that reverent estimation which we have them in, for their great pains taken in the "defence of the true Catholic religion," and the "serious study of the holy Scripture." Neither do I think that he who thus commendeth them for "the pillars of Christianity," and "the champions of Christ's Church," will therefore hold himself tied to stand unto every thing that they have said: sure he will not, if he follow the steps of the great ones of his own society.

For what doth he think of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Epiphanius? Doth he not account them among those "pillars" and "champions" he speaketh of? Yet, saith Cardinal Bellarmine, "[56]I do not see how we may defend their opinion from error." When others object, that they have two or three hundred testimonies of the Doctors to prove that the Virgin

[54] 1 Kings xx. 11.

[55] Antiqua sanctorum patrum consensio non in omnibus divinæ legis quæstiunculis, sed solum, certe præcipue, in fidei regula magno nobis studio et investiganda est et sequenda. Vincent. contra Hæres. cap. 39.

[56] Justini, Irenæi, Epiphanii, atque Œcumenii sententiam non video quo pacto ab errore possimus defendere. Bellarmin. lib. i. de Sanctor. Beatit. cap. 6.

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Mary was conceived in sin, [57]Salmeron the Jesuit steps forth and answereth them, first out of the doctrine of Augustine and Thomas, that "the argument drawn from authority is weak;" then out of the "word of God," Exod. xxiii: *In judicio, plurimorum non acquiesces sententiæ, ut a vero devies.* "In judgment thou shalt not be led with the sentence of the most, to decline from the truth." And lastly telleth them, "[58]that when the Donatists gloried in the multitude of authors, St Augustine did answer them, that it was a sign their cause was destitute of the strength of truth, which was only supported by the authority of many who were subject to error." And when his adversaries press him, not only with the "multitude," but also with the "[59]antiquity" of the Doctors alleged, "unto which more honour always hath been given than unto novelties;" he answereth, that indeed "every age hath always attributed much unto antiquity; and every old man, as the poet saith, is a commender of the time past: but this, saith he, we aver, that the younger the Doctors are, the more sharp-sighted they be." And therefore for his part he yieldeth rather to the judgment of the younger Doctors of Paris; [60]among whom "none is held worthy of the title of a Master in Divinity, who hath not first bound himself with a religious oath to defend and maintain the privilege of the Blessed Virgin." Only he forgot to tell, how they which take that oath might dispense with another oath which the Pope requireth them to take; that [61]they "will never understand and interpret the holy Scripture but according to the uniform consent of the Fathers."

[57] Primo quidem agunt multitudine Doctorum, quos errare in re tanti momenti non est facile admittendum. Respondemus tamen ex Augustini libro i. de Morib. Eccles. cap. 2, tum ex B. Thomæ doctrina, locum ab auctoritate esse infirmum. Salmer. in Epist. ad Rom. lib. ii. Disput. 51.

[58] Cum Donatistæ in auctorum multitudine gloriarentur; respondit Augustinus, signum esse causæ a veritatis nervo destitutæ, quæ soli multorum auctoritati, qui errare possunt, innititur. Ibid.

[59] Tertio argumenta petunt a Doctorum antiquitate, cui semper major honor est habitus, quam novitatibus. Respondetur, quamlibet ætatem antiquitati semper detulisse; et quilibet senex, ut quidam Poëta dixit, laudator temporis acti. Sed illud afferimus, quo juniores, eo perspicaciores esse Doctores. Ibid.

[60] Nam in celeberrima Parisiorum Academia nullus Magistri in Theologia titulo dignus habetur, qui prius etiam jurisjurandi religione non se adstrinxerit ad hoc Virginis privilegium tuendum et propugnandum. Ibid. Vide et Laur. Sur. Commentar. Rer. in Orbe gestar. ann. 1501.

[61] Nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum accipiam, et interpretabor. Bulla Pii IV. p. 478. Bullarii a Petro Matthæo edit. Lugdun. ann. 1588.

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Pererius, in his disputations upon the Epistle to the Romans, confesseth, that "[62]the Greek Fathers, and not a few of the Latin Doctors too, have thought, and delivered also in their writings, that the cause of the predestination of men unto everlasting life is the foreknowledge which God had from eternity, either of the good works which they were to do by co-operating with his grace, or of the faith whereby they were to believe the word of God and to obey his calling." And yet he for his part notwithstanding thinketh, that "[63]this is contrary to the holy Scripture, but especially to the doctrine of St Paul." If our questionist had been by him, he would have plucked his fellow by the sleeve, and taken him up in this manner: "Will you say that these Fathers maintained this opinion contrary to the word of God? Why, you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the champions of Christ's Church, and of the true Catholic religion, which they most learnedly defended against divers heresies, and therefore spent all their time in a most serious study of the holy Scripture." He would also perhaps further challenge him as he doth us: "Will you say, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugn, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinion by malice and corrupt intentions?" For sure he might have asked this wise question of any of his own fellows, as well as of us, who do "allow and esteem so much" of these blessed Doctors and Martyrs of the ancient Church, (as he himself in the end of his challenge doth acknowledge,) which verily we should have little reason to do, if we did imagine that they brought in opinions which they knew to be repugnant to the Scriptures, for any "malice" or "corrupt intentions." Indeed men they were, compassed with the common infirmities of our nature, and therefore subject unto error; but gody men, and therefore free from all malicious error.

[62] Græci Patres, nec pauci etiam Latinorum Doctorum, arbitrati sunt, idque in scriptis suis prodiderunt, causam prædestinationis hominum ad vitam æternam esse præscientiam quam Deus ab æterno habuit, vel bonorum operum quæ facturi erant co-operando ipsius gratiæ, vel fidei qua credituri erant verbo Dei, et obedituri vocationi ejus. Perer. in Rom. viii. sect. 106.

[63] Sed hoc videtur contrarium divinæ Scripturæ, præcipue autem doctrinæ B. Pauli. Id. ibid. sect. 111. At enimvero præscientiam fidei non esse rationem prædestinationis hominum, nullius est negotii multis et apertis Scripturæ testimoniis ostendere. Ibid. sect. 109.

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Howsoever, then, we yield unto you that "their innocent sanctity freeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption," yet you must pardon us if we make question, whether "their admirable learning may sufficiently cross out all suspicion of error," which may arise either of "affection," or "want of due consideration," or such "ignorance" as the very best are subject unto in this life. For it is not admirable learning that is sufficient to cross out that suspicion; but such an immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost as the Prophets and Apostles were led by, who were the penners of the Canonical Scripture. But this is your old wont, to blind the eyes of the simple with setting forth the sanctity and the learning of the Fathers; much after the manner of your grandfather Pelagius, who in the third of his books, which he writ in defence of Free-will, thought he had struck all dead by his commending of St Ambrose. "Blessed Ambrose the Bishop," saith [64]he, "in whose books the Roman faith doth especially appear, who like a beautiful flower shined among the Latin writers, whose faith and most pure understanding in the Scriptures the enemy himself durst not reprehend." Unto whom St Augustine: "[65]Behold with what and how great praises he extolleth a man, though holy and learned, yet not to be compared unto the authority of the Canonical Scripture." And therefore, advance the learning and holiness of these worthy men as much as you list; other answer you are not like to have from us, than that which the same St Augustine maketh unto St Jerome: "[66]This reverence and honour have I learned to give to those books of Scripture only which now are called Canonical, that I most firmly believe none of their authors could any whit err in writing. But others I so read, that with how great sanctity and learning soever they do excel, I therefore think

[64] Beatus Ambrosius Episcopus, in cujus præcipue libris Romana elucet fides, qui scriptorum inter Latinos flos quidam speciosus enituit, cujus fidem et purissimum in Scripturis sensum ne inimicus quidem ausus est reprehendere.

[65] Ecce qualibus et quantis prædicat laudibus, quamlibet sanctum et doctum virum, nequaquam tamen auctoritati Scripturæ canonicæ comparandum. August. de Gratia Christi, cont. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 43.

[66] Solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errâsse firmissime credam, &c. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque prævolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Aug. Ep. 19.

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not any thing to be true, because they so thought it; but because they were able to persuade me, either by those Canonical authors, or by some probable reason, that it did not swerve from truth."

Yet even to this field also do our challengers provoke us; and "if the Fathers' authority will not suffice," they offer to "produce good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures" for confirmation of all the points of their religion which they have mentioned: yea, further, they challenge "any Protestant to allege any one text out of the said Scripture, which condemneth any of the above-written points." At which boldness of theirs we should much wonder, but that we consider that bankrupts commonly do then most brag of their ability, when their estate is at the lowest; perhaps also, that ignorance might be it that did beget in them this boldness. For if they had been pleased to take the advice of their learned Council, their Canonists would have told them touching Confession, (which is one of their points,) that "[67]it were better to hold, that it was ordained by a certain tradition of the universal Church, than by the authority of the New or Old Testament." Melchior Canus [68]could have put them in mind, that it is no where expressed in Scripture that "Christ descended into hell to deliver the souls of Adam and the rest of the Fathers which were detained there." And Dominicus Bannes, [69]that the holy Scriptures teach, neither *expresse*, nor yet *impresse et involute*, "that prayers are to be made unto Saints," or that "their images are to be worshipped." Or, if the testimony of a Jesuit will more prevail with them; "that images should be worshipped, Saints prayed unto, auricular confession frequented, sacrifices celebrated both for the quick and the dead, and other things of this kind," [70]Fr. Coster would have to be reckoned among divine traditions, which be not laid down in the Scriptures.

Howsoever yet the matter standeth, we have no reason but willingly to accept of their challenge, and to require them to bring forth those "good and certain grounds out of

[67] Gloss. in Gratian. de Pœnit. Dist. cap. 5. In Pœnitentiâ.

[68] Can. lib. iii. loc. Theolog. cap. 4.

[69] Bann. in II. Qu. 1. art. 10. col. 302.

[70] Coster. in Compendiosa Orthodoxæ Fidei Demonst. Propos. v. cap. 2. p. 162. edit. Colon. ann. 1607.

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the sacred Scriptures," for confirmation of all the articles by them propounded; as also to let them see whether we "be able to allege any text of Scripture which condemneth any of those points;" although I must confess it will be a hard matter to make them see any thing, which beforehand have resolved to close their eyes; having their minds so preoccupied with prejudice, that they profess, before ever we begin, they hold for certain that we shall never be able to produce any such text. And why, think you? Because, forsooth, we "are neither more learned, more pious, nor more holy, than the blessed Doctors and Martyrs of that first Church of Rome:" as who should say, we yielded at the first word that all those blessed Doctors and Martyrs expounded the Scriptures every where to our disadvantage, or were so well persuaded of the tenderness of a Jesuit's conscience, that because he hath taken an oath never to interpret the Scripture but according to the uniform consent of the Fathers, he could not therefore have the forehead to say, "[71]I do not deny that I have no author of this interpretation; yet do I so much the rather approve it than that other of Augustine's, though the most probable of all the rest, because it is more contrary to the sense of the Calvinists, which to me is a great argument of probability:" or as if, lastly, a man might not dissent from the ancient Doctors, so much as in an exposition of a text of Scripture, but he must presently make himself "more learned, more pious," and "more holy" than they were.

Yet their great Tostatus might have taught them, [72]that this argument holdeth not: "Such a one knoweth some conclusion that Augustine did not know; therefore he

[71] Non nego me hujus interpretationis auctorem neminem habere: sed hanc eo magis probo quam illam alteram Augustini, ceterarum alioqui probabilissimam; quod hæc cum Calvinistarum sensu magis pugnet: quod mihi magnum est probabilitatis argumentum. Maldonat. in Johan. vi. 62.

[72] Sed nec ista argumentatio valet, sc. Iste homo scit aliquam conclusionem, quam nescivit Aug. ergo est sapientior Aug.—Et sicut quidam peritus medicus dixit, homines nostri temporis ad antiquos comparantur, sicut pusillus homo positus collo gigantis ad ipsum gigantem. Nam pusillus ibi positus videt quicquid vidit gigas, et insuper plus; et tamen si deponatur de collo gigantis, parum aut nihil videbit ad gigantem collatus. Ita et nos firmati super ingenia antiquorum et opera eorum, non esset admirandum, immo foret valde rationabile, si videremus quidquid illi viderunt, et insuper plus; licet hoc adhuc non profitemur. Abulens. p. II. Defensor. cap. 18.

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is wiser than Augustine;" because, "as a certain skilful physician said, the men of our time being compared with the ancient are like unto a little man set upon a giant's neck, compared with the giant himself. For as that little man placed there seeth whatsoever the giant seeth, and somewhat more, and yet if he be taken down from the giant's neck would see little or nothing in comparison of the giant; even so we, being settled upon the wits and works of the ancients, it were not to be wondered, nay it should be very agreeable unto reason, that we should see whatsoever they saw, and somewhat more. Though yet," saith he, "we do not profess so much." And even to the same effect speaketh Friar Stella, that though it be far from him to condemn the common exposition given by the ancient holy Doctors, "[73]Yet he knoweth full well, that pygmies being put upon giants' shoulders do see further than the giants themselves." Salmeron addeth, "[74]that by the increase of time divine mysteries have been made known, which before were hid from many; so that to know them now, is to be attributed unto the benefit of the time; not that we are better than our Fathers were." Bishop Fisher, [75]that "it cannot be obscure unto any, that many things, as well in the Gospels as in the rest of the Scriptures, are now more exquisitely discussed by latter wits, and more clearly understood, than they have been heretofore; either by reason that the ice was not as yet broken unto the ancient, neither did their age suffice to weigh exactly that whole sea of the Scriptures; or because in this most large field of the Scriptures, even after the most diligent reapers, some ears will remain to be gathered, as yet untouched." Hereupon Cardinal Cajetan, in the beginning

[73] Bene tamen scimus, pygmæos gigantum humeris impositos plusquam ipsos gigantes videre. Stella, Enarrat. in Luc. cap. 10.

[74] Per incrementa temporum nota facta sunt divina mysteria, quæ tamen antea multos latuerunt: ita ut hoc loco nôsse beneficium sit temporis, non quod nos meliores simus quam Patres nostri. Salmeron. in Epist. ad Roman. lib. ii. Disput. 51.

[75] Neque cuiquam obscurum est, quin posterioribus ingeniis multa sint, tam ex evangeliis quam ex scripturis ceteris, nunc excussa luculentius, et intellecta perspicacius, quam fuerant olim. Nimirum, aut quia veteribus adhuc non erat perfracta glacies, neque sufficiebat illorum ætas totum illud scripturarum pelagus ad amussim expendere; aut quia semper in amplissimo scripturarum campo, post messores quantumvis exquisitissimos, spicas adhuc intactas licebit colligere. Roffens. Confut. Assert. Luther. Art. 18.

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of his Commentaries upon Moses, adviseth his reader "[76]not to loathe the new sense of the holy Scripture for this, that it dissenteth from the ancient Doctors; but to search more exactly the text and context of the Scripture, and if he find it agree, to praise God that hath not tied the exposition of the Scriptures to the senses of the ancient Doctors."

But leaving comparisons, which you know are odious, (the envy whereof notwithstanding your own Doctors and Masters, you see, help us to bear off, and teach us how to decline,) I now come to the examination of the particular points by you propounded. It should, indeed, be your part by right to be the assailant, who first did make the challenge; and I, who sustain the person of the defendant, might here well stay, accepting only your challenge and expecting your encounter. Yet do not I mean at this time to answer your bill of challenge, as bills are usually answered in the Chancery, with saving all advantages to the defendant: I am content in this also to abridge myself of the liberty which I might lawfully take, and make a further demonstration of my forwardness in undertaking the maintenance of so good a cause, by giving the first onset myself.

OF TRADITIONS.

To begin therefore with *Traditions*, which is your forlorn hope, that in the first place we are to set upon: this must I needs tell you before we begin, that you much mistake the matter, if you think that Traditions of all sorts promiscuously are struck at by our religion. We willingly acknowledge, that the word of God, which by some of the Apostles was set down in writing, was both by themselves and others of their fellow-labourers delivered by word of mouth; and that the Church in succeeding ages was bound not only to preserve those sacred writings

[76] Nullus itaque detestetur novum sacræ scripturæ sensum ex hoc quod dissonat a priscis Doctoribus; sed scrutetur perspicacius textum ac contextum scripturæ: et si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum, qui non alligavit expositionem scripturarum sacrarum priscorum Doctorum sensibus. Cajet. in Genes. i.

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committed to her trust, but also to deliver unto her children *viva voce* the form of wholesome words contained therein. Traditions, therefore, of this nature come not within the compass of our controversy: the question being betwixt us, *de ipsa doctrina tradita*, not *de tradendi modo;* "touching the substance of the doctrine delivered, not of the manner of delivering it." Again, it must be remembered, that here we speak of the doctrine delivered as "the word of God," that is, of points of religion revealed unto the Prophets and Apostles for the perpetual information of God's people; not of rites and ceremonies and other ordinances which are left to the disposition of the Church, and consequently be not of divine, but of positive and human right. Traditions therefore of this kind likewise are not properly brought within the circuit of this question.

But that Traditions of men should be obtruded unto us for articles of religion, and admitted for parts of God's worship; or that any Traditions should be accepted for parcels of God's word, beside the holy Scriptures and such doctrines as are either expressly therein contained, or by sound inference may be deduced from thence; I think we have reason to gainsay, as long as for the first we have this direct sentence from God himself, Matth. xv.: *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;* and for the second, the express warrant of the Apostle, 2 Tim. iii. testifying of the holy Scriptures, not only that they *are able to make us wise unto salvation*, (which they should not be able to do, if they did not contain all things necessary to salvation,) but also that by them *the man of God* (that is, [1]the minister of God's word, unto whom it appertaineth [2]*to declare all the counsel of God,)* may be *perfectly instructed to every good work:* which could not be, if the Scriptures did not contain all the counsel of God which was fit for him to learn, or if there were any other word of God which he were bound to teach, that should not be contained within the limits of the book of God.

Now whether herein we disagree from the doctrine generally received by the Fathers, we refer ourselves to their own sayings. For ritual Traditions unwritten, and for doctrinal Traditions written indeed, but preserved also by the

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 11. [2] Acts xx. 27.

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continual preaching of the Pastors of the Church successively, we find no man a more earnest advocate than Tertullian. Yet he having to deal with Hermogenes the heretic in a question concerning the faith, Whether all things at the beginning were made of nothing? presseth him in this manner, with the argument *ab auctoritate negative*, for avoiding whereof the Papists are driven to fly for succour to their unwritten verities: "[3]Whether all things were made of any subject matter, I have as yet read nowhere. Let those of Hermogenes's shop shew that it is written. If it be not written, let them fear that woe which is allotted to such as add or take away."

In the two Testaments, saith Origen, "[4]every word that appertaineth to God may be required and discussed, and all knowledge of things out of them may be understood. But if any thing do remain which the holy Scripture doth not determine, no other third Scripture ought to be received to authorize any knowledge; but that which remaineth we must commit to the fire, that is, we must reserve it to God. For in this present world God would not have us to know all things."

Hippolytus the Martyr, in his Homily against the Heresy of Noëtus: "[5]There is one God, whom we do not otherwise acknowledge, brethren, but out of the holy Scriptures. For as he that would profess the wisdom of this world cannot otherwise attain hereunto, unless he read the doctrine of the philosophers; so whosoever of us will exercise piety toward God, cannot learn this elsewhere but out of the holy Scriptures. Whatsoever therefore the holy Scrip-

[3] An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum. Tertul. advers. Hermog. cap. 22.

[4] In quibus liceat omne verbum quod ad Deum pertinet requiri et discuti; atque ex ipsis omnem rerum scientiam capi. Si quid autem superfuerit, quod non divina Scriptura decernat, nullam aliam debere tertiam Scripturam ad auctoritatem scientiæ suscipi, sed igni tradamus quod superest, id est, Deo reservemus. Neque enim in præsenti vita Deus scire nos omnia voluit. Orig. in Levit. Hom. v.

[5] Unus Deus est, quem non aliunde, fratres, agnoscimus, quam ex sanctis scripturis. Quemadmodum enim, si quis vellet sapientiam hujus seculi exercere, non aliter hoc consequi poterit, nisi dogmata philosophorum legat; sic quicunque volumus pietatem in Deum exercere, non aliunde discemus, quam ex scripturis divinis. Quæcunque ergo sanctæ scripturæ prædicant, sciamus; et quæcunque docent, cognoscamus. Hippol. Tom. III. Biblioth. Pat. p. 20, 21. edit. Colon.

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tures do preach, that let us know; and whatsoever they teach, that let us understand."

Athanasius, in his Oration against the Gentiles, toward the beginning: "[6]The holy Scriptures, given by inspiration of God, are of themselves sufficient to the discovery of truth."

St Ambrose: "[7]The things which we find not in the Scriptures, how can we use them?" And again: "[8]I read that he is the first, I read that he is not the second; they who say he is the second, let them shew it by reading."

"It is well," [9]saith St Hilary, "that thou art content with those things which be written." And in another place [10]he commendeth Constantius the Emperor for "desiring the faith to be ordered only according to those things that be written."

St Basil: "[11]Believe those things which are written; the things which are not written, seek not. [12]It is a manifest falling from the faith, and an argument of arrogancy, either to reject any point of those things that are written, or to bring in any of those things that are not written." He teacheth further, "[13]that every word and action ought to be confirmed by the testimony of the holy Scripture, for confirmation of the faith of the good, and the confusion of the evil;" and "that it is the property of a faithful man to be fully persuaded of the truth of those things that are delivered in the holy Scripture, [14]and not to dare either to

[6] Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Athanas.

[7] Quæ in scripturis sanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus? Ambros. Offic. lib. i. cap. 23.

[8] Lego quia primus est, lego quia non est secundus: illi qui secundum aiunt, doceant lectione. Id. in Virginis Instit. cap. 11.

[9] Bene habet, ut iis quæ sunt scripta contentus sis. Hil. lib. iii. de Trinit.

[10] In quantum ego nunc beatæ religiosæque voluntatis vere te, Domine Constanti Imperator, admiror, fidem tantum secundum ea quæ scripta sunt desiderantem. Id. lib. ii. ad Constantium Aug.

[11] Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ζήτει. Basil. Hom. XXIX. advers. Calumniantes S. Trinitat.

[12] Φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. Id. de Fide.

[13] Ὅτι δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, εἰς πληροφορίαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐντροπὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν. Id. in Ethicis, Regul. XVI.

[14] Καὶ μηδὲν τολμᾷν ἀθετεῖν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ· πᾶν τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ὂν, ἁμαρτία ἐστίν. Id. ibid. Reg. LXXX. cap. 22.

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reject or to add any thing thereunto. For if whatsoever is not of faith be sin, as the Apostle saith, and faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; then whatsoever is without the holy Scripture, being not of faith, must needs be sin." Thus far St Basil.

In like manner Gregory Nyssen, St Basil's brother, layeth this for a ground, "[15]which no man should contradict," that "in that only the truth must be acknowledged, wherein the seal of the Scripture testimony is to be seen." And accordingly in another book, attributed also unto him, we find this conclusion made: "[16]Forasmuch as this is upholden with no testimony of the Scripture, as false we will reject it."

Thus also St Jerome disputeth against Helvidius: "[17]As we deny not those things that are written, so we refuse those things that are not written. That God was born of a Virgin we believe, because we read it: that Mary did marry after she was delivered, we believe not, because we read it not."

"In those things," [18]saith St Augustine, "which are laid down plainly in the Scriptures, all those things are found which appertain to faith and direction of life." And again: "[19]Whatsoever ye hear" from the holy Scriptures, "let that savour well unto you; whatsoever is without them, refuse, lest you wander in a cloud." And in another place: "[20]All those things which in times past our ancestors have mentioned to be done toward mankind, and have delivered unto us; all those things also which we see, and do deliver unto our posterity, so far as they appertain to the

[15] Κἂν τις ἂν ἀντείποι, μὴ οὐχὶ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιθέσθω, ᾧ σφραγὶς ἐπέστι τῆς γραφικῆς μαρτυρίας. Greg. Nyss. Dialog. de Anima et Resurrect. Tom. I. edit. Græcolat. p. 639.

[16] Cum id nullo scripturæ testimonio suffultum sit, ut falsum improbabimus. Lib. de Cognit. Dei, cit. ab Euthymio in Panoplia, Tit. VIII.

[17] Ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus; ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus. Natum Deum esse de Virgine credimus, quia legimus: Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus. Hieron. advers. Helvid.

[18] In iis quæ aperte in scriptura posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi. Aug. de Doctrina Christ. lib. ii. cap. 9.

[19] Quicquid inde audieritis, hoc vobis bene sapiat: quicquid extra est respuite, ne erretis in nebula. Id. in lib. de Pastor. cap. 11.

[20] Omnia quæ præteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores nostri gesta esse meminerunt, nobisque tradiderunt; omnia etiam quæ nos videmus, et posteris tradimus, quæ tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quærendam et tenendam, divina scriptura non tacuit. Id. Epist. XLII.

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seeking and maintaining of true religion, the holy Scripture hath not passed in silence."

"The holy Scripture,"[21] saith St Cyril of Alexandria, "is sufficient to make them which are brought up in it wise and most approved, and furnished with most sufficient understanding." And again: "[22]That which the holy Scripture hath not said, by what means should we receive and account it among those things that be true?"

Lastly, in the writings of Theodoret we meet with these kind of speeches: "[23]By the holy Scripture alone am I persuaded." "[24]I am not so bold as to affirm any thing which the sacred Scripture passeth in silence." "[25]It is an idle and a senseless thing to seek those things that are passed in silence." "[26]We ought not to seek those things which are passed in silence, but rest in the things that are written."

By the verdict of these twelve men you may judge, what opinion was held in those ancient times of such Traditions as did cross either the verity or the perfection of the sacred Scripture, which are the Traditions we set ourselves against. Whereunto you may add, if you please, that remarkable sentence delivered by Eusebius Pamphili in the name of the 318 Fathers of the first general Council of Nice: "[27]Believe the things that are written; the things that are not written, neither think upon nor enquire after."

If now it be demanded, in what Pope's days the contrary doctrine was brought in among Christians; I answer, that if St Peter were ever Pope, in his days it was that some seducers first laboured to bring in will-worship into the Church; against whom St Paul opposing himself (Coloss. ii.), counteth it a sufficient argument to condemn all such inven-

[21] Sufficit divina Scriptura ad faciendum eos qui in illa educati sunt sapientes, et probatissimos, et sufficientissimam habentes intelligentiam. Cyril. lib. vii. cont. Jul.

[22] Ὃ γὰρ οὐκ εἴρηκεν ἡ θεία γραφὴ, τίνα δὲ τρόπον παραδεξόμεθα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἔχουσι καταλογιούμεθα; Cyril. Glaphyrorum, in Gen. lib. ii.

[23] Ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνῃ πείθομαι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. Theod. Dial. I. Ἀτρεπτ.

[24] Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εἰμὶ θρασὺς, ὥστε φάναι τι σεσιγημένον παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. Id. Dial. II. Ἀσύγχυτ.

[25] Περιττὸν καὶ ἀνόητον τὸ τὰ σεσιγημένα ζητεῖν. Id. in Exod. Quæst. XXVI. quod in Græcorum Catena in Pentateuchum, a Franc. Zephyro edita, ita expositum legimus: Impudentis est, quod a scriptura reticetur, velle inquirere.

[26] Οὐ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὰ σεσιγημένα, στέργειν δὲ προσήκει τὰ γεγραμμένα. Theod. in Gen. Qu. XLV.

[27] Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε· τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ἐννόει, μηδὲ ζήτει. Gelas. Cyzicen. Act. Concil. Nicen. part. II. cap. 19.

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tions, that they were *the commandments and doctrines of men.* Shortly after them started up other heretics, who taught, that "[28]the truth could not be found out of the Scriptures by those to whom Tradition was unknown, forasmuch as it was not delivered by writing, but by word of mouth; for which cause St Paul also should say, *We speak wisdom among them that be perfect.*"

The very same text do the [29]Jesuits allege to prove the dignity of many mysteries to be such that they require silence; and that it is unmeet they should be opened in the Scriptures, which are read to the whole world, and therefore can only be learned by unwritten Traditions. Wherein they consider not, how they make so near an approach unto the confines of some of the ancientest heretics, that they may well shake hands together. For howsoever some of them were so mad as to [30]say, that they were wiser than the Apostles themselves, and therefore made light account of the doctrine which they delivered unto the Church, either by writing or by word of mouth; yet all of them broke not forth into that open impiety: the same mystery of iniquity wrought in some of Antichrist's forerunners then, which is discovered in his ministers now. "[31]They confessed indeed," as witnesseth Tertullian, "that the Apostles were ignorant of nothing, and differed not among themselves in their preaching; but they say, they revealed not all things unto all men: some things they delivered openly and to all, some things secretly and to a few, because that Paul useth this speech unto Timothy: *O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust.* And again: *That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep.*" Which very texts the [32]Jesuits

[28] Quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant Traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem: ob quam causam et Paulum dixisse; Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos. Iren. cont. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[29] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Verbo Dei, cap. 8.

[30] Dicentes, se non solum Presbyteris, sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem, &c. Evenit itaque neque scripturis jam neque traditioni consentire eos. Iren. ut sup.

[31] Confitentur quidem nihil Apostolos ignoràsse, nec diversa inter se prædicàsse, sed non omnia illos volunt omnibus revelàsse: quædam enim palam et universis, quædam secreto et paucis demandàsse, quia et hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi. Et rursum: Bonum depositum custodi. Tertul. de Præscrip. advers. Hæret. cap. 25.

[32] Bellar. lib. iv. de Verbo Dei, cap. 5.

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likewise bring in to prove, that there are some Traditions which are not contained in the Scripture.

In the days of St Jerome also this was wont to be the saying of heretics: "[33]We are the sons of the wise men, which from the beginning have delivered the doctrine of the Apostles unto us." But [34]those things, saith that Father, "which they of themselves find out, and feign to have received as it were by Tradition from the Apostles, without the authority and testimonies of the Scriptures, the sword of God doth smite." [35]St Chrysostom in like manner giveth this for a mark of Antichrist and of all spiritual thieves, that they come not in by the door of the Scriptures. For the Scripture, saith he, "[36]like unto a sure door, doth bar an entrance unto heretics, safeguarding us in all things that we will, and not suffering us to be deceived." Whereupon he concludeth, that "[37]whoso useth not the Scriptures, but cometh in otherwise, that is, betaketh himself to another and an unlawful way, he is a thief."

How this mystery of iniquity wrought when Antichrist came unto his full growth, and what experiments his followers gave of their thievish entry in this kind, was well observed by the author of the book *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, (thought by some to be Waltram, Bishop of Naumburg;) who, speaking of the [38]Monks, that for the upholding of Pope Hildebrand's faction brought in schisms and heresies into the Church, noteth this especially of them, that "despising the Tradition of God, they desired other doctrines, and brought in magisteries of human institution." Against whom he allegeth the authority of their own St Benedict, the father of the

[33] Filii sumus sapientum, qui ab initio doctrinam nobis Apostolicam tradiderunt. Hieron. lib. vii. in Esa. cap. 19.

[34] Sed et alia, quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis scripturarum, quasi traditione apostolica, sponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei. Id. in Agge. cap. 1.

[35] Chrysost. in Johan. x. Hom. LIX. Tom. II. edit. Savil. p. 799.

[36] Καθάπερ γὰρ τὶς θύρα ἀσφαλὴς, οὕτως ἀποκλείει τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καθιστῶσα ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλώμεθα πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσα πλανᾶσθαι. Ibid.

[37] Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῖς γραφαῖς χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν, τουτέστιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ νενομισμένην τέμνων ὁδὸν, οὗτος κλέπτης ἐστίν. Ibid.

[38] Quale mysterium iniquitatis prætendunt plures Monachi in veste sua, per quos fiunt et facta sunt schismata atque hæreses in Ecclesia: qui etiam a matre filios segregant, oves a pastore sollicitant, Dei sacramenta disturbant: qui etiam Dei traditione contempta, alienas doctrinas appetunt, et magisteria humanæ institutionis inducunt. Lib. de Unitat. Eccles. Tom. I. Script. Germanic. a M. Frehero edit. p. 233.

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Monks in the West, writing thus: "[39]The Abbot ought to teach, or ordain, or command nothing which is without the precept of the Lord; but his commandment or instruction should be spread as the leaven of divine righteousness in the minds of his disciples." Whereunto also he might have added the testimony of the two famous Fathers of monastical discipline in the East; St Anthony, I mean, who taught his scholars that "[40]the Scriptures were sufficient for doctrine;" and St Basil, who, unto the question, Whether it were expedient that novices should presently learn those things that are in the Scripture? returneth this answer: "[41]It is fit and necessary that every one should learn out of the holy Scripture that which is for his use, both for his full settlement in godliness, and that he may not be accustomed unto human Traditions."

Mark here the difference betwixt the Monks of St Basil and Pope Hildebrand's breeding. The novices of the former were trained in the Scriptures, to the end "they might not be accustomed unto human Traditions:" those of the latter, to the clean contrary intent, were kept back from the study of the Scriptures, that "they might be accustomed unto human Traditions." For this by the foresaid author is expressly noted of those Hildebrandine Monks, that they "[42]permitted not young men in their monasteries to study this saving knowledge, to the end that their rude wit might be nourished with the husks of devils, which are the customs of human Traditions, that, being accustomed to such filth, they might not taste how sweet the Lord was." And even thus in the times following, from Monks to Friars, and from them to secular Priests and Prelates, as it were by

[39] Ideoque nihil debet Abbas extra præceptum Domini quod sit (or rather, as it is in the Manuscript which I use, quod absit) aut docere, aut constituere, vel jubere: sed jussio ejus vel doctrina, ut fermentum divinæ justitiæ in discipulorum mentibus conspergatur. Benedict. in Regul.

[40] Τὰς γραφὰς ἱκανὰς εἶναι πρὸς διδασκαλίαν. Athanas. in Vita Antonii, quod Evagrius Antiochenus presbyter reddidit: Ad omnem mandatorum disciplinam scripturas posse sufficere.

[41] Τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἕκαστον ἐκμανθάνειν ἐκ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ἀκόλουθον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, εἴς τε πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προσεθισθῆναι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν. Basil. in Regul. breviorib. ὁρ. 95.

[42] Qui ne pueros quidem vel adolescentes permittunt in monasteriis habere studium salutaris scientiæ: ut scilicet rude ingenium nutriatur siliquis demoniorum, quæ sunt consuetudines humanarum traditionum; ut ejusmodi spurcitiis assuefacti, non possint gustare quam suavis est Dominus. Lib. de Unitat. Eccles. p. 228.

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Tradition from hand to hand, the like ungodly policy was continued of keeping the common people from the knowledge of the Scriptures; as for other reasons, so likewise that by this means they might be drawn to "human Traditions." Which was not only observed by [43]Erasmus, before ever Luther stirred against the Pope, but openly in a manner confessed afterwards by a bitter adversary of his, Petrus Sutor, a Carthusian Monk, who among other inconveniences, for which he would have the people debarred from reading the Scripture, allegeth this also for one: "[44]Whereas many things are openly taught to be observed which are not to be expressly had in the holy Scriptures, will not the simple people, observing these things, quickly murmur and complain that so great burdens should be imposed upon them, whereby the liberty of the Gospel is so greatly impaired? Will not they also easily be drawn away from the observation of the ordinances of the Church, when they shall observe that they are not contained in the law of Christ?"

Having thus therefore discovered unto these Deuterotæ (for so [45]St Jerome useth to style such Tradition-mongers) both their great-grandfathers and their more immediate progenitors, I pass now forward unto the second point.

[43] Verum enimvero vereor, ne isti qui velint populum nihil attingere, non tam periculo commoveantur illorum quam sui respectu; videlicet ut ab istis solis, velut ab oraculis, petantur omnia. Quid hac de re scriptum est? hoc scriptum est. Quem habet sensum, quod scriptum est? Sic intellige, sic senti, sic loquere. Atqui istuc est bubalum esse, non hominem. Fortassis movet et nonnullos, quoniam animadvertunt divinam scripturam parum quadrare ad vitam suam, malunt eam antiquari, aut certe nesciri; ne quid hinc jaciatur in os. Et ad humanas traditiunculas populum avocant, quas ipsi ad suam commoditatem probe commenti sunt. Erasm. in Enarrat. i. Psalmi, edit. ann. 1515.

[44] Cum multa palam tradantur observanda, quæ sacris in literis expresse non habentur; nonne idiotæ hæc animadvertentes facile murmurabunt, conquerentes cur tantæ sibi imponantur sarcinæ, quibus et libertas Evangelica ita graviter elevatur? Nonne et facile retrahentur ab observantia institutionum Ecclesiasticarum, quando eas in lege Christi animadverterint non contineri? Sutor de Tralatione Bibliæ, cap. 22. fol. 96. edit. Paris. ann. 1525.

[45] Hieronym. lib. ii. Comment. in Esai. cap. 3. et lib. ix. in Esai. cap. 29.

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OF THE REAL PRESENCE.

How far the *Real Presence* of the body of Christ in the Sacrament is allowed or disallowed by us, I have at large declared in [1]another place. The sum is this: That in the receiving of the blessed Sacrament we are to distinguish between the outward and the inward action of the communicant. In the outward, with our bodily mouth we receive really the visible elements of bread and wine; in the inward, we do by faith really receive the body and blood of our Lord; that is to say, we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, to the spiritual strengthening of our inward man. They of the adverse part have made such a confusion of these things, that for the first they do utterly deny, that after the words of consecration there remaineth any bread or wine at all to be received; and for the second, do affirm that the body and blood of Christ is in such a manner present under the outward shews of bread and wine, that whosoever receiveth the one (be he good or bad, believer or unbeliever) doth therewith really receive the other. We are, therefore, here put to prove that bread is bread, and wine is wine; a matter, one would think, that easily might be determined by common sense. "That which you see," saith [2]St Augustine, "is the bread and the cup, which your very eyes do declare unto you." But because we have to deal with men that will needs herein be senseless, we will for this time refer them to [3]Tertullian's Discourse of the Five Senses, (wishing they may be restored to the use of their five wits again,) and ponder the testimonies of our Saviour Christ, in the sixth of John, and in the words of the institution, which they oppose against all sense, but in the end shall find to be as opposite to this fantastical conceit of theirs as any thing can be.

[1] Sermon at Westminster before the House of Commons, ann. 1620.

[2] Quod ergo vidistis, panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant. Aug. in Serm. de Sacram. apud Fulgentium in fine libelli de Baptismo Æthiopis, et apud Bedam, in 1 Cor. x. et Ratrannum de Corp. et Sang. Dom. vel in Serm. de Verb. Dom. ut citatur ab Algero, lib. i. de Sacr. cap. 5.

[3] Tert. in lib. de Anima, cap. 17, cui titulus, De Quinque Sensibus.

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Touching our Saviour's speech of the *eating of his flesh* and the *drinking of his blood*, in the sixth of John, these five things specially may be observed: First, that the question betwixt our adversaries and us being, not whether Christ's body be turned into bread, but whether bread be turned into Christ's body, the words in St John, if they be pressed literally, serve more strongly to prove the former than the latter. Secondly, that this sermon was uttered by our Saviour above a year before the celebration of his Last Supper, wherein the Sacrament of his body and blood was instituted; at which time none of his hearers could possibly have understood him to have spoken of the external eating of him in the Sacrament. Thirdly, that by the eating of the flesh of Christ and the drinking of his blood, there is not here meant an external eating or drinking with the mouth and throat of the body, (as the [4]Jews then, and the Romanists far more grossly than they have since, imagined,) but an internal and a spiritual, effected by a lively faith and the quickening Spirit of Christ in the soul of the believer. For "[5]there is a spiritual mouth of the inner man," as St Basil noteth, "wherewith he is nourished that is made partaker of the word of life, which is the bread that cometh down from heaven." Fourthly, that this spiritual feeding upon the body and blood of Christ is not to be found in the Sacrament only, but also out of the Sacrament. Fifthly, that the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood here mentioned is of such excellent virtue, that the receiver is thereby made to remain in Christ and Christ in him, and by that means certainly freed from death, and assured of everlasting life. Which seeing it cannot be verified of the eating of the Sacrament, (whereof both the godly and the wicked are partakers,) it proveth, not only that our Saviour did not here speak of the sacramental eating, but further also, that the thing which is delivered in the external part of the Sacrament cannot be conceived to be really, but sacramentally only, the flesh and blood of Christ.

The *first* of these may be plainly seen in the text, where our Saviour doth not only say, *I am the bread of life*,

[4] John vi. 52.

[5] Ἔστι μέν τι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. Basil. in Psalm. xxxiii.

(ver. 48), and, *I am the living bread that came down from heaven,* (ver. 51); but addeth also, in the 55th verse, *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* Which words, being the most forcible of all the rest, and those wherewith the simpler sort are commonly most deluded, might carry some shew of proof that Christ's flesh and blood should be turned into bread and wine, but have no manner of colour to prove that bread and wine are turned into the flesh and blood of Christ.

The truth of the *second* appeareth by the fourth verse, in which we find that this fell out not long before the Passover, and consequently a year at least before that last Passover wherein our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of his Supper. We willingly indeed do acknowledge, that that which is inwardly presented in the Lord's Supper, and spiritually received by the soul of the faithful, is that very thing which is treated of in the sixth of John; but we deny, that it was our Saviour's intention in this place to speak of that which is externally delivered in the Sacrament, and orally received by the communicant. And for our warrant herein, we need look no further than to that earnest asseveration of our Saviour in the 53d verse: *Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* Wherein there is not only an obligation laid upon them for doing of this, (which in no likelihood could be intended of the external eating of the Sacrament, that was not as yet in being,) but also an absolute necessity imposed, *non præcepti solum ratione, sed etiam medii.* Now, to hold that all they are excluded from life which have not had the means to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is as untrue as it is uncharitable. And therefore many of the Papists themselves, as Biel, Cusanus, Cajetan, Tapper, Hessels, Jansenius, and others confess, that our Saviour in the sixth of John did not properly treat of the Sacrament.

The *third* of the points proposed may be collected out of the first part of Christ's speech, in the 35th and 36th verses: *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. But I said unto you, That ye also have seen me, and believe not.* But especially out of the last, from the 61st verse forward: *When Jesus knew in himself that his*

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disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you? What then if you should see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life. But there are some of you that believe not. Which words Athanasius (or whosoever was the author of the tractate upon that place, *Quicunque dixerit verbum in filium hominis)* noteth our Saviour to have used, that his hearers might learn, "[6]that those things which he spake were not carnal but spiritual. For how many could his body have sufficed for meat, that it should be made the food of the whole world? But therefore it was that he made mention of the Son of man's ascension into heaven, that he might draw them from this corporal conceit, and that hereafter they might learn that the flesh which he spake of was celestial meat from above, and spiritual nourishment to be given by him. *For the words which I have spoken unto you,* saith he, *are spirit and life.*" So likewise Tertullian: "[7]Although he saith that *the flesh profiteth nothing,* the meaning of the speech must be directed according to the intent of the matter in hand. For, because they thought it to be a hard and an intolerable speech, as if he had determined that his flesh should be truly eaten by them; that he might dispose the state of salvation by the spirit, he premised, *It is the spirit that quickeneth,* and so subjoined, *The flesh profiteth nothing,* namely, *to quicken,* &c. [8]And because *the Word was made flesh,* it therefore was to be desired for causing of life, and to be devoured by hearing, and to be chewed by under-

[6] Ὅτι ἃ λέγει, οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικὰ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικά· πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφὴ γένηται; Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελκύσῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν. ἃ γὰρ λελάληκα (φησὶν) ὑμῖν, πνεῦμα ἔστι καὶ ζωή. Athanas.

[7] Etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset: ut in spiritu disponeret statum salutis, præmisit; Spiritus est qui vivificat, atque ita subjunxit: caro nihil prodest, ad vivificandum scilicet. Tertul. de Resurrect. Carnis, cap. 37.

[8] Quia et Sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus. Nam et paulo ante carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronuntiarat; urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum, memoriam patrum, qui panes et carnes Ægyptiorum præverterant divinæ vocationi. Idem ibid.

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standing, and to be digested by faith. For a little before he had also affirmed that his flesh was heavenly bread, urging still by the allegory of necessary food the remembrance of the Fathers, who preferred the bread and the flesh of the Egyptians before God's calling." Add hereunto the sentence of Origen: "[9]There is in the New Testament also a letter which killeth him that doth not spiritually conceive the things that be spoken. For if according to the letter you do follow this same which is said, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood*, this letter killeth." And those sayings which every where occur in St Augustine's Tractates upon John: "[10]How shall I send up my hand unto heaven, to take hold on Christ sitting there? Send thy faith, and thou hast hold of him." "[11]Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten." "[12]For this is to eat the living bread, to believe in him. He that believeth in him, eateth. He is invisibly fed, because he is invisibly regenerated. He is inwardly a babe, inwardly renewed: where he is renewed, there is he nourished."

The *fourth* proposition doth necessarily follow upon the third. For if the eating and drinking here spoken of be not an external eating and drinking, but an inward participation of Christ by the communion of his quickening Spirit, it is evident that this blessing is to be found in the soul, not only in the use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but at other times also. "It is no ways to be doubted by any one," saith [13]Fulgentius, "that every one of the

[9] Est et in novo Testamento litera quæ occidit eum, qui non spiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum, occidit hæc litera. Orig. in Levit. cap. 10. Hom. VII.

[10] Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti. Aug. in Evang. Johan. Tract. 50.

[11] Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede, et manducàsti. Id. ibid. Tract. 25.

[12] Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat. Invisibiliter saginatur, quia invisibiliter renascitur. Infans intus est, novus intus est: ubi novellatur, ibi satiatur. Id. ibid. Tract. 26.

[13] Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque Dominici participem fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum Christi efficitur; nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedat, et calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud Sacramentum significat, invenitur. Fulgentius, in fine libelli de Baptismo Æthiopis, Augustini nomine citatus apud Bedam, in 1 Corinth. x.

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faithful is made partaker of the body and blood of our Lord, when he is made a member of Christ in baptism; and that he is not estranged from the communion of that bread and cup, although before he eat that bread and drink that cup he depart out of this world, being settled in the unity of the body of Christ. For he is not deprived of the participation and the benefit of that Sacrament, when he is found to be that which this Sacrament doth signify." And hereupon we see that divers of the Fathers do apply the sixth of John to the hearing of the word also, as [14]Clemens Alexandrinus, [15]Origen, Eusebius Cæsareensis, and others. "We are said to drink the blood of Christ," saith [16]Origen, "not only by way of the Sacraments, but also when we receive his word, wherein consisteth life; even as he himself saith: *The words which I have spoken are spirit and life.*" Upon which words of Christ Eusebius paraphraseth after this manner: "[17]Do not think that I speak of that flesh wherewith I am compassed, as if you must eat of that; neither imagine that I command you to drink my sensible and bodily blood: but understand well, that *the words which I have spoken unto you are spirit and life.* So that those very words and speeches of his are his flesh and blood, whereof who is partaker, being always therewith nourished as it were with heavenly bread, shall likewise be made partaker of heavenly life. Therefore let not that offend you, saith he, which I have spoken of the eating of my flesh and of the drinking of my blood; neither let the superficial hearing of those things which were said by me of flesh and

[14] Clem. Alexan. Pædagog. lib. i. cap. 6.

[15] Orig. in Levit. cap. 10. Hom. VII.

[16] Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit, sicut et ipse dicit: Verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus et vita est. Origen in Num. cap. 24. Hom. XVI.

[17] Μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα ἣν περίκειμαι νομίσητέ με λέγειν ὡς δέον αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἷμα πίνειν ὑπολαμβάνετέ με προστάττειν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή. ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα· ὧν ὁ μετέχων ἀεὶ ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ τρεφόμενος, τῆς οὐρανίου μεθέξει ζωῆς. Μηδὲ οὖν, φησὶ, σκανδαλιζέτω ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ὃ περὶ βρώσεως τῆς ἐμῆς σαρκὸς καὶ περὶ πόματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ αἵματος εἴρηκα, μηδὲ ταραττέτω ὑμᾶς ἡ πρόχειρος ἀκοὴ τῶν περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος εἰρημένων μοι. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ αἰσθητῶς ἀκουόμενα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τὸ ζωοποιοῦν τοὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκούειν δυναμένους. Euseb. lib. iii. Ecclesiast. Theologiæ, cont. Marcell. Ancyran. MS. in publica Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliotheca; et in privatis virorum doctissimorum, D. Richardi Montacutii et M. Patricii Junii.

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blood trouble you. For these things, sensibly heard, profit nothing; but the spirit is it which quickeneth them that are able to hear spiritually." Thus far Eusebius, whose words I have laid down the more largely, because they are not vulgar.

There remaineth the *fifth* and last point, which is oftentimes repeated by our Saviour in this sermon; as in the 50th verse: *This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die;* and in the 51st: *If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever;* and in the 54th: *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life;* and in the 56th: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;* and in the 58th: *This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.* Whereupon Origen rightly observeth the difference that is betwixt the eating of the typical or symbolical, (for so he calleth the Sacrament,) and the true body of Christ. Of the former thus he writeth: "[18]That which is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, doth not of its own nature sanctify him that useth it. For if that were so, it would sanctify him also which doth eat unworthy of the Lord; neither should any one for this eating be weak, or sick, or dead. For such a thing doth Paul shew, when he saith, *For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.*" Of the latter, thus: "[19]Many things may be spoken of the Word itself, which was made flesh, and true meat; which whosoever eateth shall certainly live for ever: which no evil person can eat. For if it could be, that he who continueth evil might eat the Word made flesh, (seeing he is the Word and the bread of life,) it should not have

[18] Quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei et per obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat utentem. Nam id si esset, sanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indigne Domino: neque quisquam ob hunc esum infirmus aut ægrotus fuisset, aut obdormisset. Nam tale quiddam Paulus demonstrat, quum ait: Propter hoc inter vos infirmi et male habentes, et dormiunt multi. Origen in Mat. xv.

[19] Multa porro et de ipso Verbo dici possent, quod factum est caro, verusque cibus, quem qui comederit, omnino vivet in æternum; quem nullus malus potest edere. Etenim si fieri possit, ut qui malus adhuc perseveret, edat Verbum factum carnem, quum sit Verbum et panis vivus, nequaquam scriptum fuisset: Quisquis ederit panem hunc, vivet in æternum. Id. ibid.

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been written: *Whosoever eateth this bread shall live for ever.*" The like difference doth St Augustine also, upon the same ground, make betwixt the eating of Christ's body sacramentally and really. For having affirmed that wicked men "[20]may not be said to eat the body of Christ, because they are not to be counted among the members of Christ;" he afterward addeth: "[21]Christ himself saying, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, remaineth in me, and I in him,* sheweth what it is, not sacramentally, but indeed, to eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood; for this is to remain in Christ, that Christ likewise may remain in him. For he said this, as if he should have said, He that remaineth not in me, and in whom I do not remain, let not him say or think that he eateth my flesh or drinketh my blood." And in another place, expounding those words of Christ here alleged, he thereupon inferreth thus: "[22]This is therefore to eat that meat and drink that drink; to remain in Christ, and to have Christ remaining in him. And by this, he that remaineth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt doth neither spiritually eat his flesh nor drink his blood; although he do carnally and visibly press with his teeth the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and so rather eateth and drinketh the Sacrament of so great a thing for judgment to himself, because that, being unclean, he did presume to come unto the Sacraments of Christ."

Hence it is that we find so often in him, and in other of the Fathers, that the body and blood of Christ is communicated only unto those that shall live, and not unto those

[20] Nec isti dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 25.

[21] Denique ipse dicens, Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo; ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed revera manducare corpus Christi, et ejus sanguinem bibere: hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret: Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere sanguinem meum. Id. ibid.

[22] Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum; in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc, qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi: sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumpsit ad Christi accedere sacramenta. Id. in Evangel. Johan. Tract. 26.

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that shall die for ever. "[23]He is the bread of life. He therefore that eateth life cannot die. For how should he die whose meat is life? how should he fail who hath a vital substance?" saith St Ambrose. And it is a good note of Macarius, that as men use to give one kind of meat to their servants and another to their children, so Christ, who "[24]created all things, nourisheth indeed evil and ungrateful persons; but the sons which he begat of his own seed, and whom he made partakers of his grace, in whom the Lord is formed, he nourisheth with a peculiar refection and food, and meat and drink beyond other men; giving himself unto them that have their conversation with his Father: as the Lord himself saith: *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, remaineth in me, and I in him, and shall not see death.*" Among the sentences collected by Prosper out of St Augustine, this also is one: "[25]He receiveth the meat of life, and drinketh the cup of eternity, who remaineth in Christ, and whose inhabiter is Christ. For he that is at discord with Christ, doth neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood; although to the judgment of his presumption he indifferently doth receive every day the sacrament of so great a thing." Which distinction between the Sacrament and the thing whereof it is a sacrament, (and consequently between the sacramental and the real eating of the body of Christ,) is thus briefly and most excellently expressed by St Augustine himself in his exposition upon the sixth of John: "[26]The sacrament of this thing is taken from the Lord's table; by

[23] Hic est panis vitæ. Qui ergo vitam manducat, mori non potest. Quomodo enim morietur, cui cibus vita est? quomodo deficiet, qui habuerit vitalem substantiam? Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. Octonar. 18.

[24] Πάντα αὐτὸς ἔκτισε, καὶ τρέφει τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους, τὰ δὲ τέκνα ἃ ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἷς μετέδωκεν ἐκ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐμορφώθη ὁ Κύριος, ἰδίαν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκτρέφει, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφομένοις μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὥς φησιν ὁ Κύριος, Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσει. Macar. Ægypt. Homil. xiv.

[25] Escam vitæ accipit, et æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, et cujus Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit; etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. Prosp. Sentent. 339.

[26] Hujus rei sacramentum, &c. de mensa Dominica sumitur; quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit. August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

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some unto life, by some unto destruction: but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, is received by every man unto life, and by none unto destruction, that is made partaker thereof." Our conclusion therefore is this:

The body and blood of Christ is received by all unto life, and by none unto condemnation.

But that substance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not received by all unto life, but by many unto condemnation.

Therefore that substance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not really the body and blood of Christ.

The first proposition is plainly proved by the texts which have been alleged out of the sixth of John. The second is manifest, both by common experience, and by the testimony of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 17, 27, 29. We may therefore well conclude, that the sixth of John is so far from giving any furtherance to the doctrine of the Romanists in this point, that it utterly overthroweth their fond opinion, who imagine the body and blood of Christ to be in such a sort present under the visible forms of bread and wine, that whosoever receiveth the one, must of force also really be made partaker of the other.

The like are we now to shew in the words of the institution. For the better clearing whereof the reader may be pleased to consider, first, that the words are not, This shall be my body, nor, This is made, or, shall be changed into my body; but, *This* IS *my body.* Secondly, that the word *this* can have relation to no other substance but that which was then present, when our Saviour spake that word; which, as we shall make it plainly appear, was bread. Thirdly, that it being proved that the word *this* doth demonstrate the bread, it must of necessity follow, that Christ affirming that to be his *body*, cannot be conceived to have meant it so to be properly, but relatively and sacramentally.

The first of these is by both sides yielded unto; so likewise is the third. For "this is impossible," saith the gloss [27] upon Gratian, "that bread should be the body of

[27] Hoc tamen est impossibile, quod panis sit corpus Christi. De Consecrat. Dist. II. cap. 55. Panis est in altari. Gloss.

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Christ." And "it cannot be," saith Cardinal [28] Bellarmine, "that that proposition should be true, the former part whereof designeth bread, the latter the body of Christ; forasmuch as bread and the Lord's body be things most diverse." And therefore he confidently affirmeth, that "[29] if the words, *This is my body*, did make this sense, This bread is my body, this sentence must either be taken tropically, that bread may be the body of Christ significatively, or else it is plainly absurd and impossible; for it cannot be," saith he, "that bread should be the body of Christ." For "[30] it is the nature of this verb substantive *est*, or *is*," saith Salmeron, his fellow Jesuit, "that as often as it joineth and coupleth together things of diverse natures, which by the Latins are termed *disparata*, there we must of necessity run to a figure and trope;" and therefore "[31] should we have been constrained to fly to a trope, if he had said, This bread is my body, this wine is my blood; because this had been a predication of disparates, as they call it." Lastly, Doctor [32] Kellison also in like manner doth freely acknowledge, that "If Christ had said, This bread is my body, we must have understood him figuratively and metaphorically." So that the whole matter of difference resteth now upon the second point, whether our Saviour, when he said, *This is my body*, meant any thing to be his body but that bread which was before him. A matter which easily might be determined, in any indifferent man's judgment, by the words immediately going before: *He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.* Luke xxii. 19. For what did he

[28] Non igitur potest fieri, ut vera sit propositio, in qua subjectum supponit pro pane, prædicatum autem pro corpore Christi. Panis enim et corpus Domini res diversissimæ sunt. Bellarmin. de Eucharist. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[29] Ibidem scripsit Lutherus, verba Evangelistæ, Hoc est corpus meum, hunc facere sensum, Hic panis est corpus meum: quæ sententia aut accipi debet tropice, ut panis sit corpus Christi significative; aut est plane absurda et impossibilis; nec enim fieri potest, ut panis sit corpus Christi. Id. lib. i. de Eucharist. cap. 1.

[30] Quarto ducimus argumentum a verbo illo substantivo *est*: cujus ingenium et natura est, ut quoties res diversarum naturarum, quæ Latinis dicuntur disparata, unit et copulat, ibi necessario ad figuram et tropum accurramus. Alphons. Salmeron. Tom. IX. Tractat. 20.

[31] Cogeremur ad tropum confugere, si aliter dixisset, nempe, Hic panis est corpus meum, Hoc vinum est sanguis meus; quia esset prædicatio disparatorum, ut vocant. Id. ib.

[32] Matth. Kellison, Survey of the new Religion, lib. viii. cap. 7. sect. 7.

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demonstrate here, and said was his body, but that which he gave unto his disciples? What did he give unto them, but what he brake? What brake he, but what he took? and doth not the text expressly say, that *he took bread?* Was it not therefore of the bread he said, *This is my body?* And could bread possibly be otherwise understood to have been his body, but as a sacrament, and (as he himself with the same breath declared his own meaning) a memorial thereof?

If these words be not of themselves clear enough, but have need of further exposition, can we look for a better than that which St Paul giveth of them, 1 Cor. x. 16: *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* Did not St Paul therefore so understand Christ, as if he had said, This bread is my body? And if Christ had said so, doth not Kellison confess, and right reason evince, that he must have been understood figuratively? considering that it is simply impossible that bread should really be the body of Christ. If it be said, that St Paul by bread doth not here understand that which is properly bread, but that which lately was bread, but now is become the body of Christ, we must remember, that St Paul doth not only say, *The bread*, but, *The bread which we break;* which breaking, being an accident properly belonging to the bread itself, and not to the body of Christ, (which, being in glory, cannot be subject to any more breaking,) doth evidently shew, that the Apostle by *bread* understandeth bread indeed. Neither can the Romanists well deny this, unless they will deny themselves, and confess that they did but dream all this while they have imagined that the change of the bread into the body of Christ is made by virtue of the sacramental words alone, which have not their effect until they have all been fully uttered. For the pronoun *this*, which is the first of these words, doth point to something which was then present. But no substance was then present but bread; seeing, by their own grounds, the body of Christ cometh not in until the last word of that sentence, yea, and the last syllable of that word, be completely pronounced. What other substance, therefore, can they make this to signify, but this bread only?

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In the institution of the other part of the Sacrament the words are yet more plain, Matth. xxvi. 27, 28: *He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it. For this is my blood of the new Testament;* or, as St Paul and St Luke relate it, *This cup is the new Testament in my blood.* That which he bid them all drink of is that which he said was his blood. But our Saviour could mean nothing but the wine when he said, *Drink ye all of it;* because this sentence was uttered by him before the words of consecration, at which time our adversaries themselves do confess that there was nothing in the cup but wine, or wine and water at the most. It was wine, therefore, which he said was his blood, even *the fruit of the vine*, as he himself termeth it. For as in the delivery of the other cup before the institution of the Sacrament, St Luke, who alone maketh mention of that part of the history, telleth us that he said unto his disciples, [33] *I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come;* so doth St Matthew and St Mark likewise testify, that at the delivery of the sacramental cup, when he had said, *This is my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*, he also added, [34] *But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.* Now, seeing it is contrary both to sense and faith, that wine, or the fruit of the vine, should really be the blood of Christ, (there being that formal difference in the nature of the things, that there is an utter impossibility that in true propriety of speech the one should be the other,) nothing in this world is more plain than, when our Saviour said it was his blood, he could not mean it to be so substantially, but sacramentally.

And what other interpretation can the Romanists themselves give of those words of the institution in St Paul: [35] *This cup is the new Testament in my blood?* How is the cup, or the thing contained in the cup, *the new Testament*, otherwise than as a Sacrament of it? Mark how in the like case the Lord himself, at the institution of the first Sacrament of the old Testament, useth the same manner

[33] Luke xxii. 18.

[34] Matth. xxvi. 29; Mar. xiv. 25.

[35] Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

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of speech, Gen. xvii. 10: [36] *This is my Covenant* or *Testament*, for the Greek word in both places is the same; and in the words presently following thus expoundeth his own meaning: [37] *It shall be a* SIGN *of the Covenant betwixt me and you.* And generally for all sacraments the rule is thus laid down by St Augustine, in his Epistle to Bonifacius: "[38] If sacraments did not some manner of way resemble the things whereof they are sacraments, they should not be sacraments at all. And for this resemblance they do oftentimes also bear the names of the things themselves. As therefore the Sacrament of the body of Christ is after a certain manner the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, so likewise the Sacrament of faith is faith." By the Sacrament of faith he understandeth baptism, of which he afterward allegeth that saying of the Apostle, Rom. vi. 4: *We are buried with Christ by baptism into death;* and then addeth: "[39] He saith not, We signify his burial, but he plainly saith, *We are buried.* Therefore the Sacrament of so great a thing he would not otherwise call but by the name of the thing itself." And in his Questions upon Leviticus: "[40] The thing that signifieth," saith he, "useth to be called by the name of that thing which it signifieth; as it is written, *The seven ears of corn are seven years*, (for he said not, They signify seven years,) *and the seven kine are seven years;* and many such like. Hence was that saying, *The rock was Christ.* For he said not, The rock did signify Christ; but as if

[36] Καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διατηρήσεις ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. Gen. xvii. 10.

[37] Καὶ ἔσται ἐν σημείῳ (vel εἰς σημεῖον) διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. Gen. xvii. 11.

[38] Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Aug. Ep. 23.

[39] Non ait, Sepulturam significamus: sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Id. ibid.

[40] Solet autem res quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est: Septem spicæ septem anni sunt (non enim dixit, Septem annos significant), et septem boves septem anni sunt: et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est: Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum; sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. Sic et sanguis, quoniam propter vitalem quandam corpulentiam animam significat, in sacramentis anima dictus est. Aug. in Lev. Qu. 57.

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it had been that very thing, which doubtless by substance it was not, but by signification. So also the blood, because for a certain vital corpulency which it hath it signifieth the soul, after the manner of sacraments it is called the soul." Our argument therefore out of the words of the institution standeth thus:

If it be true that Christ called bread his body and wine his blood, then must it be true also, that the things which he honoured with those names cannot be really his body and blood, but figuratively and sacramentally.

But the former is true; therefore also the latter.

The first proposition hath been proved by the undoubted principles of right reason, and the clear confession of the adverse part; the second by the circumstances of the text of the Evangelists, by the exposition of St Paul, and by the received grounds of the Romanists themselves. The conclusion therefore resteth firm; and so we have made it clear, that the words of the institution do not only not uphold, but directly also overthrow, the whole frame of that which the Church of Rome teacheth touching the corporal presence of Christ under the forms of bread and wine.

If I should now lay down here all the sentences of the Fathers which teach that that which Christ called his body is bread in substance, and the body of the Lord in signification and sacramental relation, I should never make an end. Justin Martyr, in his Apology to Antoninus the Emperor, telleth us that the bread and the wine, even that "[41]sanctified food wherewith our blood and flesh by conversion are nourished," is that which "we are taught to be the flesh and blood of Jesus incarnate." Irenæus, in his 4th book against Heresies, saith that our Lord, "[42]taking bread of that condition which is usual among us, confessed it to be his body;" and "[43]the cup" likewise, containing "that

[41] Εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Just. Apolog. II.

[42] Quomodo autem juste Dominus, si alterius patris existit, hujus conditionis, quæ est secundum nos, accipiens panem, suum corpus esse confitebatur; et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 57.

[43] Calicem, qui est ex ea creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est. Id. lib. iv. cap. 32.

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creature which is usual among us, his blood." And in his 5th book he addeth: "[44]That cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his blood which was shed, whereby he increaseth our blood; and that bread which is of the creature, to be his body, whereby he increaseth our bodies. Therefore when the mixed cup and the broken bread doth receive the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ, whereby the substance of our flesh is increased and doth consist." Our Lord, saith Clemens Alexandrinus, "[45]did bless wine, when he said, *Take, drink, this is my blood, the blood of the vine.*" Tertullian: [46]Christ, "taking bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, *This is my body;* that is, the figure of my body." Origen: "[47]That meat which *is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer,* as touching the material part thereof, goeth into the belly, and is voided into the draught; but as touching the prayer which is added, according to the proportion of faith it is made profitable, enlightening the mind, and making it to behold that which is profitable. Neither is it the matter of bread, but the word spoken over it, which profiteth him that doth not unworthily eat thereof. And these things I speak of the typical and symbolical body," saith Origen. In the Dialogues against the Marcionites, collected for the most part out of the writings of Maximus, who lived in the time of the Emperors Commodus and Severus, Origen, who is made the chief speaker therein, is brought in thus disputing against

[44] Eum calicem qui est creatura, suum sanguinem qui effusus est, ex quo auget nostrum sanguinem; et eum panem qui est a creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando ergo et mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. Id. lib. v. cap. 2. edit. Colon. ann. 1596.

[45] Εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπών, Λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[46] Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Tertul. advers. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 40.

[47] Ille cibus, qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur: ceterum juxta precationem quæ illi accessit, proportione fidei fit utilis, efficiens ut perspicax fiat animus, spectans ad id quod utile est. Nec materia panis, sed super illum dictus sermo est, qui prodest non indigne Domino comedenti illum. Et hæc quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore. Origen. in Matth. cap. xv.

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the heretics: "[48] If Christ, as these men say, were without body and blood, of what kind of flesh, or of what body, or of what kind of blood, did he give the bread and the cup to be images of, when he commanded his disciples by them to make a commemoration of him?" St Cyprian also noteth, [49] that it was wine, even the fruit of the vine, which the Lord said was his blood; and that "[50] flour alone, or water alone, cannot be the body of our Lord, unless both be united and coupled together, and kneaded into the lump of one bread." And again, that "[51] the Lord calleth bread his body, which is made up by the uniting of many corns;" and "wine his blood, which is pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and gathered into one" liquor. Which I find also word for word in a manner transcribed in the Commentaries upon the Gospels, attributed unto [52] Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch; whereby it appeareth, that in those elder times the words of the institution were no otherwise conceived than as if Christ had plainly said, This bread is my body, and, This wine is my blood; which is the main thing that we strive for with our adversaries, and for which the words themselves are plain enough; the substance whereof we find thus laid down in the Harmony of the Gospels, gathered, as some say, by Tatianus, as others, by Ammonius, within the second or the third age after Christ: "[53] Having taken the bread, then afterward the cup of wine, and testified it to be his body and blood, he commanded them to eat and drink thereof, forasmuch as it was the memorial of his future passion and death."

[48] Εἰ δ', ὡς οὗτοι φασὶν, ἄσαρκος καὶ ἄναιμος ἦν, ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ τίνος σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτον τε καὶ ποτήριον, ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι; Orig. Dial. III.

[49] Qua in parte invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit. Cypri. Epist. LXIII. sect. 6.

[50] Nec corpus Domini potest esse farina sola, aut aqua sola; nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum, et panis unius compage solidatum. Id. ibid. sect. 10.

[51] Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum, quem portabat, indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat, commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. Id. Epist. LXXVI. sect. 4.

[52] Theoph. Antioch. in Evan. lib. i. p. 152. Tom. II. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Colon.

[53] Mox accepto pane, deinde vini calice, corpus esse suum ac sanguinem testatus, manducare illos jussit et bibere; quod ea sit futuræ calamitatis suæ mortisque memoria. Ammon. Harmon. Evang. Tom. III. Biblioth. Patr. p. 28.

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To the Fathers of the first three hundred years we will now adjoin the testimonies of those that flourished in the ages following. The first whereof shall be Eusebius, who saith that our Saviour "[54]delivered to his disciples the symbols of his divine dispensation, commanding them to make the image of his own body;" and "[55]appointing them to use bread for the symbol of his body;" and that we still "[56]celebrate upon the Lord's table the memory of his sacrifice by the symbols of his body and blood, according to the ordinances of the New Testament." Acacius, who succeeded him in his bishopric, saith that "[57]the bread and wine sanctifieth them that feed upon that matter;" acknowledging thereby that the material part of those outward elements do still remain. "In the Church," saith [58]Macarius, "is offered bread and wine, the type of his flesh and blood; and they which are partakers of the visible bread do spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord." Christ, saith St [59]Jerome, "did not offer water, but wine, for the type of his blood." St Augustine bringeth in our Saviour thus speaking of this matter: "[60]You shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink that blood which they shall shed that will crucify me. I have commended a certain Sacrament unto you, that being spiritually understood will quicken you." The same Father in another place writeth, that [61]Christ admitted Judas to "that banquet wherein he commended and delivered unto his disciples the figure of his body and blood;" but, as he

[54] Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος. Euseb. lib. viii. Demonst. Evang. in fine cap. 1.

[55] Ἄρτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου. Id. ibid.

[56] Τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος, κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες. Id. lib. i. Demonstr. cap. ult.

[57] Panis vinumque ex hac materia vescentes sanctificat. Acac. in Gen. ii. Græc. Caten. in Pentateuch. Zephyro interp.

[58] Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι. Macar. Ægypt. Homil. XXVII.

[59] In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum. Hieronym. lib. ii. advers. Jovinian.

[60] Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos. Augustin. in Psal. xcviii.

[61] Adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit. Id. in Psal. iii.

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elsewhere [62]addeth, "they did eat that bread which was the Lord himself; he the bread of the Lord against the Lord." Lastly: "The Lord," saith he, "[63]did not doubt to say, *This is my body*, when he gave the sign of his body."

So the author of the homily upon the 22d Psalm, among the works of Chrysostom: "[64]This table he hath prepared for his servants and handmaids in their sight, that he might every day, for a similitude of the body and blood of Christ, shew unto us in a sacrament bread and wine after the order of Melchisedec." And St Chrysostom himself, in his Epistle written to Cæsarius against the heresy of Apollinarius: "[65]As, before the bread be sanctified, we call it bread, but when God's grace hath sanctified it by the means of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is reputed worthy the name of the Lord's body, although the nature of the bread remain still in it; and it is not called two bodies, but one body of God's Son: so likewise here, the divine nature residing in the body of Christ, these two make one Son and one person." In the selfsame manner also do Theodoret, Gelasius, and Ephræmius proceed against the Eutychian heretics. Theodoret, for his part, layeth down these grounds: That our Saviour, "[66]in the delivery of the mysteries, called bread his body, and that which was mixed" in the cup "his blood:" that [67]he "changed the names, and gave to the body the name of the symbol" or

[62] Illi manducabant panem Dominum: ille panem Domini contra Dominum. Id. in Evang. Johan. Tract. LIX.

[63] Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui. Aug. contr. Adimant. cap. 12.

[64] Istam mensam præparavit servis et ancillis in conspectu eorum, ut quotidie, in similitudinem corporis et sanguinis Christi, panem et vinum secundum ordinem Melchisedec nobis ostenderet in sacramento. In Psal. xxii. Chrysost. Tom. I.

[65] Sicut enim, antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus; divina illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit; et non duo corpora, sed unum Filii corpus prædicatur: sic et hic, divina inundante corporis natura (*vel potius*, divina natura in corpore insidente: *Græce enim* ἐνιδρυσάσης *hic legitur in MS. Bibliothecæ Florentinæ exemplari, unde ista transtulit Petrus Martyr*) unum filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt. Chrysost. ad Cæsarium monachum.

[66] Ἐν δὲ γε τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα. Theod. Dialog. I. Ἄτρεπτος, fol. 8. edit. Rom. ann. 1547.

[67] Ὁ δέ γε σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. Ib.

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sign, "and to the symbol the name of the body:" that he "[68]honoured the visible symbols with the name of his body and blood; not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature:" and that "[69]this most holy food is a symbol and type of those things whose names it beareth," to wit, "of the body and blood of Christ." Gelasius writeth thus: "[70]The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ are a divine thing, by means whereof we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not cease to be. And indeed the image and the similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It appeareth, therefore, evidently enough unto us, that we are to hold the same opinion of the Lord Christ himself which we profess, celebrate, and are, in his image; that as" those Sacraments, "by the operation of the holy Spirit, pass into this, that is, into the divine substance, and yet remain in the propriety of their own nature; so that principal mystery itself, whose force and virtue they truly represent," should be conceived to be, namely, to consist of two natures, divine and human; the one not abolishing the truth of the other. Lastly, Ephræmius, the Patriarch of Antioch, having spoken of the distinction of these two natures in Christ, and said, that "[71]no man having understanding could say, that there was the same nature of that which could be handled,

[68] Τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. Ibid.

[69] Σύμβολόν τε καὶ τύπον ἐκείνων, ὧν καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐδέξαντο. Ibid.

[70] Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeant, sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanentes tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, &c. Gelas. de Duab. Natur. in Christo, contra Eutychen.

[71] Ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναται νοῦν ἔχων, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητοῦ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτου, καὶ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου. οὕτως καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται (Schottus the Jesuit translateth this, *et sensibilis essentiæ non cognoscitur*, which is a strange interpretation, if you mark it) καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικὸν ὅλον γενόμενον, καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν. Ephræmius de Sacris Antiochiæ Legib. lib. i. in Photii Bibliotheca, Cod. 229.

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and of that which could not be handled, of that which was visible, and of that which was invisible;" addeth, "And even thus the body of Christ which is received by the faithful," (the Sacrament he meaneth,) "doth neither depart from its sensible substance, and yet remaineth undivided from intelligible grace; and baptism, being wholly made spiritual, and remaining one, doth both retain the property of its sensible substance, (of water, I mean,) and yet loseth not that which it is made."

Thus have we produced evidences of all sorts, for confirmation of the doctrine by us professed touching the blessed Sacrament, which cannot but give sufficient satisfaction to all that with any indifferency will take the matter into their consideration. But the men with whom we have to deal are so far fallen out with the truth, that neither sense nor reason, neither authority of Scriptures or of Fathers, can persuade them to be friends again with it; unless we shew unto them in what Pope's days the contrary falsehood was first devised. If nothing else will give them content, we must put them in mind, that about the time wherein Soter was Bishop of Rome, there lived a cozening companion, called Marcus, whose qualities are thus set out by an ancient Christian, [72] who was famous in those days, though now his name be unknown unto us:

Εἰδωλοποιὲ Μάρκε, καὶ τερατοσκόπε,
Ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης,
Δι' ὧν κρατύνεις τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,
Σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ πλανωμένοις,
Ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐγχειρήματα,
Ἃ σοὶ χορηγεῖ σὸς πατὴρ Σατᾶν ἀεὶ
Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζὴλ ποῖειν,
Ἔχων σὲ πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας.

Where, first, he chargeth him to have been an idol-maker; then he objecteth unto him his skill in astrology and magic, by means whereof, and by the assistance of Satan, he laboured with a shew of miracles to win credit unto his false doctrines amongst his seduced disciples; and

[72] Vet. auctor citatus ab Irenæo, lib. i. cap. 12.

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lastly, he concludeth that his father the devil had employed him as a forerunner of his antithean craft, or his antichristian *deceivableness of unrighteousness*, if you will have it in the Apostle's language. For he was indeed the devil's forerunner, both for the [73]idolatries and sorceries which afterward were brought into the East, and for those [74]Romish fornications and enchantments wherewith the whole West was corrupted by that *man of sin*, [75]*whose coming* was foretold to be *after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders.* And that we may keep ourselves within the compass of that particular which now we have in hand, we find in Irenæus that this arch-heretic made special use of his juggling feats to breed a persuasion in the minds of those whom he had perverted, that in the cup of his pretended Eucharist he really delivered them blood to drink. For "[76]feigning himself to consecrate the cups filled with wine, and extending the words of invocation to a great length, he made them to appear of a purple and red colour, to the end it might be thought that the grace which is above all things did distil the blood thereof into that cup by his invocation." And even according to this precedent we find it fell out afterwards, that the principal and most powerful means whereby the like gross conceit of the guttural eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ was at the first fastened upon the multitude, and in process of time more deeply rooted in them, were such delusions and feigned apparitions as these; which yet that great schoolman himself, Alexander of Hales, confesseth to happen sometimes, either by "[77]the procurement of man," or by "the operation of the devil." Paschasius Radbertus, who was one of the first setters forward of this doctrine in the West, spendeth a large chapter upon this point, wherein he telleth us, [78]that Christ in the Sacrament did shew him-

[73] Apoc. ix. 20, 21.

[74] Apoc. xviii. 3, 23.

[75] 2 Thess. ii. 9.

[76] Ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ. Iren. lib. i. cap. 9.

[77] Humana procuratione, vel forte diabolica operatione. Alex. Halens. Summ. Theolog. Part. iv. Quæst. XI. Memb. 2. Art. 4. Sect. 3.

[78] Nemo qui sanctorum vitas et exempla legerit, potest ignorare, quod sæpe hæc mystica corporis et sanguinis sacramenta, aut propter dubios, aut certe propter ardentius amantes Christum, visibili specie in agni forma, aut in carnis et sanguinis

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self "oftentimes in a visible shape, either in the form of a lamb, or in the colour of flesh and blood, so that while the host was a breaking or an offering, a lamb in the priest's hands, and blood in the chalice should be seen as it were flowing from the sacrifice, that what lay hid in a mystery might to them that yet doubted be made manifest in a miracle." And specially in that place he insisteth upon a narration which he found *in gestis Anglorum*, (but deserved well to have been put into *gesta Romanorum* for the goodness of it,) of one Plecgils or Plegilus, a priest, how an angel shewed Christ unto him in the form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took into his arms and kissed, but ate him up afterwards, when he was returned to his former shape again. Whereof arose that jest which Berengarius was wont to use: "[79]This was a proper piece of the knave indeed, that whom he had kissed with his mouth he would devour with his teeth."

But there are three other tales of singular note, which, though they may justly strive for winning of the whetstone with any other, yet for their antiquity have gained credit above the rest, being devised, as it seemeth, much about the same time with that other of Plegilus, but having relation unto higher times. The first was had out of the English legends too, as [80]Johannes Diaconus reporteth it in the life of Gregory the First, of a Roman matron, who found a piece of the sacramental bread turned into the fashion of a finger, all bloody; which afterwards, upon the prayers of St Gregory, was converted to its former shape again. The other two were first coined by the Grecian liars, and from them conveyed unto the Latins, and registered in the book which they called *Vitas Patrum*, which being commonly believed to have been collected by St [81]Jerome, and accustomed to be read ordinarily in every monastery,

colore monstrata sint; quatenus de se Christus clementer adhuc non credentibus fidem faceret: ita ut dum oblata frangitur vel offertur hostia, videretur agnus in manibus, et cruor in calice, quasi ex immolatione profluere; ut quod latebat in mysterio, patesceret adhuc dubitantibus in miraculo. Paschas. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. 14.

[79] Speciosa certe pax nebulonis; ut cui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium. Gulielm. Malmsbur. de Gestis Reg. Anglor. lib. iii.

[80] Johan. Diac. Vit. Greg. lib. ii. cap. 41.

[81] Sanctus Hieronymus presbyter ipsas Sanctorum Patrum Vitas Latino edidit sermone. Paschas. Radbert. in Epist. ad Frudegard. Consule libros Carolinos, de Imaginib. lib. iv. cap. 11.

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gave occasion of further spread, and made much way for the progress of this mystery of iniquity. The former of these is not only related [82]there, but also in the legend of Simeon Metaphrastes, (which is such another author among the Grecians as Jacobus de Voragine was among the Latins,) in the [83]life of Arsenius, how that a little child was seen upon the altar, and an angel cutting him into small pieces with a knife, and receiving his blood into the chalice, as long as the priest was breaking the bread into little parts. The latter is of a certain Jew, receiving the Sacrament at St Basil's hands, converted visibly into true flesh and blood, which is expressed by Cyrus Theodorus Prodromus in this tetrastich:

> Χριστιανῶν ποτὲ παῖζε θυηπολίην Ἔβερ υἱὸς,
> Ἄρτον τ' εἰσορόων, καὶ αἴθοπα κανῷ ἐπ' οἶνον·
> Τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Βασιλείου κέαρ ἁγνὸν,
> Πόρσυνέν οἱ φαγέειν, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ κρέας αἷμα τ' ἀμείφθη.

But the chief author of the fable was a cheating fellow, who, [84]that he might lie with authority, took upon him the name of Amphilochius, St Basil's companion, and set out a book of his life, [85]fraught with leasings, as Cardinal Baronius himself acknowledgeth. St Augustine's conclusion, therefore, may here well take place: "[86]Let those things be taken away which are either fictions of lying men, or wonders wrought by evil spirits. For either there is no truth in these reports, or if there be any strange things done by heretics, we ought the more to beware of them, because, when the Lord had said that certain deceivers should come, who by doing of some wonders should *seduce, if it were possible, the very elect*, he very earnestly commended

[82] Inter sententias Patrum, a Pelagio Romanæ ecclesiæ diacono Latine versas, libell. 18, cui titulus de Providentia, vel Prævidentia; sive, ut in Photii Bibliotheca habetur, Cod. 98. περὶ διορατικῶν.

[83] Tom. IV. Surii, p. 257, edit. Colon. ann. 1573.

[84] Nomen Amphilochii ad mentiendum accepit. Baron. Tom. IV. ann. 369, sect. 43.

[85] Scatens mendaciis. Id. ibid. ann. 363, sect. 55.

[86] Removeantur ista vel figmenta mendacium hominum, vel portenta fallacium spirituum. Aut enim non sunt vera quæ dicuntur; aut si hæreticorum aliqua mira facta sunt, magis cavere debemus: quod cum dixisset Dominus quosdam futuros esse fallaces, qui nonnulla signa faciendo etiam electos, si fieri posset, fallerent; adjecit vehementer commendans, et ait, Ecce prædixi vobis. August. de Unitat. Eccles. cap. 16.

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this unto our consideration, and said, *Behold, I have told you before;*" yea, and added a further charge also, that if these impostors should say unto us of him, [87] *Behold, he is in secret closets,* we should not believe it: which whether it be appliable to them who tell us that Christ is to be found in a pix, and think that they have him in safe custody under lock and key, I leave to the consideration of others.

The thing which now I would have further observed is only this, that, as that wretched heretic who first went about to persuade men by his lying wonders, that he really delivered blood unto them in the cup of the Eucharist, was censured for being εἰδωλοποιὸς, an idol-maker; so in after-ages, from the idol-makers and image-worshippers of the East it was that this gross opinion of the oral eating and drinking of Christ in the Sacrament drew its first breath; [88] God having, for their idolatry, justly given them up unto *a reprobate mind,* that they might *receive that recompence of their error which was meet.* The Pope's name, in whose days this fell out, was Gregory the Third; the man's name, who was the principal setter of it abroach, was [89] John Damascen, one that laid the foundation of school-divinity among the Greeks, as Peter Lombard afterwards did among the Latins. On the contrary side, they who opposed the idolatry of those times, and more especially the 338 Bishops assembled together at the Council of Constantinople in the year 754, maintained, that Christ "[90] chose no other shape or type under heaven to represent his incarnation by," but the Sacrament, which "[91] he delivered to his ministers for a type and a most effectual commemoration" thereof; "[92] commanding the substance of bread to be offered, which did not any way resemble the form of a man, that so no occasion might be given of bringing in idolatry;" which bread they affirmed to be the body of Christ, not φύσει,

[87] Matt. xxiv. 26.

[88] Rom. i. 27, 28.

[89] Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. iv. cap. 14.

[90] Ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου εἴδους ἐπιλεχθέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἢ τύπου εἰκονίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σάρκωσιν δυναμένου.

[91] Εἰς τύπον καὶ ἀνάμνησιν ἐναργεστάτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ μύσταις παραδέδωκε.

[92] Ἄρτον οὐσίαν προσέταξε προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ.

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but *θέσει*, that is, as they themselves expound it, "[93]a holy" and "[94]a true image of his natural flesh."

These assertions of theirs are to be found in the [95]third tome of the sixth Action of the second Council of Nice, assembled not long after for the re-establishing of images in the Church, where a pratchant deacon, called Epiphanius, to cross that which those former bishops had delivered, confidently avoucheth, that none of the Apostles nor of the Fathers did ever call the Sacrament an image of the body of Christ. He confesseth indeed that some of the Fathers (as Eustathius expounding the Proverbs of Solomon, and St Basil in his Liturgy) do call the bread and wine *ἀντίτυπα*, *correspondent types* or *figures*, before they were consecrated; "[96]but after the consecration," saith he, "they are called, and are, and believed to be the body and blood of Christ properly;" where the Pope's own followers, who of late published the Acts of the general Councils at Rome, were so far ashamed of the ignorance of this blind bayard, that they correct his boldness with this marginal note: "[97]The holy gifts are oftentimes found to be called antitypes," or figures correspondent, "after they be consecrated; as by Gregory Nazianzen in the Funeral Oration upon his sister, and in his Apology; by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fifth Cateches. Mystagogic.; and by others." And we have already heard how the author of the Dialogues against the Marcionites, and after him Eusebius and Gelasius, expressly call the Sacrament an image of Christ's body; howsoever this peremptory clerk denieth that ever any did so. By all which it may easily appear that not the oppugners, but the defenders of images, were the men who first went about herein to alter the language used by their forefathers.

Now, as in the days of Gregory the Third this matter was set afoot by Damascen in the East, so about a hundred

[93] Τὸ θέσει, ἤτοι ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἁγία.

[94] Τὸν τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον, ὡς ἀψευδῆ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς, &c. So a little after it is called ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, and ἀψευδὴς εἰκὼν τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ.

[95] Concil. Gener. Tom. III. p. 599, 600. edit. Rom.

[96] Πρὸ τοῦ ἁγιασθῆναι ἐκλήθη ἀντίτυπα, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν σῶμα κυρίως καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ λέγονται, καὶ εἰσὶ, καὶ πιστεύονται. Ibid. p. 601.

[97] Ἀντίτυπα μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι πολλάκις εὕρηται καλούμενα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα· οἷον παρὰ Γρηγορ. τῷ θεολ. ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπιτ. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ παρὰ Κυρίλλῳ Ἱεροσολ. κατηχ. μυστ. ε. καὶ ἄλλοις. Ib. in margine.

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years after, in the papacy of Gregory the Fourth, the same began to be propounded in the West by means of one Amalarius, who was bishop, not, as he is commonly taken to be, of Triers, but of Mets first, and afterwards of Lyons. This man, writing doubtfully of this point, otherwhiles followeth the doctrine of St Augustine, [98]that Sacraments were oftentimes called by the names of the things themselves, and so the Sacrament of Christ's body was *secundum quendam modum*, "after a certain manner the body of Christ;" otherwhiles maketh it a part of his [99]belief, that "the simple nature of the bread and wine mixed is turned into a reasonable nature, to wit, of the body and blood of Christ." But what should become of this body after the eating thereof, was a matter that went beyond his little wit; and therefore, said he, "[100]when the body of Christ is taken with a good intention, it is not for me to dispute whether it be invisibly taken up into heaven, or kept in our body until the day of our burial, or exhaled into the air, or whether it go out of the body with the blood," at the opening of a vein, "or be sent out by the mouth; our Lord saying that *every thing which entereth into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is sent forth into the draught.*" For this and another like foolery [101]*de triformi et tripartito corpore Christi*, "of the three parts or kinds of Christ's body," (which seem to be those *ineptiæ de tripartito Christi corpore*, that Paschasius in the end of his Epistle intreateth Frudegardus not to follow,) he was censured in a [102]Synod held at Carisiacum, or Cressy; wherein it was declared by the bishops of France, that "[103]the bread and wine are spiritually made the body of Christ; which being a meat of the mind,

[98] Amalar. de Ecclesiastic. Offic. lib. i. cap. 24.

[99] Hic credimus naturam simplicem panis et vini mixti verti in naturam rationabilem, scilicet corporis et sanguinis Christi. Id. lib. iii. cap. 24.

[100] Ita vero sumtum corpus Domini bona intentione, non est mihi disputandum utrum invisibiliter assumatur in cœlum, aut reservetur in corpore nostro usque in diem sepulturæ, aut exhaletur in auras, aut exeat de corpore cum sanguine, aut per os emittatur; dicente Domino, Omne quod intrat in os in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur. Idem in Epistola ad Guitardum MS. in Biblioth. Colleg. S. Benedict. Cantabrig. Cod. LV.

[101] Id. de Ecclesiast. Offic. lib. iii. cap. 35.

[102] Florus in Actis Synod. Carisiac. MS. apud N. Ranchinum, in Senatu Tolosano Regium Consiliarium. Vide Phil. Morn. de Miss. lib. iv. cap. 8.

[103] Panis et vinum efficitur spiritualiter corpus Christi, &c. Mentis ergo est cibus iste, non ventris; nec corrumpitur, sed permanet in vitam æternam. Ibid.

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and not of the belly, is not corrupted, but remaineth unto everlasting life."

These dotages of Amalarius did not only give occasion to that question propounded by Heribaldus to Rabanus, whereof we have spoken [104]heretofore, but also to that other of far greater consequence, Whether that which was externally delivered and received in the Sacrament were the very same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, and rose again from the grave? Paschasius Radbertus, a deacon of those times, but somewhat of a better and more modest temper than the Greek deacon shewed himself to be of, held that it was the very same, and to that purpose wrote his book to Placidus *of the body and blood of our Lord;* wherein, saith a Jesuit, "[105]he was the first that did so explicate the true sense of the Catholic Church," (his own Roman he meaneth,) "that he opened the way to those many others who wrote afterwards of the same argument." Rabanus, on the other side, in his answer to Heribaldus, and in a former writing directed to Abbot Egilo, maintained the contrary doctrine, as hath before been noted. Then one Frudegardus, reading the third book of St Augustine *de Doctrina Christiana*, and finding there that the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of Christ was a figurative manner of speech, began somewhat to doubt of the truth of that which formerly he had read in that foresaid treatise of Paschasius; which moved Paschasius to write again of the same argument, as of a question wherein he confesseth "[106]many were then doubtful." But neither by his first nor by his second writing was he able to take these doubts out of men's minds; and therefore Carolus Calvus, the Emperor, being desirous to compose these differences, and to have unity settled among his subjects, required Ratrannus, a learned man of that time, who lived in the monastery of Corbey, whereof Paschasius had been abbot, to deliver his judgment touching these points:

[104] Supra p. 15.

[105] Genuinum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sensum ita primus explicuit, ut viam ceteris aperuerit, qui de eodem argumento multi postea scripsere. Jac. Sirmond. in Vita Radberti. Hic auctor primus fuit, qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia. Bell. de Script. Ecclesiast.

[106] Quæris enim de re ex qua multi dubitant. And again: Quamvis multi ex hoc dubitent, quomodo ille integer manet, et hoc corpus Christi et sanguis esse possit. Pasch. Epist. ad Frudegard.

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"[107]Whether the body and blood of Christ, which in the Church is received by the mouth of the faithful, be celebrated in a mystery, or in the truth; and whether it be the same body which was born of Mary, which did suffer, was dead and buried, and which rising again, and ascending into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father?" Whereunto he returneth this answer: that "[108]the bread and the wine are the body and blood of Christ figuratively;" that "[109]for the substance of the creatures, that which they were before consecration, the same are they also afterward;" that "[110]they are called the Lord's body and the Lord's blood, because they take the name of that thing of which they are a sacrament;" and that "[111]there is a great difference betwixt the mystery of the blood and body of Christ, which is taken now by the faithful in the Church, and that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered, which was buried, which rose again, which sitteth at the right hand of the Father." All which he proveth at large, both [112]by testimonies of the holy Scriptures, and by the sayings of the ancient Fathers. Whereupon Turrian the Jesuit is driven for pure need to shift off the matter with this silly interrogation: "[113]To cite Bertram," (so Ratrannus is more usually named,) "what is it else but to say, that the heresy of Calvin is not new?" As if these things were alleged by us for any other end than to shew, that this

[107] Quod in ecclesia ore fidelium sumitur corpus et sanguis Christi, quærit vestræ magnitudinis excellentia, in mysterio fiat, an in veritate, &c. et utrum ipsum corpus sit, quod de Maria natum est, et passum, mortuum et sepultum, quodque resurgens et cœlos ascendens, ad dextram Patris consideat? Ratrann. sive Bertram. in lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. edit. Colon. ann. 1551. p. 180.

[108] Panis ille vinumque figurate Christi corpus et sanguis existit. Ibid. p. 183.

[109] Nam secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et postea consistunt. Ibid. p. 205.

[110] Dominicum corpus et sanguis Dominicus appellantur; quoniam ejus sumunt appellationem, cujus existunt sacramentum. Ibid. p. 200.

[111] Videmus itaque multa differentia separari mysterium sanguinis et corporis Christi, quod nunc a fidelibus sumitur in ecclesia, et illud quod natum est de Maria Virgine, quod passum, quod sepultum, quod resurrexit, quod cœlos ascendit, quod ad dextram Patris sedet. Ibid. p. 222.

[112] Animadvertat, clarissime Princeps, sapientia vestra, quod positis sanctarum Scripturarum testimoniis et sanctorum Patrum dictis evidentissime monstratum est; quod panis qui corpus Christi, et calix qui sanguis Christi appellatur, figura sit, quia mysterium; et quod non parva differentia sit inter corpus quod per mysterium existit, et corpus quod passum est, et sepultum, et resurrexit. Ibid. p. 228.

[113] Ceterum Bertramum citare, quid aliud est, quam dicere, hæresim Calvini non esse novam? Fr. Turrian. de Eucharist. contra Volanum, lib. i. cap. 22.

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way which they call heresy is not new, but hath been trodden in long since by such as in their times were accounted good and catholic teachers in the Church: that since they have been esteemed otherwise, is an argument of the alteration of the times, and of the conversion of the state of things; which is the matter that now we are enquiring of, and which our adversaries, in an evil hour to them, do so earnestly press us to discover.

The Emperor Charles, unto whom this answer of Ratrannus was directed, had then in his court a famous countryman of ours, called Johannes Scotus, who wrote a book of the same argument and to the same effect that the other had done. This man for his extraordinary learning was in England (where he lived in great account with King Alfred) surnamed John the Wise, and had very lately a room in the [114]Martyrology of the Church of Rome, though now he be ejected thence. We find him indeed censured by the Church of Lyons and others in that time, for certain opinions which he delivered touching God's foreknowledge and predestination before the beginning of the world, man's freewill, and the concurrence thereof with grace in this present world, and the manner of the punishment of reprobate men and angels in the world to come; but we find not any where that this book of the Sacrament was condemned before the days of [115]Lanfranc, who was the first that leavened the Church of England afterward with this corrupt doctrine of the carnal presence. Till then, this question of the real presence continued still in debate; and it was as free for any man to follow the doctrine of Ratrannus or Johannes Scotus therein, as that of Paschasius Radbertus, which, since the time of Satan's loosing, obtained the upper hand. "[116]Men have often searched, and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes, is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord's blood;" saith Ælfrick, abbot of Malmsbury, in his Saxon Homily, written about 605 years ago. His resolu-

[114] Martyrolog. Rom. IV. Id. Novemb. edit. Antuerp. ann. 1586.

[115] Lanfranc. lib. de Sacrament. Eucharist. contra Berengar.

[116] Homilia Paschalis, Anglo-Saxonice impressa Londini per Jo. Daium, et MS. in Publica Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliotheca.

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tion is not only the same with that of Ratrannus, but also in many places directly translated out of him, as may appear by these passages following, compared with his Latin laid down in the margin:

"[117]The bread and the wine, which by the Priest's ministry is hallowed, shew one thing without to men's senses, and another thing they call within to believing minds. Without they be seen bread and wine both in figure and in taste; and they be truly after their hallowing Christ's body and his blood by spiritual mystery." "[118]So the holy font-water, that is called the well-spring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water through the Priest's blessing, and it may after wash the body and soul from all sin by spiritual virtue. Behold now, we see two things in this one creature; in true nature that water is corruptible moisture, and in spiritual mystery hath healing virtue. So also, if we behold that holy housel after bodily sense, then see we that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein spiritual virtue, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief." "[119]Much is betwixt the body Christ suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel." "[120]The body truly that Christ

[117] Ille panis qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat. Exterius quidem panis, quod ante fuerat, forma prætenditur, color ostenditur, sapor accipitur; ast interius Christi corpus ostenditur. Ratrann. sive Bertram. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. p. 182.

[118] Consideremus fontem sacri baptismatis, qui fons vitæ non immerito nuncupatur, &c. In eo si consideretur solummodo quod corporeus aspicit sensus, elementum fluidum conspicitur, corruptioni subjectum, nec nisi corpora lavandi potentiam obtinere. Sed accessit Sancti Spiritus per Sacerdotis consecrationem virtus; et efficax facta est non solum corpora, verum etiam animas diluere, et spirituales sordes spirituali potentia dimovere. Ecce in uno eodemque elemento duo videmus inesse sibi resistentia, &c. Igitur in proprietate humor corruptibilis, in mysterio vero virtus sanabilis. Sic itaque Christi corpus et sanguis, superficie tenus considerata, creatura est, mutabilitati corruptelæque subjecta: si mysterii vero perpendis virtutem, vita est, participantibus se tribuens immortalitatem. Ibid. p. 187, 188.

[119] Multa differentia separantur corpus in quo passus est Christus, et hoc corpus quod in mysterio passionis Christi quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Ibid. p. 212 et 222.

[120] Illa namque caro quæ crucifixa est, de Virginis carne facta est, ossibus et nervis compacta, et humanorum membrorum lineamentis distincta, rationalis animæ spiritu vivificata in propriam vitam et congruentes motus. At vero caro spiritualis, quæ populum credentem spiritualiter

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suffered in was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his spiritual body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but spiritually. Whatsoever is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is spiritual virtue and invisible doing." "[121] Certainly Christ's body which suffered death, and rose from death, shall never die henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly." "[122] This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically until that we be come to the truth itself, and then is this pledge ended." "[123] Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said, *This is my body and my blood.* Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible virtue, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness before that he was born to men, when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood." "[124] Moses and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread,

pascit, secundum speciem quam gerit exterius, frumenti granis manu artificis consistit, nullis nervis ossibusque compacta, nulla membrorum varietate distincta, nulla rationali substantia vegetata, nullos proprios potens motus exercere. Quicquid enim in ea vitæ præbet substantiam, spiritualis est potentiæ, et invisibilis efficientiæ, divinæque virtutis. Ibid. p. 214.

[121] Corpus Christi quod mortuum est et resurrexit, et immortale factum, jam non moritur, et mors illi ultra non dominabitur; æternum est, nec jam passibile. Hoc autem quod in ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptum, &c. dispartitur ad sumendum, et dentibus commolitum, in corpus trajicitur. Ibid. p. 216, 217.

[122] Et hoc corpus pignus est et species; illud vero ipsa veritas. Hoc enim geritur, donec ad illud perveniatur; ubi vero ad illud perventum fuerit, hoc removebitur. Ibid. p. 222.

[123] Videmus nondum passum esse Christum, &c. Sicut ergo paullo antequam pateretur, panis substantiam et vini creaturam convertere potuit in proprium corpus quod passurum erat, et in suum sanguinem qui post fundendus exstabat; sic etiam in deserto manna et aquam de petra in suam carnem et sanguinem convertere prævaluit, &c. Ibid. p. 193.

[124] Manducavit et Moses manna, manducavit et Aaron, manducavit et Phinees, manducaverunt ibi multi qui Deo placuerunt; et mortui non sunt. Quare? Quia visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt, ut spiritualiter satiarentur. Ibid. p. 217, ex Augustin. in Evang. Johan. Tractat. XXVI.

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and they died not the everlasting death, though they died the common. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they spiritually understood by that visible thing, and spiritually received it."

This Homily was appointed publicly to be read to the people in England on Easter-day, before they did receive the communion. The like matter also was delivered to the clergy by the bishops at their synods, out of two other writings of the same [125] Ælfrick; in the one whereof, directed to Wulfsine, Bishop of Sherburne, we read thus: "That housel is Christ's body, not bodily, but spiritually: not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housel the night before his suffering, and said by the blessed bread, *This is my body;* and again by the holy wine, *This is my blood, which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins.*" In the other, written to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York, thus: "The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily by the hands of the Priest bread to his body and wine to his blood in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. And yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the selfsame body that Christ suffered in; nor that holy wine is the Saviour's blood which was shed for us, in bodily thing, but in spiritual understanding. Both be truly, that bread his body, and that wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed forty years God's people, and the clear water which did then run from the stone in the wilderness was truly his blood, as Paul wrote in one of his Epistles."

Thus was priest and people taught to believe in the Church of England toward the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh age after the incarnation of our Saviour Christ. And therefore it is not to be wondered, that when Berengarius shortly after stood to maintain this doctrine, [126] many both by word and writing disputed for

[125] Impress. Londini cum Homilia Paschali, et MS. in publica Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliotheca, et Colleg. S. Benedict. Cantab.

[126] Sigebert. Gemblac. et Guliel. Nangiac. in Chronic. ann. 1051. Conrad. Brwilerens. in Vita Wolphelmi, apud Surium, April. 22.

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him; and not only the English, but also all the French almost and the Italians, as [127]Matthew of Westminster reporteth, were so ready to entertain that which he delivered. Who though they were so borne down by the power of the Pope, who now was grown to his height, that they durst not make open profession of that which they believed; yet many continued, even there where Satan had his throne, who privately employed both their tongues and their pens in defence of the truth, as out of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, Rupertus Tuitiensis and others, I have [128]elsewhere shewed. Until at length, in the year 1215, Pope Innocent the Third, in the Council of Lateran, published it to the Church for an oracle, that "[129]the body and blood of" Jesus Christ "are truly contained under the forms of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power of God." And so are we now come to the end of this controversy, the original and progress whereof I have prosecuted the more at large, because it is of greatest importance; the very life of the Mass and all massing priests depending thereupon. There followeth the third point, which is

OF CONFESSION.

Our Challenger here telleth us, that the Doctors, Pastors and Fathers of the primitive Church "exhorted the people to confess their sins unto their ghostly fathers." And we tell him again, that by the public order prescribed in our Church, before the administration of the holy communion, the Minister likewise doth exhort the people, that "if there be any of them which cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel," he should "come to him or some other discreet and learned Minister of God's word, and open his grief, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved; and that by the ministry of God's word he

[127] Flor. Histor. ann. 1087.

[128] De Christian. Eccles. Success. et Stat. edit. ann. 1613, p. 190—192, et 208.

[129] Cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina. Concil. Lateran. cap. i.

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may receive comfort and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." Whereby it appeareth, that the exhorting of the people to confess their sins unto their ghostly fathers maketh no such wall of separation betwixt the ancient Doctors and us, but we may well for all this be of the same religion that they were of, and consequently that this doughty champion hath more will than skill to manage controversies, who could make no wiser choice of points of differences to be insisted upon.

Be it therefore known unto him, that no kind of Confession, either public or private, is disallowed by us, that is any way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the keys which Christ bestowed upon his Church. The thing which we reject is that new picklock of sacramental Confession, obtruded upon men's consciences, as a matter necessary to salvation, by the canons of the late Conventicle of Trent, where those good Fathers put their curse upon every one that either shall "[1]deny that sacramental Confession was ordained by divine right, and is by the same right necessary to salvation;" or shall "[2]affirm that in the Sacrament of Penance it is not by the ordinance of God necessary, for the obtaining of the remission of sins, to confess all and every one of those mortal sins, the memory whereof by due and diligent premeditation may be had, even such as are hidden, and be against the two last Commandments of the Decalogue, together with the circumstances which change the kind of the sin; but that this Confession is only profitable to instruct and comfort the penitent, and was anciently observed only for the imposing of canonical satisfaction." This doctrine, I say, we cannot but reject, as being repugnant to that which we have learned both from the Scriptures and from the Fathers.

[1] Si quis negaverit, Confessionem sacramentalem vel institutam, vel ad salutem necessariam esse, jure divino, &c. Anathema sit. Concil. Trident. Sess. XIV. Can. 6.

[2] Si quis dixerit, in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino, confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta et quæ sunt contra duo ultima Decalogi præcepta, et circumstantias quæ peccati speciem mutant, sed eam confessionem tantum esse utilem ad erudiendum et consolandum pœnitentem, et olim observatam fuisse tantum ad satisfactionem canonicam imponendam, &c. Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 7.

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For in the Scriptures we find, that the confession which the penitent sinner maketh to God alone, hath the promise of forgiveness annexed unto it, which no priest upon earth hath power to make void upon pretence that himself or some of his fellows were not first particularly acquainted with the business: [3]*I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.* And lest we should think that this was some peculiar privilege vouchsafed to [4]*the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob*, the same *sweet psalmist of Israel* doth presently enlarge his note, and inferreth this general conclusion thereupon: [5]*For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found.* King Solomon, in his prayer for the people at the dedication of the temple, treadeth just in his father's steps. If they *turn*, saith [6]he, *and pray unto thee in the land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have done amiss, and have dealt wickedly; if they return to thee with all their heart, and with all their soul,* &c. *forgive thy people which have sinned against thee all their transgressions wherein they have transgressed against thee.* And the poor [7]publican, putting up his supplication in the temple accordingly, *God be merciful to me a sinner*, went back to his house justified, without making confession to any other ghostly father, but only [8]*the Father of spirits;* of whom St John giveth us this assurance, that [9]*if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* Which promise, that it appertained to such as did confess their sins unto God, the ancient Fathers were so well assured of, that they cast in a manner all upon this confession, and left little or nothing to that which was made unto man. Nay, they do not only leave it free for men to confess or not confess their sins unto others, which is the most that we would have; but some of them also seem, in words at least, to advise men not to do it at all, which is more than we seek for.

[3] Psalm xxxii. 5.
[4] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.
[5] Psalm xxxii. 6.
[6] 2 Chron. vi. 37, 39; 1 Kings viii. 47, 50.
[7] Luke xviii. 13, 14.
[8] Heb. xii. 9.
[9] 1 John i. 9.

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St Chrysostom of all others is most copious in this argument, some of whose passages to this purpose I will here lay down: "[10]It is not necessary," saith he, "that thou shouldest confess in the presence of witnesses: let the enquiry of thy offences be made in thy thought; let this judgment be without a witness; let God only see thee confessing." "[11]Therefore I intreat and beseech and pray you, that you would continually make your confession to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-servants, neither do I constrain thee to discover thy sins unto men: unclasp thy conscience before God, and shew thy wounds unto him, and of him ask a medicine. Shew them to him that will not reproach, but heal thee. For although thou hold thy peace, he knoweth all." "[12]Let us not call ourselves sinners only, but let us recount our sins, and repeat every one of them in special. I do not say unto thee, Bring thyself upon the stage, nor, Accuse thyself unto others; but I counsel thee to obey the prophet, saying, *Reveal thy way unto the Lord.* Confess them before God, confess thy sins before the Judge, praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory; and so look to obtain mercy." "[13]But thou art ashamed to say that thou hast sinned. Confess thy faults then daily in thy prayer. For do I say, Confess them to thy fellow-servant, who may

[10] Nunc autem neque necessarium præsentibus testibus confiteri: cogitatione fiat delictorum exquisitio, absque teste sit hoc judicium. Solus te Deus confitentem videat. Chrysost. Homil. de Pœnitent. et Confession. Tom. v. edit. Latin. Col. 901, edit. Basil. ann. 1558.

[11] Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι συνεχῶς τῷ Θεῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς θεάτρόν σε ἄγω τῶν συνδούλων τῶν σῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύψαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκάζω τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. τὸ συνειδὸς ἀνάπτυξον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτῷ δεῖξον τὰ τραύματα, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ φάρμακα αἴτησον. Δεῖξον τῷ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντί σε, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύοντι. κἂν γὰρ σὺ σιγήσῃς, οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα. Id. circa finem Hom. v. περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου, de incomprehensib. Dei Natur. Tom. VI. edit. Græc. D. Hen. Savil. p. 424, et Tom. V. p. 262, 263.

[12] Μὴ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καλῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀναλογισώμεθα, κατ' εἶδος ἕκαστον ἀναλέγοντες. Οὐ λέγω σοι, Ἐκπόμπευσον σαυτὸν, οὐδὲ, Παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατηγόρησον, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι συμβουλεύω τῷ προφήτῃ λέγοντι, Ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς Κύριον τὴν ὁδόν σου. ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ὁμολόγησον, ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ὁμολόγει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, εὐχόμενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μνήμῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀξίου ἐλεηθῆναι. Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xii. Homil. XXXI. Tom. IV. Savil. p. 589.

[13] Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνῃ εἰπεῖν, διότι ἥμαρτες. λέγε αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ σου. καὶ τί; μὴ γὰρ λέγω, Εἰπὲ τῷ συνδούλῳ τῷ ὀνειδίζοντί σε; εἰπὲ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ θεραπεύοντι αὐτά. οὐ γὰρ, ἐὰν μὴ εἴπῃς, ἀγνοεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός. Id. in Psal. L. Hom. II. Tom. I. Savil. p. 708.

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reproach thee therewith? Confess them to God, who healeth them. For, although thou confess them not at all, God is not ignorant of them." "[14] Wherefore then, tell me, art thou ashamed and blushest to confess thy sins? For dost thou discover them to a man, that he may reproach thee? Dost thou confess them to thy fellow-servant, that he may bring thee upon the stage? To him who is thy Lord, who hath care of thee, who is kind, who is thy physician, thou shewest thy wound." "[15] I constrain thee not, saith God, to go into the midst of the theatre, and to make many witnesses of the matter. Confess thy sins to me alone in private, that I may heal thy sore, and free thee from grief." "[16] And this is not only wonderful, that he forgiveth us our sins, but that he neither discovereth them, nor maketh them open and manifest, nor constraineth us to come forth in public, and disclose our misdemeanours; but commandeth us to give an account thereof unto him alone, and unto him to make confession of them."

Neither doth St Chrysostom here walk alone. That saying of St Augustine is to the same effect: "[17] What have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as though they should heal all my diseases?" And that Collection of St Hilary upon the two last verses of the 52d Psalm, [18] that David there teacheth us "to confess to no other," but unto the Lord, "who hath made the olive fruitful with the mercy of hope (or, the hope of mercy) for ever and ever." And that advice of Pinuphius, the Egyptian Abbot, which I find also inserted among the

[14] Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκεν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἐρυθριᾷς, εἰπέ μοι, τὰ ἁμαρτήματα εἰπεῖν; μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ λέγεις, ἵνα ὀνειδίσῃ σε; μὴ γὰρ τῷ συνδούλῳ ὁμολογεῖς, ἵνα ἐκπομπεύσῃ; τῷ δεσπότῃ, τῷ κηδεμόνι, τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ, τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδεικνύεις. Id. Homil. IV. de Lazaro, Tom. V. Savil. p. 258.

[15] Οὐκ ἀναγκάζω, φησὶν, εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν σε θέατρον, καὶ μάρτυρας περιστῆσαι πολλούς. Ἐμοὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα εἰπὲ μόνῳ κατ' ἰδίαν, ἵνα θεραπεύσω τὸ ἕλκος, καὶ ἀπαλλάξω τῆς ὀδύνης. Id. ibid.

[16] Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι ἀφίησιν ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύπτει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ αὐτὰ φανερὰ καὶ δῆλα, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζει παρελθόντας εἰς μέσον ἐξειπεῖν τὰ πεπλημμελημένα, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι κελεύει, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Id. in Ἀνδριάντ. ad Pop. Antiochen. Homil. XXI. Tom. VI. Savil. p. 608.

[17] Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Aug. Confess. lib. x. cap. 3.

[18] Confessionis autem causam addidit, dicens, Quia fecisti auctorem scilicet universitatis hujus Dominum esse confessus; nulli alii docens confitendum, quam qui fecit olivam fructiferam spei misericordia in seculum seculi. Hilar. in Psal. lii.

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[19]canons, collected for the use of the Church of England, in the time of the Saxons, under the title, *De Pœnitentia soli Deo confitenda:* "[20]Who is it that cannot humbly say, *I made my sin known unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid*, that by this confession he may confidently adjoin that which followeth: *And thou forgavest the impiety of my heart?* But if shamefacedness do so draw thee back that thou blushest to reveal them before men, cease not by continual supplication to confess them unto him from whom they cannot be hid, and to say, *I know mine iniquity, and my sin is against me alway; to thee only have I sinned, and done evil before thee*, whose custom is, both to cure without the publishing of any shame, and to forgive sins without upbraiding." St Augustine, Cassiodore, and Gregory make a further observation upon that place of the 32d Psalm: *I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin;* that God, upon the only promise and purpose of making this confession, did forgive the sin. "Mark," saith [21]Gregory, "how great the swiftness is of this vital indulgence, how great the commendation is of God's mercy, that pardon should accompany the very desire of him that is about to confess, before that repentance do come to afflict him; and remission should come to the heart, before that confession did break forth by the voice." So St Basil, upon those other words of the Psalmist, *I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart*, (Psalm xxxviii. 8), maketh this paraphrase: "[22]I do

[19] Antiq. lib. Canon. LXVI. titulorum, MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

[20] Quis est qui non possit suppliciter dicere, Peccatum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non operui, ut per hanc confessionem etiam illud confidenter subjungere mereatur: Et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei? Quod si verecundia retrahente revelare ea coram hominibus erubescis, illi, quem latere non possunt, confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere, Iniquitatem meam ego cognosco, et peccatum meum contra me est semper: tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci: qui et absque ullius verecundiæ publicatione curare, et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit. Jo. Cassian. Collat. XX. cap. 8.

[21] Attende quanta sit indulgentiæ vitalis velocitas, quanta misericordiæ Dei commendatio: ut confitentis desiderium comitetur venia, antequam ad cruciatum perveniat pœnitentia; ante remissio ad cor perveniat, quam confessio in vocem erumpat. Greg. Exposit. ii. Psal. Pœnitential.

[22] Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα τοῖς πολλοῖς φανερὸς γένωμαι, τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐξομολογοῦμαι. ἔνδον δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ ὄμμα μύων, σοὶ μόνῳ τῷ βλέποντι τὰ ἐν κρυπτῷ τοὺς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ στεναγμοὺς ἐπιδεικνύω, ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ὠρυόμενος. Οὐδε γὰρ μακρῶν μοι λόγων χρεία ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν· ἀπήρκουν γὰρ οἱ στεναγμοὶ τῆς καρδίας μου πρὸς ἐξομολόγησιν, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ βάθους ψυχῆς πρὸς σὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἀναπεμπόμενοι ὀδυρμοί. Bas. in Psal. xxxviii.

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not confess with my lips, that I may manifest myself unto many; but inwardly in my very heart, shutting mine eyes, to thee alone who seest the things that are in secret, do I shew my groans, roaring within myself. For the groans of my heart sufficed for a confession, and the lamentations sent to thee my God from the depth of my soul."

And as St Basil maketh the groans of the heart to be a sufficient confession, so doth St Ambrose the tears of the penitent. "Tears," saith [23]he, "do wash the sin, which the voice is ashamed to confess. Weeping doth provide both for pardon and for shamefacedness: tears do speak our fault without horror; tears do confess our crime without offence of our shamefacedness." From whence he that glosseth upon Gratian, who hath inserted these words of St Ambrose into his collection of the Decrees, doth infer, that "[24]if for shame a man will not confess, tears alone do blot out his sin." Maximus Taurinensis followeth St Ambrose herein almost *verbatim*. "The tear," saith [25]he, "washeth the sin, which the voice is ashamed to confess. Tears therefore do equally provide both for our shamefacedness and for our health: they neither blush in asking, and they obtain in requesting." Lastly, Prosper, speaking of sins committed by such as are in the ministry, writeth thus: "[26]They shall more easily appease God, who being not convicted by human judgment, do of their own accord acknowledge their offence; who either do discover it by their own confessions, or, others not knowing what they are in secret, do themselves give sentence of voluntary excommunication upon themselves;

[23] Lavant lacrymæ delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri. Et veniæ fletus consulunt et verecundiæ: lacrymæ sine horrore culpam loquuntur; lacrymæ crimen sine offensione verecundiæ confitentur. Ambros. lib. x. Comment. in Luc. cap. xxii.

[24] Unde etsi propter pudorem nolit quis confiteri, solæ lacrymæ delent peccata. Gloss. de Pœnit. Distinct. I. cap. 2. Lacrymæ.

[25] Lavat lacryma delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri. Lacrymæ ergo verecundiæ consulunt pariter et saluti; nec erubescunt in petendo, et impetrant in rogando. Maxim. Homil. de Pœnitent. Petri, Tom. v. Biblioth. Patr. part. I. p. 21. edit. Colon.

[26] Deum sibi facilius placabunt illi, qui non humano convicti judicio, sed ultro crimen agnoscunt; qui aut propriis illud confessionibus produnt, aut nescientibus aliis quales occulti sunt, ipsi in se voluntariæ excommunicationis sententiam ferunt, et ab altari, cui ministrabant, non animo sed officio separati, vitam tanquam mortuam plangunt; certi, quod reconciliato sibi efficacis pœnitentiæ fructibus Deo, non solum amissa recipiant, sed etiam cives supernæ civitatis effecti, ad gaudia sempiterna perveniant. Prosper. de Vita Contemplativa, lib. ii. cap. 7.

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and being separated (not in mind, but in office) from the altar to which they did minister, do lament their life as dead, assuring themselves, that God being reconciled unto them by the fruits of effectual repentance, they shall not only receive what they have lost, but also, being made citizens of that city which is above, they shall come to everlasting joys." By this it appeareth, that the ancient Fathers did not think that the remission of sins was so tied unto external confession, that a man might not look for salvation from God, if he concealed his faults from man; but that inward contrition, and confession made to God alone, was sufficient in this case. Otherwise, neither they nor we do debar men from opening their grievances unto the physicians of their souls, either for their better information in the true state of their disease, or for the quieting of their troubled consciences, or for receiving further direction from them out of God's word, both for the recovery of their present sickness, and for the prevention of the like danger in time to come.

"[27] If I shall sin, although it be in any small offence, and my thought do consume me, and accuse me, saying, Why hast thou sinned? what shall I do?" said a brother once to Abbot Arsenius. The old man answered, "Whatsoever hour a man shall fall into a fault, and shall say from his heart, Lord God, I have sinned, grant me pardon, that consumption of thought or heaviness shall cease forthwith." And it was as good a remedy as could be prescribed for a green wound, to take it in hand presently, to present it to the view of our heavenly Physician, [28] to prevent Satan by taking his office, as it were, out of his hand, and [29] accusing

[27] Si peccavero, etiam in quocunque minuto peccato, et consumit me cogitatio mea, et arguit me, dicens, Quare peccàsti? quid faciam? Respondit senex, Quacunque hora ceciderit homo in culpam, et dixerit ex corde, Domine Deus peccavi, indulge mihi; mox cessabit cogitationis vel tristitiæ illa consumptio. Respons. Patr. Ægypt. a Paschasio diacono Latine vers. cap. 11.

[28] Novit omnia Dominus, sed exspectat vocem tuam; non ut puniat, sed ut ignoscat: non vult ut insultet tibi Diabolus, et celantem peccata tua arguat. Præveni accusatorem tuum: si te ipse accusaveris, accusatorem nullum timebis. Ambr. de Pœnitent. lib. ii. cap. 17. Μὴ γὰρ σὺ, σαυτὸν ἐὰν μὴ εἴπῃς ἁμαρτωλὸν, οὐκ ἔχεις κατήγορον τὸν διάβολον; πρόλαβε καὶ ἅρπασον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὸ κατηγορεῖν. τί οὖν οὐ προλαμβάνεις αὐτὸν, καὶ λέγεις τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ ἐξαλείφεις τὸ ἁμάρτημα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοιοῦτον κατήγορον ἔχεις σιγῆσαι μὴ δυνάμενον; Chrysost. de Pœnit. Serm. III. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 779.

[29] Λέγε σὺ τὰς ἀνομίας σοῦ πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῇς. LXX. in Esa. XLiii. 26, et Proverb. xviii. 17.

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ourselves first, that we may be justified. But when it is not taken in time, but suffered to fester and rankle, the cure will not now prove to be so easy; it being found true by often experience, that the wounded conscience will still pinch grievously, notwithstanding the confession made unto God in secret. At such a time as this then, where the sinner can find no ease at home, what should he do but use the best means he can to find it abroad? [30] *Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there?* No doubt but God hath provided both the one and the other for *recovering of the health of the daughter of his people;* and St James hath herein given us this direction: [31] *Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.* According to which prescription Gregory Nyssen, toward the end of his sermon of repentance, useth this exhortation to the sinner: "[32] Be sensible of the disease wherewith thou art taken, afflict thyself as much as thou canst. Seek also the mourning of thy entirely affected brethren to help thee unto liberty. Shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may also mingle mine therewith. Take likewise the priest for a partner of thine affliction, as thy Father. For who is it that so falsely obtaineth the name of a father, or hath so adamantine a soul, that he will not condole with his son's lamenting? Shew unto him without blushing the things that were kept close; discover the secrets of thy soul, as shewing thy hidden disease unto thy physician. He will have care both of thy credit and of thy cure."

It was no part of his meaning to advise us that we should open ourselves in this manner unto every hedge-priest; as if there were a virtue generally annexed to the order, that upon confession made, and absolution received from any of that rank, all should be straight made up: but he would have us

[30] Jerem. viii. 22.

[31] Jam. v. 16.

[32] Εὐαίσθητος γένου πρὸς τὴν περιέχουσάν σε νόσον. σύντριψον σαυτὸν ὅσον δύνασαι. ζήτησον καὶ ἀδελφῶν ὁμοψύχων πένθος βοηθοῦν σοι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. δεῖξόν μοι πικρὸν σοῦ καὶ δαψιλὲς τὸ δάκρυον, ἵνα μίξω καὶ τὸ ἐμόν. λάβε καὶ τὸν ἱερέα κοινωνὸν τῆς θλίψεως, ὡς πατέρα. τίς γὰρ οὕτως πατὴρ ψευδώνυμος, ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀδαμάντινος, ὡς μὴ συνοδύρεσθαι τοῖς τέκνοις λυπουμένοις; &c. δεῖξον αὐτῷ ἀνερυθριάστως τὰ κεκρυμμένα. γύμνωσον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπόρρητα. ὡς ἰατρῷ πάθος δεικνύων κεκαλυμμένον· αὐτὸς ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ τῆς εὐσχημοσύνης καὶ τῆς θεραπείας. Greg. Nyssen. de Pœnitent. in Operum Appendice, edit. Paris. ann. 1618. p. 175, 176.

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communicate our case both to such Christian brethren, and to such a ghostly father, as had skill in physic of this kind, and out of a fellow-feeling of our grief would apply themselves to our recovery. Therefore, saith Origen, "[33]look about thee diligently unto whom thou oughtest to confess thy sin. Try first the physician, unto whom thou oughtest to declare the cause of thy malady, who knoweth to be weak with him that is weak, to weep with him that weepeth, who understandeth the discipline of condoling and compassionating; that so at length, if he shall say any thing, who hath first shewed himself to be both a skilful physician and a merciful, or if he shall give any counsel, thou mayest do and follow it." For, as St Basil well noteth, "[34]the very same course is to be held in the confession of sins, which is in the opening of the diseases of the body. As men therefore do not discover the diseases of their body to all, nor to every sort of people, but to those that are skilful in the cure thereof; even so ought the confession of our sins to be made unto such as are able to cure them, according to that which is written, *Ye that are strong bear the infirmities of the weak*, that is, take them away by your diligence." He requireth care and diligence in performance of the cure; being ignorant, good man, of that new compendious method of healing, invented by our Roman Paracelsians, whereby a man "[35]in confession of attrite is made contrite by virtue of the keys;" that the sinner need put his ghostly father to no further trouble than this, *Speak the word only, and I shall be healed*. And this is that sacramental confession devised of late by the priests of Rome; which they notwithstanding would fain father upon St Peter, from whom the Church of Rome, as

[33] Tantummodo circumspice diligentius, cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum. Proba prius medicum, cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi et compatiendi noverit disciplinam; ut ita demum, si quid ille dixerit, qui se prius et eruditum medicum ostenderit et misericordem, si quid consilii dederit, facias et sequaris. Orig. in Psal. xxxvii. Hom. II.

[34] Ἡ ἐξαγόρευσις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔχει ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν. ὡς οὖν τὰ πάθη τοῦ σώματος οὐ πᾶσιν ἀποκαλύπτουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὔτε τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῆς τούτων θεραπείας· οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐξαγόρευσις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων γίνεσθαι ὀφείλει ἐπὶ τῶν δυναμένων θεραπεύειν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, Ὑμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ, τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων βαστάζετε, τουτέστι, αἴρετε διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας. Basil. in Regul. brevioribus, Resp. 229.

[35] Secundum Archiepisc. imo sanctum Thomam, et alios Theologos, in confessione fit quis de attrito contritus virtute clavium. Summa Sylvestrina, de Confess. Sacramental. cap. 1. sect. 1.

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they would have us believe, received this instruction: "[36] that if envy, or infidelity, or any other evil did secretly creep into any man's heart, he who had care of his own soul should not be ashamed to confess those things unto him who had the oversight over him; that by God's word and wholesome counsel he might be cured by him." And so indeed we read in the apocryphal Epistle of Clement, pretended to be written unto St James, the brother of our Lord; where in the several editions of Crab, Sichardus, Venradius, Surius, Nicholinus, and Binius, we find this note also laid down in the margin; *Nota de confessione sacramentali,* "Mark this of sacramental confession." But their own [37] Maldonat would have taught them that this note was not worth the marking: forasmuch as the proper end of sacramental confession is the obtaining of remission of sins by virtue of the keys of the Church; whereas the end of the confession here said to be commended by St Peter, was the obtaining of counsel out of God's word for the remedy of sins. Which kind of medicinal confession we well approve of, and acknowledge to have been ordinarily prescribed by the ancient Fathers for the cure of secret sins.

For as for notorious offences, which bred open scandal, private confession was not thought sufficient; but there was further required public acknowledgement of the fault, and the solemn use of the keys for the reconciliation of the penitent. "[38] If his sin do not only redound to his own evil, but also unto much scandal of others, and the Bishop thinketh it to be expedient for the profit of the Church, let him not refuse to perform his penance in the knowledge of many, or of the whole people also; let him not resist, let him not by his shamefacedness add swelling to his deadly and mortal wound," saith St Augustine. And more largely in another place; where he meeteth with the objection of the sufficiency of

[36] Quod si forte alicujus cor vel livor, vel infidelitas, vel aliquod malum latenter irrepserit; non erubescat, qui animæ suæ curam gerit, confiteri hæc huic qui præest, ut ab ipso per verbum Dei et consilium salubre curetur. Clem. Epist. I.

[37] Maldonat. Disputat. de Sacrament. Tom. II. de Confessionis Origine, cap. 2.

[38] Si peccatum ejus non solum in gravi ejus malo, sed etiam in tanto scandalo est aliorum, atque hoc expedire utilitati Ecclesiæ videtur Antistiti, in notitia multorum vel etiam totius plebis agere pœnitentiam non recuset; non resistat, non lethali et mortiferæ plagæ per pudorem addat tumorem. August. in lib. de Pœnitentia, quæ postrema est Homilia ex L. in x. Tom.

internal repentance in this manner: "[39]Let no man say unto himself, I do it secretly, I do it before God; God who pardoneth me doth know that I do it in my heart. Is it therefore said without cause, *Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven?* Are the keys therefore without cause given unto the Church of God? do we frustrate the Gospel of God? do we frustrate the words of Christ? do we promise that to you which he denieth you? do we not deceive you? Job saith, *If I was abashed to confess my sins in the sight of the people.* So just a man of God's rich treasure, who was tried in such a furnace, saith thus; and doth the child of pestilence withstand me, and is ashamed to bow his knee under the blessing of God? That which the emperor was not ashamed to do, is he ashamed of, who is not as much as a senator, but only a simple courtier? O proud neck! O crooked mind! Perhaps, nay it is not to be doubted, it was for this reason, God would that Theodosius the Emperor should do public penance in the sight of the people, especially because his sin could not be concealed: and is a senator ashamed of that whereof the emperor was not ashamed? is he ashamed of that who is no senator, but a courtier only, whereof the emperor was not ashamed? Is one of the vulgar sort or a trader ashamed of that whereof the emperor was not ashamed? What pride is this? Were not this alone sufficient to bring them to hell, although no adultery had been committed?" Thus far St Augustine concerning the necessity of public repentance for known offences: which being in tract of time disused in some places, long after this the [40]Bishops

[39] Nemo sibi dicat, Occulte ago, apud Deum ago; novit Deus qui mihi ignoscit, quia in corde ago. Ergo sine causa dictum est, Quæ solveritis in terra, soluta erunt in cœlo? ergo sine causa sunt claves datæ ecclesiæ Dei? frustramus Evangelium Dei? frustramus verba Christi? promittimus vobis quod ille negat? nonne vos decipimus? Job dicit: Si erubui in conspectu populi confiteri peccata mea. Talis justus thesauri divini obryzi, tali camino probatus, ista dicit: et resistit mihi filius pestilentiæ, et erubescit genu figere sub benedictione Dei? Quod non erubuit Imperator, erubescit nec Senator sed tantum Curialis? Superba cervix, mens tortuosa! Fortassis, imo quod non dubitatur, propterea Deus voluit ut Theodosius Imperator ageret pœnitentiam publicam in conspectu populi, maxime quia peccatum ejus celari non potuit: et erubescit Senator, quod non erubuit Imperator? erubescit nec Senator sed tantum Curialis, quod non erubuit Imperator? Erubescit plebeius sive negociator, quod non erubuit Imperator? Quæ ista superbia est? Nonne sola sufficeret gehennæ, etiamsi adulterium nullum esset? Id. Hom. XLIX. Ex. 50. cap. 3.

[40] Concil. Arelat. IV. cap. 26, et Cabilonens. II. cap. 25.

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of France, by the assistance of Charles the Great, caused it to be brought into use again according to the order of the old Canons.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that in the time of the more ancient Fathers this strict discipline was not so restrained to the censure of public crimes; but that private transgressions also were sometimes brought within the compass of it. For whereas at first public confession was enjoined only for public offences; men afterwards discerning what great benefit redounded to the penitents thereby, (as well for the subduing of the stubbornness of their hard hearts, and the furthering of their deeper humiliation, as for their raising up again by those sensible comforts which they received by the public prayers of the congregation and the use of the keys;) some men, I say, discerning this, and finding their own consciences burdened with the like sins, which, being carried in secrecy, were not subject to the censures of the Church; to the end they might obtain the like consolation and quiet of mind, did voluntarily submit themselves to the Church's discipline herein, and undergo the burden of public confession and penance. This appeareth by Origen in his second Homily upon the 37th Psalm, Tertullian in his book de Pœnitentia, chap. 9, St Cyprian in his Treatise de Lapsis, sect. 23, (or 11, according to Pamelius's distinction), St Ambrose in his first book de Pœnitentia, chap. 16, and others. And to the end that this publication of secret faults might be performed in the best manner, some prudent minister was first of all made acquainted therewith; by whose direction the delinquent might understand what sins were fit to be brought to the public notice of the Church, and in what manner the penance was to be performed for them. Therefore did Origen advise, as we heard, that one should use great care in making choice of a good and skilful physician, to whom he should disclose his grief in this kind. And "[41]if he understand," saith he, "and foresee that thy disease is such as ought to be declared in the assembly of the whole Church, and cured there, whereby peradventure both

[41] Si intellexerit et præviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et ceteri ædificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari; multa hoc deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est. Origen. in Psal. xxxvii. Hom. II.

others may be edified, and thou thyself more easily healed; with much deliberation, and by the very skilful counsel of that physician, must this be done."

But within a while, shortly after the persecution raised in the days of Decius the Emperor, it was no longer left free to the penitent to make choice of his ghostly father; but by the general consent of the bishops it was ordained, that in every church one certain discreet minister should be appointed to receive the confessions of such as relapsed into sin after Baptism. This is that addition which [42]Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History, noteth to have been then made unto the penitential canon, and to have been observed by the governors of the Church for a long time; until at length in the time of Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, which was about one hundred and forty years after the persecution of Decius, upon occasion of an infamy drawn upon the clergy by the confession of a gentlewoman, defiled by a deacon in that city, it was thought fit it should be abolished; and that [43]liberty should be given unto every one, upon the private examination of his own conscience, to resort to the holy Communion. Which was agreeable both to the rule of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 28, *Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;* and to the judgment of the more ancient Fathers; as appeareth by Clemens Alexandrinus, who accounteth a man's own conscience to be his [44]best director in this case: howsoever our new masters of [45]Trent have not only determined, that sacramental confession must necessarily be premised before the receiving of the Eucharist; but also have pronounced them to be excommunicate *ipso facto*, that shall presume to teach the contrary.

The case then, if these men's censures were ought worth, would go hard with Nectarius and all the Bishops that followed him; but especially with St John Chrysostom, who was his immediate successor in the See of Constantinople. For

[42] Οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι τὸν πρεσβύτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας προσέθεσαν. Socrat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 19.

[43] Συγχωρῆσαι δὲ ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι τῶν μυστηρίων μετέχειν. Socrat. ib. συγχωρεῖν ἕκαστον, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτῷ συνειδείη καὶ θαῤῥεῖν δύναιτο, κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυστηρίων. Sozomen. Histor. lib. vii. cap. 16.

[44] Ἀρίστη γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβῆ αἵρεσίν τε καὶ φυγὴν ἡ συνείδησις. Clement. Alexandr. lib. i. Strom.

[45] Concil. Trident. Sess. XIII. Can. 11.

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thus doth he expound that place of the Apostle: "[46]Let every one examine himself, and then let him come. He doth not bid one man to examine another, but every one himself; making the judgment private, and the trial without witnesses;" and in the end of his second Homily of fasting (which in others is the eighth de Pœnitentia), frameth his exhortation accordingly: "[47]Within thy conscience, none being present but God, who seeth all things, enter thou into judgment, and into a search of thy sins, and recounting thy whole life, bring thy sins unto judgment in thy mind: reform thy excesses, and so with a pure conscience draw near to that sacred Table, and partake of that holy Sacrifice." Yet in another place he deeply chargeth ministers not to admit known offenders unto the Communion. "But [48]if one," saith he, "be ignorant that he is an evil person after that he hath used much diligence therein, he is not to be blamed; for these things are spoken by me of such as are known." And we find both in him and in the practice of the times following, that the order of public penance was not wholly taken away; but according to the ancient discipline established by the Apostles in the Church, open offenders were openly censured, and pressed to make public confession of their faults. Whereby it is manifest that the liberty brought in by Nectarius, of not resorting to any penitentiary, respected the disclosing of secret sins only; such as that foul one was, from whence the public scandal arose, which gave occasion to the repeal of the former constitution. For to suffer open and notorious crimes committed in the Church to pass without control, was not a mean to prevent but to augment scandals; nay, the ready way to make the house of God a den of thieves.

Two observations more I will add upon this part of the history. The one, that the abrogation of this Canon sheweth

[46] Δοκιμαζέτω δὲ αὐτὸν ἕκαστος, καὶ τότε προσίτω. καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κελεύει δοκιμάσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν, ἀδημοσίευτον ποιῶν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἀμάρτυρον τὸν ἔλεγχον. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xi. Homil. XXVIII.

[47] Ἔνδον ἐν τῷ συνειδότι, μηδενὸς παρόντος, πλὴν τοῦ πάντα ὁρῶντος Θεοῦ, ποιοῦ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν ἐξέτασιν, καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τὸ κριτήριον ἄγε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, διόρθου τὰ πλημμελήματα, καὶ οὕτω μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅπτου τραπέζης, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μέτεχε θυσίας. Id. Tom. VI. Savil. p. 837.

[48] Εἰ δὲ ἠγνόησέ τις τὸν φαῦλον πολλὰ περιεργασάμενος, οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα· ταῦτα γάρ μοι περὶ τῶν δήλων εἴρηται. Id. in fine Hom. LXXXII. in Matth. edit. Græc. vel LXXXIII. Latin.

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that the form of confession used by the ancient was canonical, that is, appertaining to that external discipline of the Church, which upon just occasion might be altered; and not sacramental and of perpetual right, which is that our Jesuits stand for. The other, that the course taken herein by Nectarius was not only approved by St Chrysostom, who succeeded him at Constantinople, but [49]generally in a manner by the Catholic Bishops of other places; howsoever the Arians and the rest of the sectaries (the Novatians only excepted, who from the beginning would not admit the discipline used in the Church for the reconciliation of penitents,) retained still the former usage, as by the relation of Socrates and Sozomen more fully may appear. And therefore, when within some 21 years after the time wherein they finished their histories, and about 70 after that the publication of secret offences began to be abolished by Nectarius, certain in Italy did so do their penance, that they caused a writing to be publicly read, containing a profession of their several sins; Leo, who at that time was Bishop of Rome, gave order, that by all means [50]that course should be broken off, "forasmuch as it was sufficient that the guilt of men's consciences should be declared in secret confession to the priests alone. For although," saith he, "the fulness of faith may seem to be laudable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to blush before men; yet because all men's sins are not of that kind, that they may not fear to publish such of them as require repentance, let so inconvenient a custom be removed; lest many be driven away from the remedies of repentance, while either they are ashamed or afraid to disclose their deeds unto their enemies, whereby they may be drawn within the peril of the laws. For that

[49] Ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πάντων ἐπίσκοποι. Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 16.

[50] Ne de singulorum peccatorum genere libellis scripta professio publice recitetur; cum reatus conscientiarum sufficiat solis sacerdotibus indicari confessione secreta. Quamvis enim plenitudo fidei videatur esse laudabilis, quæ propter Dei timorem apud homines erubescere non veretur; tamen quia non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata, ut ea, quæ pœnitentiam poscunt, non timeant publicare, removeatur tam improbabilis consuetudo; ne multi a pœnitentiæ remediis arceantur, dum aut erubescunt aut metuunt inimicis suis sua facta reserare, quibus possint legum constitutione percelli. Sufficit enim illa confessio, quæ primum Deo offertur, tum etiam sacerdoti, qui pro delictis pœnitentium precator accedit. Tunc enim demum plures ad pœnitentiam poterunt provocari, si populi auribus non publicetur conscientia confitentis. Leo Epist. LXXX. ad Episcopos Campaniæ, Samnii et Piceni.

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confession is sufficient which is offered first unto God, and then unto the priest, who cometh as an intercessor for the sins of the penitent. For then at length more may be provoked to repentance, if that the conscience of him who confesseth be not published to the ears of the people."

By this place of Leo we may easily understand how, upon the removal of public confession of secret faults, (together with the private made unto the penitentiary, which was adjoined as a preparative thereunto,) auricular confession began to be substituted in the room thereof; to the end that by this means more might be drawn on to this exercise of repentance; the impediments of shame and fear, which accompanied the former practice, being taken out of the way. For indeed the shame of this public penance was such, that in the time of Tertullian, when this discipline was thought most needful for the Church, it was strongly "[51]presumed, that many did either shun this work as a publication of themselves, or deferred it from day to day, being more mindful," as he saith, "of their shame than of their salvation." Nay, St Ambrose observed, that "[52]some who for fear of the punishment in the other world, being conscious to themselves of their sins, did here desire their penance, were yet for shame of their public supplication drawn back after they had received it." Therefore the conjecture of [53]Rhenanus is not to be contemned, that from this public confession the private took its original; which by Stapleton, (in his Fortress, part II. chap. 4), is positively delivered in this manner: "Afterward this open and sharp penance was brought to the private and particular confession now used, principally for the lewdness of the common lay-Christians, which in this open confession began at length to mock and insult at their brethren's simplicity and devotion." Although it may seem

[51] Plerosque tamen hoc opus ut publicationem sui aut suffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præsumo; pudoris magis memores quam salutis. Tertul. de Pœnit. cap. 10.

[52] Nam plerique futuri supplicii metu, peccatorum suorum conscii, pœnitentiam petunt; et cum acceperint, publicæ supplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi videntur malorum petisse pœnitentiam, agere bonorum. Ambr. de Pœnitent. lib. ii. cap. 9.

[53] Porro non aliam ob causam complurium hic testimoniis usi sumus, quam ne quis admiretur Tertullianum de clancularia ista admissorum confessione nihil locutum: quæ, quantum conjicimus, nata est ex ista exomologesi per ultroneam hominum pietatem, ut occultorum peccatorum esset et exomologesis occulta. Nec enim usquam præceptam olim legimus. B. Rhenan. Argument. in lib. Tertul. de Pœnit.

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by that which is written by [54]Origen, that the seeds of this lewdness began to sprout long before; howsoever [55]Tertullian imagined, that no member of the Church would be so ungracious as to commit such folly.

The public confession therefore of secret sins being thus abolished by Nectarius first, for the scandal that came thereby unto others, and by the rest of the Catholic Bishops after him, for the reproach and danger whereunto the penitents by this means were laid open; private confession was so brought in to supply the defect thereof, that it was accounted no more sacramental, nor esteemed, at least generally, to be of more necessity for the obtaining of remission of sins, than that other. So that whatsoever order afterward was taken herein, may well be judged to have had the nature of a temporal law, which, according to the definition of St Augustine, "[56]although it be just, yet in time it may be justly also changed." Nay, we find that Lawrence, Bishop of Novaria, in his Homily de Pœnitentia, doth resolutely determine, that for obtaining remission of sins a man needeth not to resort unto any priest, but that his own internal repentance is sufficient for that matter. "God," saith [57]he, "after baptism hath appointed thy remedy within thyself, he hath put remission in thine own power, that thou needest not seek a priest when thy necessity requireth; but thou thyself now, as a skilful and plain master, mayest amend thine error within thyself, and wash away thy sin by repentance." "[58]He hath given unto thee," saith another, some-

[54] Si ergo hujusmodi homo, memor delicti sui, confiteatur quæ commisit, et humana confusione parvi pendat eos qui exprobrant eum confitentem, et notant vel irrident, &c. Origen. in Psal. xxxvii. Homil. II.

[55] Certe periculum ejus tunc si forte onerosum est, cum penes insultaturos in risiloquio consistit, ubi de alterius ruina alter attollitur, ubi prostrato superscenditur. Ceterum inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis spes, metus, gaudium, dolor, passio; quid tuos aliud quam te opinaris? Quid consortes casuum tuorum ut plausores fugis? Non potest corpus de unius membri vexatione lætum agere. Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. 9.

[56] Appellemus istam legem, si placet, temporalem, quæ quamvis justa sit, commutari tamen per tempora juste potest. August. de lib. Arbitr. lib. i. cap. 6.

[57] Post baptisma remedium tuum in teipso statuit, remissionem in arbitrio tuo posuit, ut non quæras sacerdotem cum necessitas flagitaverit; sed ipse jam ac si scitus perspicuusque magister, errorem tuum intra te emendes, et peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas. Laur. Novar. Tom. VI. Biblioth. Patr. part. I. p. 337. edit. Colon.

[58] Σοὶ δέδωκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ σειρᾷ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, σαυτὸν λῦσον τῇ ἐντολῇ τῆς φιλοπτωχίας. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῷ

what to the same purpose, "the power of binding and loosing. Thou hast bound thyself with the chain of the love of wealth; loose thyself with the injunction of the love of poverty. Thou hast bound thyself with the furious desire of pleasures; loose thyself with temperance. Thou hast bound thyself with the misbelief of Eunomius; loose thyself with the religious embracing of the right faith."

And that we may see how variable men's judgments were touching the matter of confession in the ages following, Bede would have us "[59]confess our daily and light sins one unto another, but open the uncleanness of the greater leprosy to the priest." Alcuinus, not long after him, would have us "[60]confess all the sins that we can remember." Others were of another mind. For some (as it appeareth by the writings of the same [61]Alcuinus, and of [62]Haymo) would not confess their sins to the priest; but "[63]said it was sufficient for them that they did confess their sins to God alone;" provided always, that they ceased from those sins for the time to come. Others confessed their sins unto the priests, but "[64]not fully;" as may be seen in the council of Cavaillon, held in the days of Charles the Great: where, though the Fathers think that this had "need to be amended;" yet they freely acknowledge that it remained still a question, whether men should only confess to God, or to the priests also; and they themselves put this difference betwixt both those confessions, that the one did properly serve for the cure, the other for direction in what sort the repentance, and so the cure, should be performed. Their words are these:

οἴστρῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν, σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ Εὐνομίου κακοπιστίᾳ, σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας εὐσεβείᾳ. Auctor Homiliæ in illud, Quæcunque ligaveritis, &c. inter opera Chrysostomi, Tom. VII. edit. Savil. p. 268.

[59] In hac sententia illa debet esse discretio; ut quotidiana leviaque peccata alterutrum coæqualibus confiteamur, eorumque quotidiana credamus oratione salvari. Porro gravioris lepræ immunditiam juxta legem sacerdoti pandamus, atque ad ejus arbitrium, qualiter et quanto tempore jusserit, purificari curemus. Bed. in Jacob. v.

[60] Volens dimittere omnia his qui in se peccaverunt, confiteatur omnia peccata sua, quæ recordari potest. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. 13, in capite Jejunii.

[61] Id. Epist. XXVI.

[62] Haymo. Halberstatt. in Evangel. Dominic. XV. post Pentecost. Ad illud: Ite ostendite vos sacerdotibus.

[63] Dicentes, sibi sufficere, ut soli Deo peccata sua confiteantur; si tamen ab ipsis peccatis in reliquo cessent. Haymo. ut supra.

[64] Sed et hoc emendatione egere perspeximus, quod quidam dum confitentur peccata sua sacerdotibus, non plene id faciunt. Concil. Cabilon. II. cap. 32.

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"[65] Some say that they ought to confess their sins only unto God, and some think that they are to be confessed unto the priests: both of which, not without great fruit, is practised within the holy Church. Namely thus, that we both confess our sins unto God, who is the forgiver of sins, (saying with David: *I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said I will confess against myself my transgressions unto the Lord: and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin:*) and, according to the institution of the Apostle, confess our sins one unto another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed. The confession therefore which is made unto God, purgeth sins; but that which is made unto the priest, teacheth in what sort those sins should be purged. For God, the author and bestower of salvation and health, giveth the same sometime by the invisible administration of his power, sometime by the operation of physicians."

This Canon is cited by [66] Gratian out of the Penitential of Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, but clogged with some unnecessary additions. As when in the beginning thereof it is made the [67] opinion of the Grecians, that sins should be confessed only unto God; and of the rest of the Church, that they should be confessed to priests: where those words, *ut Græci*, in Gratian, seem unto Cardinal Bellarmine "[68] to have crept out of the margin into the text, and to

[65] Quidam solummodo Deo confiteri debere dicunt peccata; quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent: quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit ecclesiam, ita duntaxat, ut et Deo, qui remissor est peccatorum, confiteamur peccata nostra, (et cum David dicamus, Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi: dixi, Confitebor adversum me injustitias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei,) et secundum institutionem Apostoli, Confiteamur alterutrum peccata nostra, et oremus pro invicem ut salvemur. Confessio itaque quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea vero quæ sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque, salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor, plerumque hanc præbet suæ potentiæ invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione. Ibid. cap. 33.

[66] Grat. de Pœnit. Distinct. I. cap. ult. Quidam Deo.

[67] Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, *ut Græci;* quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent, ut tota fere sancta ecclesia. Ibid.

[68] Videtur irrepsisse in textum ex margine; et marginalem annotationem imperiti alicujus fuisse qui ex facto Nectarii collegit, sublatam omnino confessionem sacramentalem apud Græcos. Nam alioqui in ipso Capitulari Theodori, unde canon ille descriptus est, non habentur duæ illæ voces, *ut Græci;* neque etiam habentur in Concilio II. Cabilonensi, cap. 33. unde Theodorus Capitulum illud accepisse videtur: sed nec Magister Sentent. in IV. lib. Dist. XVII. eandem sententiam adducens, addidit illud, *ut Græci.* Bellar. de Pœnitent. lib. iii. cap. 5.

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have been a marginal annotation of some unskilful man, who gathered by the fact of Nectarius, that sacramental confession was wholly taken away among the Grecians. For otherwise," saith he, "in the Capitular itself of Theodorus, whence that Canon was transcribed, those two words, *ut Græci*, are not to be had; nor are they also to be had in the second Council of Cavaillon, c. 33, whence Theodorus seemeth to have taken that chapter: neither yet doth the Master of the sentences, in his 4th book and 17th distinction, bringing in the same sentence, add those words, *ut Græci*." But the Cardinal's conjecture of the translating of these words out of the margin into the text of Gratian is of little worth; seeing we find them expressly laid down in the elder collections of the decrees made by [69]Burchardus and [70]Ivo; from whence it is evident that Gratian borrowed this whole chapter, as he hath done many a one beside. For as for "the Capitular itself of Theodorus, whence" the Cardinal too boldly affirmeth "that Canon was transcribed;" as if he had looked into the book himself; we are to know, that no such Capitular of Theodorus is to be found: only Burchardus and Ivo (in whom, as we said, those controverted words are extant) set down this whole chapter as taken out of Theodore's Penitential, and so misguided Gratian; for indeed in Theodorus' Penitential, which I did lately transcribe out of a most ancient copy kept in Sir Robert Cotton's treasury, no part of that chapter can be seen; nor yet any thing else tending to the matter now in hand, this short sentence only excepted, *Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est, licebit agere;* "It is lawful that confession be made unto God alone, if need require." And to suppose, as the Cardinal doth, that Theodorus should take this chapter out of the second council of Cavaillon, were an idle imagination; seeing it is well known that Theodore died Archbishop of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 690, and the council of Cavaillon was held in the year 813, that is, 123 years after the other's death. The truth is, he who made the additions to the Capitularia of Charles the Great and Ludovicus Pius, gathered by Ansegisus and Benedict, translated this Canon out of that council into his [71]collection:

[69] Burchard. Decret. lib. xix. cap. 145.
[70] Ivo, Decret. part. xv. cap. 155.
[71] Addit. III. cap. 31. edit. Pithæi et Lindenbrogii.

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which Bellarmine, as it seemeth, having some way heard of, knew not to distinguish between those Capitularia and Theodore's Penitential; being herein as negligent as in his allegation of the fourth book of the sentences: where the Master doth not bring in this sentence at all, but having among other questions propounded this also for one, "[72] Whether it be sufficient that a man confess his sins to God alone, or whether he must confess to a priest," doth thereupon set down the diversity of men's opinions touching that matter, and saith, that "unto some it seemed to suffice if confession were made to God only, without the judgment of the priest, or the confession of the Church, because David said, *I said I will confess unto the Lord:* he saith not, Unto the priest; and yet he sheweth that his sin was forgiven him." For in these points, as the same author had before noted, "[73]even the learned were found to hold diversely; because the doctors seemed to deliver divers and almost contrary judgments therein.

The diverse sentences of the doctors touching this question, whether external confession were necessary or not, are at large laid down by Gratian; who in the end leaveth the matter in suspense, and concludeth in this manner: "[74]Upon what authorities, or upon what strength of reasons both these opinions are grounded, I have briefly laid open. But whether of them we should rather cleave to, is reserved to the judgment of the reader. For both of them have for their favourers both wise and religious men." And so the matter rested undetermined 1150 years after Christ; howsoever the Roman correctors of Gratian do tell us, that now the case is altered, and that "[75]it is most certain, and must be held for most

[72] Utrum sufficiat peccata confiteri soli Deo, an oporteat confiteri sacerdoti. Quibusdam visum est sufficere, si soli Deo fiat confessio sine judicio sacerdotali et confessione ecclesiæ, quia David dixit, Dixi, Confitebor Domino, &c. non ait, Sacerdoti; et tamen remissum sibi peccatum dicit. Petr. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. XVII.

[73] In his enim etiam docti diversa sentire inveniuntur; quia super his varia ac pene adversa tradidisse videntur Doctores. Ibid.

[74] Quibus auctoritatibus vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros. De Pœnit. Dist. I. cap. 89. Quamvis.

[75] Certissimum est, et pro certissimo habendum, peccati mortalis necessariam esse confessionem sacramentalem, eo modo ac tempore adhibitam, quo in Concilio Tridentino post alia Concilia est constitutum. Rom. Correct. ibid.

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certain, that the sacramental confession of mortal sins is necessary, used in that manner, and at such time, as in the Council of Trent after other Councils it is appointed." But the first Council wherein we find any thing determined touching this necessity, is that of Lateran under Innocent the Third, wherein we heard that transubstantiation was established: for there it was ordained, that "[76]*Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*, every faithful one of either sex, being come to years of discretion, should by himself alone, once in the year at least, faithfully confess his sins unto his own priest; and endeavour according to his strength to fulfil the penance enjoined unto him, receiving reverently at least at Easter the Sacrament of the Eucharist: otherwise, that both being alive he should be kept from entering into the Church, and being dead should want Christian burial." Since which determination Thomas Aquinas, in his exposition of the text of the fourth book of the Sentences, distinct. 17, holdeth [77]the denial of the necessity of confession unto salvation to be heresy; which before that time, saith Bonaventure, in his Disputations upon the same fourth book, was not heretical; forasmuch as many Catholic doctors did hold contrary opinions therein, as appeareth by Gratian.

But Medina will not admit by any means, [78]that it should be accounted "strictly heresy;" but would have it said, that "it savours of heresy." And for this decree of confession to be made once in the year, he saith, [79]that it "doth not declare nor interpret any divine right of the thing, but rather appointeth the time for confession." Durand thinketh that it may be said, that this Statute containeth "[80]an holy

[76] Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi Pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiæ sacramentum, &c. alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura. Concil. Lateran. cap. 21.

[77] Magister et Gratianus hoc pro opinione ponunt. Sed nunc, post determinationem ecclesiæ sub Inn. III. factam, hæresis reputanda est. Thom.

[78] Ideo dicendum, quod præfata assertio non est stricte hæresis, sed sapit hæresim. Jo. Medina, Tractat. II. de Confessione, Quæst. IV.

[79] Nam illud, quod illic dicitur de confessione semel in anno, non procedit declarando, nec divinum jus interpretando, sed potius tempus confitendi instituendo. Id. ibid. Quæst. II.

[80] In quo præmittitur exhortatio sancta et salubris de confessione facienda, et subjungitur præceptum de perceptione Eucharistiæ vallatum pœna. Durand. in lib. IV. Sentent. Distinct. XVII. Quæst. XIV.

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and wholesome exhortation of making confession, and then adjoineth a precept of the receiving of the Eucharist, backed with a penalty;" or if both of them be precepts, that "[81]the penalty respecteth only the precept of communicating (of the transgression whereof knowledge may be taken), and not the precept of confession;" of the transgression whereof the Church can take no certain notice, and therefore can appoint no certain penalty for it. But howsoever, this we are sure of, that the canonists afterward held no absolute necessity of obedience to be required therein, as unto a sacramental institution ordained by Christ for obtaining remission of sins; but a canonical obedience only, as unto an useful constitution of the Church. And therefore, where Gratian in his first distinction *de Pœnitentia* had, in the 34th chapter and the three next following, propounded the allegations which made for them, who held [82]that men might obtain pardon for their sins without any oral confession of them, and then proceeded to the authorities which might seem to make for the contrary opinion; Johannes Semeca, at the beginning of that part, upon those words of Gratian, *Alii e contrario testantur*, putteth to this gloss: "[83]From this place until the section, *His auctoritatibus*, he allegeth for the other part, that sin is not forgiven unto such as are of years without confession of the mouth, which yet is false," saith he. But this free dealing of his did so displease Friar Manrique, who, by the command of Pius Quintus, set out a censure upon the glosses of the Canon Law, that he gave direction these words, "which yet is false," should be clean blotted out. Which direction of his, notwithstanding, the Roman correctors under Gregory XIII. did not follow; but letting the words still stand, give them a check only with this marginal annotation: "[84]Nay it is most true, that without confession, in desire at least, the sin is not forgiven."

[81] Et ob hoc posset rationabiliter videri alicui, quod prædicta pœna illius statuti respicit solum præceptum de communione, de cujus transgressione constare potest, et non præceptum de confessione. Idem ibid.

[82] Unde datur intelligi, quod etiam ore tacente veniam consequi possumus. De Pœnit. Dist. I. cap. 34. *Convertimini.* Vide initium ejusdem Distinct. et Glossam, ibid. verb. *Sunt enim.*

[83] Ab hoc loco usque ad sect. *His auctoritatibus*, pro alia parte allegat, quod scilicet adulto peccatum non dimittitur sine oris confessione, quod tamen falsum est. Gloss.

[84] Imo verissimum, sine confessione in voto non dimitti peccatum. Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.

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In like manner, where the same Semeca holdeth it to be the better opinion, that confession was "[85]ordained by a certain tradition of the universal Church, rather than by the authority of the new or old Testament," and inferreth thereupon, that it is [86]necessary among the Latins, but "not among the Greeks, because that tradition did not spread to them;" Friar Manrique commandeth all that passage to be blotted out; but the Roman correctors clap this note upon the margin for an antidote: "[87]Nay, confession was ordained by our Lord, and by God's law is necessary to all that fall into mortal sin after baptism, as well Greeks as Latins." And for this they quote only the 14th Session of the Council of Trent; where that opinion is accursed in us, which was held two or three hundred years ago by the men of their own religion, among whom [88]Michael of Bononia, who was prior general of the order of the Carmelites in the days of Pope Urban the Sixth, doth conclude strongly out of their own received grounds, "that confession is not necessary for the obtaining of the pardon of our sin." And Panormitan, the great canonist, [89]professeth that the opinion of Semeca doth much please him, which referreth the original of confession to a general tradition of the Church; "because," saith he, "there is not any clear authority which sheweth that God or Christ did clearly ordain that confession should be made unto a priest." Yea, "[90]all the canonists, following their first interpreter, say that confession was brought in only by the law of the Church," and not by any divine precept, if we will believe Maldonat; who addeth notwithstanding, that "[91]this

[85] Melius dicitur eam institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ traditione, potius quam ex novi vel veteris Testamenti auctoritate. Gloss. de Pœnitent. init. Distinct. v. *In Pœnitentia.*

[86] Ergo necessaria est confessio in mortalibus apud nos, apud Græcos non, quia non emanavit apud illos traditio talis. Ibid.

[87] Imo confessio est instituta a Domino, et est omnibus post baptismum lapsis in mortale peccatum, tam Græcis quam Latinis, jure divino necessaria. Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.

[88] Michael Angrianus in Psal. xxix.

[89] Multum mihi placet illa opinio, quia non est aliqua auctoritas aperta quæ innuat Deum seu Christum aperte instituisse confessionem fiendam sacerdoti. Panorm. in v. Decretal. de Pœnitent. et Remiss. cap. 12. *Omnis utriusque*, sect. 18.

[90] Omnes juris pontificii periti, secuti primum suum interpretem, dicunt confessionem tantum esse introductam jure ecclesiastico. Maldon. Disp. de Sacrament. Tom. II. de Confess. Orig. cap. 2.

[91] Sed tamen hæc opinio aut jam declarata est satis tanquam hæresis ab ecclesia, aut faceret ecclesia operæ pretium, si declararet esse hæresim. Id. ibid. de Præcepto Confess. cap. 3.

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opinion is either already sufficiently declared by the Church to be heresy, or that the Church should do well if it did declare it to be heresy."

And we find indeed, that in the year of our Lord 1479, which was 34 years after the death of Panormitan, by a special commission directed from Pope Sixtus the Fourth unto Alfonsus Carillus, Archbishop of Toledo, one Petrus Oxomensis, Professor of Divinity in the University of Salamanca, was driven to abjure [92]this conclusion, which he had before delivered as agreeable to the common opinion of the doctors, "that confession of sins in particular was grounded upon some statute of the universal Church, and not upon divine right." And when learned men for all this would not take warning, but would needs be meddling again with that which the Popish Clergy could not endure should be touched, (as Johannes de Selva, among others, in the end of his treatise *de Jurejurando*, Erasmus in divers of his works, and Beatus Rhenanus in his argument upon Tertullian's book *de Pœnitentia*,) the Fathers of Trent, within 72 years after that, conspired together to stop all men's mouths with [93]an *anathema*, that should deny sacramental confession to be of divine institution, or to be necessary unto salvation. And so we are come to an end of that point.

OF THE PRIEST'S POWER TO FORGIVE SINS.

From Confession we are now to proceed unto *Absolution*, which it were pity this man should receive before he made confession of the open wrong he hath here done, in charging us to deny "that priests have power to forgive sins." Whereas the very formal words which our Church requireth to be used in the ordination of a minister, are these: "[1]Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." And therefore, if this

[92] Quod confessio de peccatis in specie fuerit ex aliquo statuto universalis ecclesiæ, non de jure divino. Congregat. Complutens. sub Alfonso Carillo, apud Carranzam in summa Concil. sub Sixto IV.

[93] Concil. Trident. Sess. XIV. Can. 6

[1] The Form of Ordering of Priests.

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be all the matter, the Fathers and we shall agree well enough; howsoever this make-bate would fain put friends together by the ears, where there is no occasion at all of quarrel. For we acknowledge most willingly, that the principal part of the priest's ministry is exercised in the matter of "forgiveness of sins;" the question only is of the manner, how this part of their function is executed by them, and of the bounds and limits thereof, which the Pope and his clergy, for their own advantage, have enlarged beyond all measure of truth and reason.

That we may therefore give unto the priest the things that are the priest's, and to God the things that are God's, and not communicate unto any creature the power that properly belongeth to the Creator, who [2]*will not give his glory unto another;* we must in the first place lay this down for a sure ground, that to forgive sins properly, directly, and absolutely, is a privilege only appertaining unto the Most High. *I*, saith he of himself, *even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.* Isaiah xliii. 25. *Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity?* saith the prophet Micah, vii. 18; which in effect is the same with that of the scribes, Mark ii. 7, and Luke v. 21: *Who can forgive sins but God alone?* And therefore, when David saith unto God, *Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin*, Psalm xxxii. 5, Gregory, surnamed the Great, the first Bishop of Rome of that name, thought this to be a sound paraphrase of his words, "[3]Thou, who alone sparest, who alone forgivest sins. For who can forgive sins but God alone?" He did not imagine that he had committed any great error in subscribing thus simply unto that sentence of the scribes; and little dreamed that any petty doctors afterwards would arise in Rome or Rheims, who would tell us a fair tale, that "[4]the faithless Jews thought as heretics now-a-days, that to forgive sins was so proper to God, that it could not be communicated unto man;" and that "[5]true believers refer this to the increase

[2] Esai. xlviii. 11.

[3] Tu, qui solus parcis, qui solus peccata dimittis. Quis enim potest peccata dimittere, nisi solus Deus? Gregor. Exposit. II. Psalmi Pœnitential.

[4] Rhemists, Annot. in Matt. ix. 5.

[5] Richard Hopkins, in the Memorial of a Christ. Life, p. 179. edit. ann. 1612.

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of God's honour, which miscreant Jews and heretics do account blasphemy against God and injurious to his majesty." Whereas in truth the faithlessness of the Jews consisted in the application of this sentence against our Saviour Christ, whom they did not acknowledge to be God; as the senselessness of these Romanists in denying of the axiom itself.

But the world is come unto a good pass, when we must be accounted "heretics now-a-days," and consorted with "miscreant Jews," for holding the selfsame thing that the Fathers of the ancient Church delivered as a most certain truth, whensoever they had any occasion to treat of this part of the history of the Gospel. Old Irenæus telleth us, that our Saviour in this place, "[6]forgiving sins did both cure the man, and manifestly discover who he was. For if none," saith he, "can forgive sins but God alone, and our Lord did forgive them, and cured men, it is manifest that he was the Word of God made the Son of man; and that as man he is touched with compassion of us, as God he hath mercy on us, and forgiveth us our debts which we do owe unto our Maker." Tertullian saith that "[7]when the Jews, beholding only his humanity, and not being yet certain of his Deity, did deservedly reason that a man could not forgive sins, but God alone," he, by answering of them, that "the Son of man had authority to forgive sins," would by this remission of sins have them call to mind, that he was "[8]that only Son of man prophesied of in Daniel, who received power of judging, and thereby also of forgiving of sins." Dan. vii. 13, 14. St Hilary, commenting upon the ninth of Matthew, writeth thus: "[9]It moveth the scribes

[6] Peccata igitur remittens, hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifeste ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo potest remittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, remittebat autem hæc Dominus, et curabat homines; manifestum est, quoniam ipse erat Verbum Dei Filius hominis factus,&c. et quomodo homo compassus est nobis, tanquam Deus misereatur nostri, et remittat nobis debita nostra, quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. Irenæus advers. Hæres. lib. v. cap. 17.

[7] Nam cum Judæi, solummodo hominem ejus intuentes, nec dum et Deum certi, qua Dei quoque filium, merito retractarent, non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed Deum solum, &c. Tertullian. lib. iv. advers. Marcion. cap. 10.

[8] Illum scilicet solum filium hominis apud Danielis Prophetiam, consecutum judicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta. Id. ibid.

[9] Movet scribas, remissum ab homine peccatum; (hominem enim tantum in Jesu Christo contuebantur;) et remissum ab eo, quod lex laxare non poterat. Fides enim sola justificat. Deinde murmurationem eorum Dominus introspicit, dicit-

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that sin should be forgiven by a man; (for they beheld a man only in Jesus Christ;) and that to be forgiven by him, which the law could not release: for it is faith only that justifieth. Afterward the Lord looketh into their murmuring, and saith, that it is an easy thing for the Son of man upon earth to forgive sins. For it is true, *none can forgive sins but God alone:* therefore he who remitteth is God, because none remitteth but God. God remaining in man, performed this cure upon man." St Jerome thus: "[10]We read that God saith in the prophet, *I am he that blotteth out thine iniquities.* Consequently therefore the scribes, because they thought him to be a man, and did not understand the words of God, accuse him of blasphemy. But the Lord, seeing their thoughts, sheweth himself to be God, who is able to know the secrets of the heart; and holding his peace, after a sort speaketh: *By the same majesty and power wherewith I behold your thoughts, I am able also to forgive sins unto men.*" Or, as Euthymius expresseth it in his commentaries upon the same place: "[11]In truth, none can forgive sins but one, who beholdeth the thoughts of men." St Chrysostom likewise, in his sermons upon the same, sheweth that Christ here declared himself to be God, equal unto the Father; and that [12]if he had not been equal unto the Father, he would have said, "Why do you attribute unto me an unfitting opinion? I am far from that power." To the same effect also writeth Christianus Druthmarus, Paschasius Radbertus, and Walafridus Strabus in the ordinary gloss upon the same place of St Matthew;

que facile esse filio hominis in terra peccata dimittere. Verum enim, nemo potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus: ergo qui remittit Deus est, quia nemo remittit nisi Deus. Deus in homine manens curationem homini præstabat. Hilar. in Matth. Canon. 8.

[10] Legimus in propheta dicentem Deum, Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas. Consequenter ergo scribæ, quia hominem putabant, et verba Dei non intelligebant, arguunt eum blasphemiæ. Sed Dominus videns cogitationes eorum, ostendit se Deum, qui possit cordis occulta cognoscere; et quodammodo tacens loquitur, Eadem majestate et potentia, qua cogitationes vestras intueor, possum et hominibus peccata dimittere. Hieron. lib. i. Commentar. in Matt. ix.

[11] Vere nullus potest remittere peccata, nisi unus, qui intuetur cogitationes hominum. Euthym. cap. 13. in Matt.

[12] Εἰ μὴ ἴσος ἦν, ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, Τί μοι προσάπτετε μὴ προσήκουσαν ὑπόληψιν; πόῤῥω ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς δυνάμεως. Chrysost. in Matt. ix. Homil. XXIX. Græc. XXX. Latin. Vide etiam Basilium, lib. v. contra Eunomium, p. 113. edit. Græco-Latin.

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Victor Antiochenus upon the second of Mark; Theophylact and Bede upon the second of Mark and the fifth of Luke; St Ambrose upon the fifth of Luke; who in another place also bringeth this sentence of the scribes as a ground to prove the Deity of the Holy Ghost withal: forasmuch as "[13]none forgiveth sins but one God; because it is written, *Who can forgive sins but God alone?*" as St Cyril doth to prove the Deity of the Son: "[14]For this only," saith he, "did the malice of the Jews say truly, that none *can forgive sins but God alone*, who is the Lord of the law." And thence he frameth this argument: "[15]If he alone who is the Lord of all doth free us from our sins, and this agreeth to no other, and Christ bestoweth this with a power befitting God, how should he not be God?"

The same argument also is used by Novatianus and Athanasius, to the selfsame purpose. "[16]For if when it agreeth unto none but unto God to know the secrets of the heart, Christ doth behold the secrets of the heart; if, when it agreeth unto none but unto God to forgive sins, the same Christ doth forgive sins; then deservedly is Christ to be accounted God," saith Novatianus. So [17]Athanasius demandeth of the Arians, If the Son were a creature, "how was he able to forgive sins?" it being written in the prophets, "that this is the work of God. *For who is a God like unto thee*, that taketh away sins, and passeth over iniquities?" "[18]But the Son," saith he, "said unto whom he would, *Thy sins are*

[13] Peccata nemo condonat nisi unus Deus; quia æque scriptum est, Quis potest peccata donare nisi solus Deus? Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[14] Istud enim solum malitia Judæorum vere dicebat, quod nullus potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, qui legis Dominus est. Cyril. Alexand. Thesaur. lib. xii. cap. 4.

[15] Εἰ μόνος ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάττει ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς πλημμελημάτων, ἑτέρῳ πρέποντος τούτου μηδενὶ, χαρίζεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Χριστὸς μετ' ἐξουσίας θεοπρεποῦς, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη θεός; Id. in lib. de Recta Fide ad Reginas.

[16] Quod si cum nullius sit nisi Dei cordis nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspicit cordis; quod si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit, &c. merito Deus est Christus. Novatian. de Trinitat. cap. 13.

[17] Πῶς δὲ, εἴπερ κτίσμα ἦν Λόγος, τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λύσαι δυνατὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίαν, γεγραμμένου παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις, ὅτι τοῦτο θεοῦ ἐστί· Τίς γὰρ θεὸς, ὥσπερ σὺ, ἐξαίρων ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων ἀνομίας; Athanas. Orat. III. cont. Arian. p. 239. Tom. I. edit. Græco-Lat. Commelin.

[18] Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἔλεγεν οἷς ἤθελεν, Ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου. ὅτε καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γογγυζόντων, ἔργῳ τὴν ἄφεσιν ἐδείκνυε, λέγων τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Ἔγειραι, ἆρον τὸν κράββατόν σου, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκον σου. Id. Epist. de Synodis Arimin. et Seleuc. p. 712. Vide etiam Orat. IV. contra Arian. p. 254 et 281.

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forgiven thee: and when the Jews murmured, did demonstrate also this forgiveness indeed, saying to the man that was sick of the palsy, *Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.*" And therefore Bede rightly inferreth, that "[19]the Arians do err here much more madly" than the Jews; "who, when they dare not deny, being convicted by the words of the Gospel, that Jesus is both the Christ, and hath power to forgive sins, yet fear not for all that to deny him to be God;" and concludeth himself most soundly, that "[20]if he be God according to the Psalmist, who removeth our iniquities from us as far as the east is from the west, and *the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins,* therefore the same is both God and the Son of man; that the man Christ by the power of his Divinity might forgive sins, and the same Christ God by the frailty of his humanity might die for sinners." Whereunto we will add another sweet passage, borrowed by him from an ancienter author: "[21]No man taketh away sins (which the law, although holy, and just, and good, could not take away,) but he in whom there is no sin: now he taketh them away, both by pardoning those that are done, and by assisting us that they may not be done, and by bringing us to the life where they cannot at all be done." [22]Peter Lombard allegeth this as the saying of [23]St Augustine, the former sentence only being thus changed: "[24]None taketh away sins but Christ alone, who is *the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world;*" agreeable to that, which in

[19] Sed multo dementius errant Ariani, qui cum Jesum et Christum esse, et peccata posse dimittere, Evangelii verbis devicti, negare non audeant; nihilominus Deum negare non timent. Bed. in Marc. lib. i. cap. 10.

[20] Si et Deus est juxta Psalmistam, qui quantum distat oriens ab occasu elongavit a nobis iniquitates nostras, et filius hominis potestatem habet in terra dimittendi peccata; ergo idem ipse et Deus et filius hominis est; ut et homo Christus per divinitatis suæ potentiam peccata dimittere possit, et idem Deus Christus per humanitatis suæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. Id. ibid.

[21] Nemo tollit peccata (quæ nec lex, quamvis sancta et justa et bona, potuit auferre) nisi ille in quo peccatum non est. Tollit autem, et dimittendo quæ facta sunt, et adjuvando ne fiant, et perducendo ad vitam ubi fieri omnino non possunt. Id. in 1 Johan. iii.

[22] P. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Distinct. XVIII. D.

[23] In quo etiam eandem demum repperi. Lib. ii. contra posteriorem Juliani Respons. Num. 84.

[24] Nemo tollit peccata, nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi. August.

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the same place he citeth out of St Ambrose: "[25]He alone forgiveth sins who alone died for our sins;" and to that of Clemens Alexandrinus: "[26]He alone can remit sins who is appointed our master by the Father of all, who alone is able to discern disobedience from obedience." To which purpose also St Ambrose maketh this observation upon the history of the woman taken in adultery, John viii. 9, that "[27]Jesus, being about to pardon sin, remained alone. For it is not the ambassador," saith he, "nor the messenger, but the Lord himself that hath saved his people. He remaineth alone, because it cannot be common to any man with Christ to forgive sins. This is the office of Christ alone, who *taketh away the sin of the world.*" Yea, St Chrysostom himself, who of all the Fathers giveth most in this point unto God's ambassadors and messengers, is yet careful withal to preserve God's privilege entire by often interposing such sentences as these: "[28]None can forgive sins but God alone." "[29]To forgive sins belongeth to no other." "[30]To forgive sins is possible to God only." "[31]God alone doth this; which also he worketh in the washing of the new birth." Wherein that the work of cleansing the soul is wholly God's, and the minister hath no hand at all in effecting any part of it, Optatus proveth at large in his fifth book against the Donatists; shewing that "[32]none can wash the filth and spots of the mind but he who is the framer of the same mind;" and convincing the heretics, as by many other testimonies of holy Scripture, so by that

[25] Ille solus peccata dimittit, qui solus pro peccatis nostris mortuus est. Ambros.

[26] Μόνος οὗτος οἷός τε ἀφιέναι τὰ πλημμελήματα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων ὁ ταχθεὶς παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, μόνος ὁ τῆς ὑπακοῆς διακρῖναι τὴν παρακοὴν δυνάμενος. Clem. Alexandr. Pædagog. lib. i. cap. 8.

[27] Donaturus peccatum, solus remanet Jesus, &c. Non enim legatus neque nuncius, sed ipse Dominus salvum fecit populum suum. Solus remanet, quia non potest hoc cuiquam hominum cum Christo esse commune, ut peccata condonet. Solius hoc munus est Christi, qui tulit peccatum mundi. Ambros. Epist. LXXVI. ad Studium.

[28] Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεός. Chrysost. in 2 Corinth. iii. Homil. VI.

[29] Τὸ γὰρ ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου ἐστί. Id. in Johan. viii. Homil. LIV. edit. Græc. vel LIII. Latin.

[30] Ἁμαρτήματα μὲν γὰρ ἀφεῖναι μόνῳ Θεῷ δυνατόν. Id. in 1 Cor. xv. Homil. XL.

[31] Θεὸς γὰρ μόνος τοῦτο ποιεῖ. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐργάζεται. Id. ibid.

[32] Sordes et maculas mentis lavare non potest, nisi qui ejusdem fabricator est mentis. Optat. lib. v.

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of Isaiah i. 18, which he presseth in this manner: "[33]It belongeth unto God to cleanse, and not unto man; he hath promised by the Prophet Isaiah, that he himself would wash, when he saith, *If your sins were as scarlet, I will make them as white as snow.* I will make them white, he said; he did not say, I will cause them to be made white. If God hath promised this, why will you give that, which is neither lawful for you to promise, nor to give, nor to have? Behold, in Isaiah God hath promised that he himself will make white such as are defiled with sins, not by man."

Having thus therefore reserved unto God his prerogative royal in cleansing of the soul, we give unto his under officers their due, when we "[34]account of them *as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God:*" [35]not as Lords, that have power to dispose of spiritual graces as they please; [36]but as servants, that are tied to follow their master's prescriptions therein; and in following thereof do but bring their external ministry, [37]for which itself also they are beholding to God's mercy and goodness, God conferring the inward blessing of his Spirit thereupon, when and where he will. [38]*Who then is Paul,* saith St Paul himself, *and who is Apollo? but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man.* Therefore, saith Optatus, "[39]in all the servants there is no dominion, but a ministry." [40]*Cui creditur ipse dat quod creditur, non per quem creditur;* "It is he who is believed that giveth the thing which is believed, not he by whom we do believe." Whereas our Saviour, then, saith unto his Apostles, John xx. *Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins you forgive shall be forgiven:* [41]St Basil,

[33] Dei est mundare, non hominis: ipse per prophetam Esaiam promisit se loturum, dum ait, Etsi fuerint peccata vestra velut coccum, ut nivem inalbabo. Inalbabo, dixit; non dixit, Faciam inalbari. Si hoc Deus promisit, quare vos vultis reddere, quod vobis nec promittere licet, nec reddere, nec habere? Ecce in Esaia se promisit Deus inalbare peccatis affectos, non per hominem. Id. ibid.

[34] 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

[35] Chrysost. in 1 Cor. iv. Homil. x.

[36] Id. in 2 Cor. iv. Homil. VIII. circa init.

[37] Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ, φησὶ, τὸ διακονήσασθαι τούτοις, ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. Id. ibid.

[38] 1 Cor. iii. 5.

[39] Est ergo in universis servientibus non dominium, sed ministerium. Optat. lib. v.

[40] Id. ibid. Similiter et Chrysost. in 1 Cor. iii. Homil. VIII. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον μισθῶν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδέν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ διακονούμενος τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ παρέχων αὐτὰ καὶ διδοὺς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐεργέτης.

[41] Basil. lib. v. advers. Eunom. p. 113. edit. Græco-Latin.

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[42]Ambrose, [43]Augustine, [44]Chrysostom, and [45]Cyril, make this observation thereupon; that this is not their work properly, but the work of the Holy Ghost, who remitteth by them, and therein performeth the work of the true God. For "[46]indeed," saith St Cyril, "it belongeth to the true God alone to be able to loose men from their sins. For who else can free the transgressors of the law from sin, but he who is the Author of the law itself?" "[47]The Lord," saith St Augustine, "was to give unto men the Holy Ghost; and he would have it to be understood, that by the Holy Ghost himself sins should be forgiven to the faithful, and not that by the merits of men sins should be forgiven. For what art thou, O man, but a sick man that hast need to be healed? Wilt thou be a physician to me? Seek the physician together with me." So St Ambrose: "[48]Behold, that by the Holy Ghost sins are forgiven. But men to the remission of sins bring their ministry; they exercise not the authority of any power." St Chrysostom, though he make this to be the exercise of a great power, (which also he [49]elsewhere amplifieth after his manner, exceeding hyperbolically,) yet in the main matter accordeth fully with St Ambrose, that it lieth in "[50]God alone to bestow the things wherein the priest's service is employed." "[51]And what speak I of priests?" saith he: "neither angel nor archangel can do ought in those things which are given by God; but the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost do

[42] Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[43] August. contra Epist. Parmenian. lib. ii. cap. 11. et Homil. XXIII. Ex. 50.

[44] Chrysost. in 2 Cor. iii. Homil. VI.

[45] Cyril. Alexandr. in Johan. lib. xii. cap. 56.

[46] Et certe solius veri Dei est, ut possit a peccatis homines solvere. Cui enim alii prævaricatores legis liberare a peccato licet, nisi legis ipsius auctori? Id. ibid.

[47] Daturus erat Dominus hominibus Spiritum Sanctum; ab ipso Spiritu Sancto fidelibus suis dimitti peccata, non meritis hominum volebat intelligi dimitti peccata. Nam quid es, homo, nisi æger sanandus? Vis mihi esse medicus? mecum quære medicum. August. Homil. XXIII. Ex. 50.

[48] Ecce, quia per Spiritum Sanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus potestatis exercent. Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[49] Chrysost. lib. iii. de Sacerdotio.

[50] Ἃ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεὺς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι. Id. in Johan. xx. Homil. LXXXVI. edit. Græc. vel LXXXV. Latin.

[51] Καὶ τί λέγω τοὺς ἱερεῖς; οὔτε ἄγγελος οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος ἐργάσασθαί τι δύναται εἰς τὰ δεδομένα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντα οἰκονομεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δανείζει γλῶτταν, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχει χεῖρα. Id. ibid.

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dipense all. The priest lendeth his tongue, and putteth to his hand." "[52]His part only is to open his mouth; but it is God that worketh all." And the reasons whereby both he, and [53]Theophylact after him, do prove that the priests of the law had no power to forgive sins, are of as great force to take the same power from the ministers of the Gospel. First, because [54]it is God's part only to forgive sins: which is the [55]moral that Haymo maketh of that part of the history of the Gospel, wherein the lepers are cleansed by our Saviour, before they be commanded to shew themselves unto the priests; "because," saith he, "not the priests, but God doth forgive sins." Secondly, because [56]the priests were servants, yea servants of sin, and therefore had no power to forgive sins unto others; but the Son is the Lord of the house, who [57]*was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin*, saith St John. Upon which saying of his, St Augustine giveth this good note: "[58]It is he in whom there is no sin, that came to take away sin. For if there had been sin in him too, it must have been taken away from him; he could not take it away himself."

To forgive sins, therefore, being thus proper to God only and to his Christ, his ministers must not be held to have this power communicated unto them, but in an improper sense, namely, because God forgiveth by them, and hath appointed them both to apply those means by which he useth to forgive sins, and to give notice unto repentant sinners of that forgiveness. "[59]For *who can forgive sins but God alone?* yet doth he forgive by them also unto whom he hath given power to forgive," saith St Ambrose and his

[52] Τὸ πᾶν τῆς χάριτός ἐστι· τούτου ἐστὶν ἀνοῖξαι μόνον τὸ στόμα. τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ Θεὸς ἐργάζεται· σύμβολον οὗτος πληροῖ μόνον. Id. in 2 Tim. cap. i. Homil. II.

[53] Id. in Johan. viii. Homil. LIV. Græc. vel LIII. Latin.

[54] Τὸ γὰρ ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας Θεοῦ μόνου. Theophylact. in Johan. viii.

[55] Juxta spiritualem intelligentiam leprosi, antequam ad sacerdotes veniant, mundantur; quia non sacerdotes sed Deus peccata dimittit. Haymo Halberstat. in Evang. Domin. XV. post Pentecost.

[56] Δοῦλοι κἀκεῖνοι ὄντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἄλλοις ἁμαρτίας. Theophylact. in Johan. viii.

[57] 1 John iii. 5.

[58] In quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset et in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret. August. Tract. IV. in 1 Johan. iii.

[59] Quis enim potest peccata dimittere nisi solus Deus? qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit potestatem. Ambr. lib. V. Comment. in Luc. V.

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[60]followers. And "[61]though it be the proper work of God to remit sins," saith Ferus, "yet are the Apostles" and their successors "said to remit also, not simply, but because they apply those means whereby God doth remit sins: which means are the word of God and the Sacraments." Whereunto also we may add the relaxation of the censures of the Church, and prayer; for in these four the whole exercise of this *ministry of reconciliation*, as the [62]Apostle calleth it, doth mainly consist. Of each whereof it is needful that we should speak somewhat more particularly.

That *prayer* is a means ordained by God for procuring remission of sins, St Chrysostom [63]observeth out of Job XLii. 8, and is plain by that of St James: [64]*The prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him. Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed: for the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* The latter of which sentences hath reference to the prayers of every good Christian, whereunto we find a gracious promise annexed, according to that of St John: [65]*If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death.* But the former, as the verse immediately going before doth manifestly prove, pertaineth to the prayers made by the ministers of the Church, who have a special charge to be the Lord's remembrancers for the good of his people. And therefore, as St Augustine out of the latter proveth, that [66]one brother by this means may cleanse another from the contagion of sin, so doth St Chrysostom out of the former, that priests do perform this, not "[67]by teaching only and admonishing, but by assisting us also with their prayers." And the faithful prayers,

[60] Beda et Strabus in Marc. ii. et Luc. v.

[61] Quamvis Dei proprium opus sit remittere peccata, dicuntur tamen etiam Apostoli remittere, non simpliciter, sed quia adhibent media, per quæ Deus remittit peccata. Hæc autem media sunt verbum Dei et sacramenta. Ic. Ferus, Annotat. in Johan. xx. item lib. iii. Comment. in Matt. cap. xvi.

[62] 2 Cor. v. 18.

[63] Ἐντεῦθεν γινώσκομεν ὅτι εὐχὴ δικαίων περιαιρεῖ ἁμαρτίαν. Chrysost. in Catena Græca, in Job. XLii. 8.

[64] James v. 15, 16.

[65] 1 John v. 16.

[66] Quod etiam frater fratrem a delicti poterit contagione mundare. August. in Evang. Johan. Tract. LVIII.

[67] Οὐ τῷ διδάσκειν μόνον καὶ νουθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δι' εὐχῶν βοηθεῖν. Chrysost. lib. iii. de Sacer. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 17.

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both of the one and of the other, are by [68]St Augustine made the especial means whereby the power of the keys is exercised in the remitting of sins; who thereupon exhorteth offenders to shew their repentance publicly in the Church, "[69]that the Church might pray for them," and impart the benefit of absolution unto them.

In the life of St Basil, fathered upon [70]Amphilochius, of the credit whereof we have before spoken, a certain gentlewoman is brought in coming unto St Basil for obtaining remission of her sins, who is said there to have demanded this question of her: "Hast thou heard, O woman, that none can forgive sins but God alone?" and she to have returned him this answer: "I have heard it, Father, and therefore have I moved thee to make intercession unto our most merciful God for me." Which agreeth well with that which [71]Alexander of Hales and [72]Bonaventure do maintain, that the power of the keys extends to the remission of faults, by way of intercession only and deprecation, not by imparting any immediate absolution. And as in our private forgiving and praying one for another, St Augustine well noteth, that "[73]it is our part, God giving us the grace, to use the ministry of charity and humility; but it is his to hear us, and to cleanse us from all pollution of sins for Christ, and in Christ; that what we forgive unto others, that is to say, what we loose upon earth, may be loosed also in heaven:" so doth St Ambrose shew, that the case also standeth with the ministers of the Gospel, in the execution of that commission given unto them for the remitting of sins, John xx. 23: "[74]They make request," saith he, "the Godhead bestoweth the gift; for the service is done by man, but the bounty is from the power

[68] August. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib. iii. cap. 17, 18.

[69] Id. Homil. XLIX. Ex. 50. Agite pœnitentiam qualis agitur in ecclesia, ut oret pro vobis ecclesia.

[70] Tom. II. Vit. Sanct. ab Aloysio Lipomano, edit. Venet. ann. 1553. fol. 298; Vit. Patrum, ab Her. Rosweydo, edit. Antuerp. ann. 1615. p. 160; Miscellan. a Gerardo Vossio, edit. Mogunt. ann. 1604. p. 136.

[71] Alex. in Sum. part. IV. Quæst. 21. Membr. 1.

[72] Bonaventur. in lib. iv. Sent. Dist. XVIII. Art. 2. Quæst. 1.

[73] Nostrum est, donante ipso, ministerium caritatis et humilitatis adhibere; illius est exaudire, ac nos ab omni peccatorum contaminatione mundare per Christum et in Christo; ut quod aliis etiam dimittimus, hoc est, in terra solvimus, solvatur et in cœlo. August. in fine Tractat. LVIII. in Evang. Johan.

[74] Isti rogant, divinitas donat. Humanum enim obsequium, sed munificentia supernæ est potestatis. Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 19.

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above." The reason which he rendereth thereof is, because in their ministry it is the Holy Ghost that forgiveth the sin; and it is God only that can give the Holy Ghost. "[75]For this is not a human work," saith he in another place, "neither is the Holy Ghost given by man, but being called upon by the priest, is bestowed by God; wherein the gift is God's, the ministry is the priest's. For if the Apostle Paul did judge that he could not confer the Holy Ghost by his authority, but believed himself to be so far unable for this office, that he wished we might be filled with the Spirit from God, who is so great as dare arrogate unto himself the bestowing of this gift? Therefore the Apostle did intimate his desire by prayer, he challenged no right by any authority: he wished to obtain it, he presumed not to command it." Thus far St Ambrose, of whom Paulinus writeth, that whensoever any penitents came unto him, "[76]the crimes which they confessed unto him he spake of to none, but to God alone, unto whom he made intercession; leaving a good example to the priests of succeeding ages, that they be rather intercessors for them unto God, than accusers unto men." The same also, and in the selfsame words, doth [77]Jonas write of Eustachius, the scholar of Columbanus our famous countryman.

Hitherto appertaineth that sentence cited by [78]Thomas Walden out of St Jerome's Exposition upon the Psalms, that the voice of God "[79]cutteth off daily in every one of us the flame of lust by confession and the grace of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, by the prayer of the priest maketh

[75] Non enim humanum hoc opus, neque ab homine datur; sed invocatus a sacerdote, a Deo traditur: in quo Dei munus, ministerium sacerdotis est. Nam si Paulus Apostolus judicavit quod ipse donare Spiritum Sanctum sua auctoritate non posset, et in tantum se huic officio imparem credidit, ut a Deo nos spiritu optaret impleri; quis tantus est qui hujus traditionem muneris sibi audeat arrogare? Itaque Apostolus votum precatione detulit, non jus auctoritate aliqua vindicavit: impetrare optavit, non imperare præsumpsit. Id. ibid. lib. i. cap. 7.

[76] Causas autem criminum, quas illi confitebantur, nulli nisi Domino soli, apud quem intercedebat, loquebatur; bonum relinquens exemplum posteris sacerdotibus, ut intercessores apud Deum magis sint, quam accusatores apud homines. Paulinus, in Vita Sti. Ambrosii.

[77] Jonas, in Vita Sti. Eustachii Luxoviensis Abbatis, cap. i. apud Surium, Tom. II. Mart. 29.

[78] Tho. Waldens. Tom. II. de Sacramentis, cap. 147.

[79] Quotidie in unoquoque nostrum flammam libidinis per confessionem et gratiam Spiritus Sancti intercidit, id est, per orationem sacerdotis facit cessare. Hieronym. in Exposit. Psal. xxviii. in-edit.

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it to cease in us:" and that which before hath been alleged out of Leo, of the confession offered first to God and then to the priest, "[80]who cometh as an intreater for the sins of the penitent." Which he more fully expresseth in another epistle, affirming it to be "[81]very profitable and necessary that the guilt of sins (or sinners) be loosed by the supplication of the priest before the last day." See [82]St Gregory in his moral Exposition upon 1 Sam. ii. 25; Anastasius Sinaita, or Nicænus, in his answer to the 141st question, of Gretser's edition; and Nicolaus Cabasilas, in the 29th chapter of his Exposition of the Liturgy, where he directly affirmeth that "remission of sins is given to the penitents by the prayer of the priests." And therefore by the order used of old in the Church of Rome, the priest, before he began his work, was required to use this prayer: "[83]O Lord God Almighty, be merciful unto me a sinner, that I may worthily give thanks unto thee who hast made me, an unworthy one, for thy mercies' sake, a minister of the priestly office; and hast appointed me a poor and humble mediator, to pray and make intercession unto our Lord Jesus Christ for sinners that return unto repentance. And therefore, O Lord the Ruler, who wouldest have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, who dost desire not the death of a sinner, but that he may be reconciled and live, receive my prayer, which I pour forth before the face of thy mercy for thy servants and handmaids, who have fled to repentance and to thy mercy." Add hereunto the prayer of Damascen, which is still used in the Greek Church before the receiving of the Communion:

[80] Qui pro delictis pœnitentium precator accedit. Leo, in fin. Epist. LXXX. ad Episc. Campan.

[81] Multum enim utile ac necessarium est, ut peccatorum reatus ante ultimum diem sacerdotali supplicatione solvatur. Id. Epist. XCI. ad Theod. Episc.

[82] Gregor. in I. Reg. lib. ii. cap. 3, ad illud, *Si peccaverit vir in virum*, &c.

[83] Domine Deus omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori, ut condigne possim tibi gratias agere, qui me indignum propter tuam misericordiam ministrum fecisti sacerdotalis officii, et me exiguum humilemque mediatorem constituisti ad orandum et intercedendum ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum pro peccatoribus ad pœnitentiam revertentibus. Ideoque dominator Domine, qui omnes homines vis salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat, suscipe orationem meam, quam fundo ante conspectum clementiæ tuæ, pro famulis et famulabus tuis, qui ad pœnitentiam et misericordiam tuam confugerunt. Ordo Roman. Antiqu. de Officiis Divinis, p. 18. edit. Rom. ann. 1591; Baptizatorum et Confitentium Ceremoniæ Antiquæ, edit. Colon. ann. 1530; Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. 13, in capite Jejunii.

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"[84]O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who alone hast power to forgive sins, in thy goodness and loving-kindness pass by all the offences" of thy servant, whether done "of knowledge or of ignorance, voluntary or involuntary, in deed or word or thought;" and that which is used after, in the Liturgy ascribed to St James, wherewith the priest shutteth up the whole service: "[85]I beseech thee, Lord God, hear my prayer in the behalf of thy servants, and as a forgetter of injuries pass over all their offences. Forgive them all their excess, both voluntary and involuntary: deliver them from everlasting punishment. For thou art he who didst command us, saying, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* Forasmuch as thou art our God, a God who art able to shew mercy and save and forgive sins: and glory becometh thee, together with the Father who is without beginning, and the Spirit, the Author of life, now and ever, and world without end. Amen."

Yea, in the days of Thomas Aquinas there arose a learned man among the Papists themselves, who found fault with that indicative form of absolution then used by the priest, "I absolve thee from all thy sins," and would have it delivered by way of deprecation; alleging that this was not only the opinion of Gulielmus Altisiodorensis, Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Hugo Cardinalis, but also that [86]thirty years were scarce passed since all did use this form only, *Absolutionem et remissionem tribuat tibi omnipotens Deus*, "Almighty God give unto thee absolution and forgiveness." What Thomas doth answer hereunto, may be seen in his little Treatise of the Form of Absolution, which

[84] *Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, πάριδε πάντα τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ πλημμελήματα, τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν.* Euchology. Græc. fol. 217.

[85] *Ναὶ δέσποτα Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου ὑπὲρ τῶν δούλων σου, καὶ πάριδε ὡς ἀμνησίκακος τὰ ἐπταισμένα αὐτῶν ἅπαντα. συγχώρησον αὐτοῖς πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον· ἐπάλλαξον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐντειλάμενος ἡμῖν λέγων, ὅτι ὅσα ἂν δέσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, Θεὸς τοῦ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν καὶ ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας δυνάμενος, καὶ πρέπει σοι ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.* Liturg. Jacobi, in fine.

[86] Addit etiam objiciendo, quod vix 30 anni sunt quod omnes hac sola forma utebantur, Absolutionem et remissionem, &c. Thom. Opusc. XXII. cap. 5.

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upon this occasion he wrote unto the general of his order. This only will I add, that as well in the ancient rituals and in the new [87]Pontifical of the Church of Rome, as in the present practice of the Greek Church, I find the absolution expressed in the third person, as attributed wholly to God; and not in the first, as if it came from the priest himself. One ancient form of [88]absolution used among the Latins was this: "Almighty God be merciful unto thee, and forgive thee all thy sins, past, present, and to come, visible and invisible, which thou hast committed before him and his saints, which thou hast confessed, or by some negligence or forgetfulness or evil will hast concealed: God deliver thee from all evil here and hereafter, preserve and confirm thee always in every good work; and Christ, the Son of the living God, bring thee unto the life which remaineth without end." And so among the Grecians [89]whatsoever sins the penitent "for forgetfulness or shamefacedness doth leave unconfessed, we pray the merciful and most pitiful God that those also may be pardoned unto him, and we are persuaded that he shall receive pardon of them from God," saith Jeremy, the late Patriarch of Constantinople. Where, by the way, you may observe no such necessity to be here held of confessing every known sin unto a priest, that if either for shame, or some other respect, the penitent do not make an entire confession, but conceal somewhat from the notice of his ghostly Father, his confession should thereby be made void, and he excluded from all hope of forgiveness: which is that engine whereby the priests of Rome have lift up themselves into that height of domineering and tyrannizing over men's consciences, wherewith we see they now hold the poor people in most miserable awe.

[87] Pontificale Roman. edit. Rom. ann. 1595. p. 567, 568.

[88] *Absolutio Criminum.* Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, præterita, præsentia et futura, quæ commisisti coram eo et sanctis ejus, quæ confessus es, vel per aliquam negligentiam seu oblivionem vel malevolentiam abscondisti: liberet te Deus ab omni malo hic et in futuro, conservet et confirmet te semper in omni opere bono; et perducat te Christus Filius Dei vivi ad vitam sine fine manentem. Confitentium Ceremoniæ Antiqu. edit. Colon. ann. 1530.

[89] "Οσα δὲ διὰ λήθην ἢ αἰδῶ ἀνεξομολόγητα ἐάσειεν, εὐχόμεθα τῷ ἐλεήμονι καὶ πανοικτίρμονι Θεῷ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ, καὶ πεπείσμεθα τὴν συγχώρησιν τούτων ἐκ Θεοῦ λήψεσθαι. Jerem. Patriarch. C. P. Respons. r. ad Tubingenses, cap. 11.

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Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure, in the form of absolution used in their time, [90]observe, that "prayer was premised in the optative, and absolution adjoined afterward in the indicative mood." Whence they gather, that the priest's "prayer obtaineth grace, his absolution presupposeth it;" that by the former he ascendeth unto God, and procureth pardon for the fault; by the latter he descendeth to the sinner, and "reconcileth him to the Church." For "[91]although a man be loosed before God," saith the Master of the sentences, "yet is he not held loosed in the face of the Church but by the judgment of the priest." And this loosing of men by the judgment of the priest is by the fathers generally accounted nothing else but a restoring of them to the peace of the Church, and an admitting of them to the Lord's Table again; which therefore they usually express by the terms of "[92]bringing them to the Communion," "[93]reconciling them to or with the Communion," "[94]restoring the Communion to them," "[95]admitting them to fellowship," "[96]granting them peace," &c. Neither do we find that they did ever use any such formal absolution as this, "I absolve thee from all thy sins:" wherein our Popish priests, notwithstanding, do place the very form of their late devised sacrament of penance, nay, hold it to be so absolute a form, that, according to Thomas Aquinas's new divinity, [97]it would not be sufficient to say, "Almighty

[90] Secundum quod ascendit, habet se per modum inferioris et supplicantis; secundum quod descendit, per modum superioris et judicantis. Secundum primum modum potest gratiam impetrare, et ad hoc est idoneus: secundum secundum modum potest ecclesiæ reconciliare. Et ideo in signum hujus, in forma absolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum, et subjungitur absolutio per modum indicativum: et deprecatio gratiam impetrat, et absolutio gratiam supponit. Alexandr. Halens. Summ. part IV. Quæst. XXI. Membr. 1, et Bonaventur. in IV. Sentent. Distinct. XVIII. Art. 2. Quæst. I.

[91] Quia etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per judicium sacerdotis. Pet. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Distinct. XVIII. Vide Ivon. Carnotens. Epist. CCXXVIII. et Anselm. in Luc. xvii.

[92] Προσάγεσθαι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ. Concil. Laodicen. Can. II.

[93] Communioni, *vel* communione reconciliari. Concil. Eliberitan. Can. LXXII.

[94] Reddi eis communionem. Amb. de Pœnitent. lib. i. cap. 1, et lib. ii. cap. 9.

[95] Ad communicationem admittere. Cypr. Epist. LIII. Communicationem dare. Id. Epist. LIV. Tribuere communicationem. Id. de Lapsis.

[96] Pacem dare; concedere pacem. Id. ib.

[97] In sacramentali absolutione non sufficeret dicere, Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, vel, Absolutionem et remissionem tribuat tibi Deus; quia per hæc verba sacerdos absolutionem non significat fieri, sed petit ut fiat. Thom. part III. Quæst. LXXXIV. Art. 3. Ad. 1.

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God have mercy upon thee," or, "God grant unto thee absolution and forgiveness;" because, forsooth, "the priest by these words doth not signify that the absolution is done, but entreateth that it may be done;" which, how it will accord with the Roman Pontifical, where the form of absolution is laid down prayer-wise, the Jesuits who follow Thomas may do well to consider.

I pass this over, that in the days not only of [98] St Cyprian, but of [99] Alcuinus also, who lived 800 years after Christ, the reconciliation of penitents was not held to be such a proper office of the priest, but that a deacon, in his absence, was allowed to perform the same. The ordinary course that was held herein, "[100] according to the form of the ancient Canons," is thus laid down by the Fathers of the Third Council of Toledo: that the priest should "first suspend him that repented of his fault from the Communion, and make him to have often recourse unto imposition of hands among the rest of the penitents; then, when he had fulfilled the time of his satisfaction, as the consideration of the priest did approve of it, he should restore him to the Communion." And this was a constitution of old fathered upon the apostles, that bishops "[101] should separate those who said they repented of their sins, for a time determined according to the proportion of their sin, and afterward receive them, being penitent, as fathers would do their children." To this penitential excommunication and absolution belongeth that saying either of St Ambrose or St Augustine, (for the same Discourse is attributed to them both:) "[102] He who hath truly performed his repentance,

[98] Cyprian. Epist. XIII.

[99] Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. 13. in capite Jejunii.

[100] Ut secundum formam canonum antiquorum dentur pœnitentiæ, hoc est, ut prius eum, quem sui pœnitet facti, a communione suspensum, faciat inter reliquos pœnitentes ad manus impositionem crebro recurrere; expleto autem satisfactionis tempore, sicuti sacerdotalis contemplatio probaverit, eum communioni restituat. Concil. Toletan. III. cap. 11.

[101] Τοὺς ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις λέγοντας μετανοεῖν ἀφορίζειν χρόνον ὡρισμένον κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος. ἔπειτα μετανοοῦντας προσλαμβανέσθαι, ὡς πατέρες υἱούς. Const. Apost. lib. ii. cap. 16.

[102] Qui egerit veraciter pœnitentiam, et solutus fuerit a ligamento quo erat constrictus et a Christi corpore separatus, et bene post pœnitentiam vixerit, post reconciliationem cum defunctus fuerit, ad Dominum vadit, ad requiem vadit, regno Dei non privabitur, et a populo Diaboli separabitur. Ambros. in Exhortat. ad Pœnitent. August. Homil. XLI. Ex. 50. et inter Cæsarii Arelat. Sermones, Homil. XLIII. et XLIV.

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and is loosed from that bond wherewith he was tied and separated from the body of Christ, and doth live well after his repentance, whensoever after his reconciliation he shall depart this life, he goeth to the Lord, he goeth to rest, he shall not be deprived of the kingdom of God; and from the people of the devil he shall be separated." And that which we read in Anastasius Sinaita: "[103]Bind him, and till thou hast appeased God do not let him loose, that he be not more bound with the wrath of God. For if thou bindest him not, there remain bonds for him that cannot be broken. Neither do we enquire, whether the wound were often bound, but whether the binding hath profited. If it hath profited, although in a short time, use it no longer. Let the measure of the loosing be the profit of him that is bound." And that exhortation which another maketh unto the pastors of the Church: "[104]Bind with separation such as have sinned after baptism, and loose them again when they have repented, receiving them as brethren. For the saying is true, *Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.*"

That this authority of loosing remaineth still in the Church, we constantly maintain against the heresy of the [105]Montanists and [106]Novatians, who (upon this pretence, among others, that God only had power to remit sins) took away the ministerial power of reconciling such penitents as had committed heinous sins; denying that the Church had any warrant to receive them to her communion again, and to the participation of the holy mysteries, notwithstanding their repentance were ever so sound; which is directly contrary to the doctrine delivered by St Paul, both in the

[103] Δῆσον οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἕως ἂν ἐξιλεώσῃ τὸν Θεὸν, μὴ ἀφῇς λελυμένον, ἵνα μὴ πλέον δεθῇ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀργῇ. ἂν γὰρ μὴ δήσῃ, τὰ ἄῤῥηκτα αὐτὸν μένει δεσμὰ, &c. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πολλάκις ἐπεδέθη τὸ τραῦμα, ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὤνησέ τι ὁ δεσμός; εἰ μὲν ὠφέληκε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ, μηκέτι προσκείσθω. καὶ ὅρος οὗτος ἔστω λύσεως, τοῦ δεδεμένου τὸ κέρδος. Anastas. Sinait. Quæst. VI.

[104] Δήσατε ἀφορισμῷ τοὺς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἁμαρτήσαντας, καὶ λύσατε αὐτοὺς πάλιν μετανοοῦντας, ὡς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδεχόμενοι. ἀληθὴς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, Ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Homil. in illud, *Quæcunque ligaveritis*, &c. inter Opera Chrysost. Tom. VII. edit. Savil. p. 268.

[105] Hieron. Epist. LIV. contra Montanum, et lib. ii. advers. Jovinian. Tertullian. *Montanizans.* in lib. de Pudicitia, cap. ult.

[106] Ambros. lib. i. de Pœnit. cap. 2; Socrat. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7; Sozom. lib. i. cap. 21.

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general, that [107]*if a man be overtaken in a fault, they who are spiritual should restore such a one in the spirit of meekness;* and in the particular, of the incestuous Corinthian, who though he had been excommunicated for such a crime [108]*as was not so much as named amongst the Gentiles*, yet upon his repentance, the Apostle telleth the Church that they [109]*ought to forgive him, and comfort him, lest he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.* Where that speech of his is specially noted and pressed against the heretics by [110]St Ambrose: [111]*To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes I forgave it in the person of Christ.* [112]For as *in the name*, and *by the power of our Lord Jesus*, such a one was delivered to Satan; so [113]God having given unto him repentance to recover himself out of the snare of the devil, in the same name and in the same power was he to be restored again; the ministers of reconciliation standing [114]*in Christ's stead*, and Christ himself being [115]*in the midst of them that are thus gathered together in his name*, to bind or loose in heaven whatsoever they, according to his commission, shall bind or loose on earth. And here it is to be noted, that Anastasius, (by some called Nicænus, by others Sinaita and Antiochenus), who is so eager against them which say that confession made unto men profiteth nothing at all, confesseth yet, that the minister, in hearing the confession, and instructing and correcting the sinner, doth but give furtherance only thereby unto his repentance; but that the pardoning of the sin is the proper work of God. "[116]For man," saith he, "co-operateth with man unto repentance, and ministereth, and buildeth, and instructeth, and reproveth in things belonging unto salvation, according to the Apostle and the Prophet; but God blotteth out the sins of those that have

[107] Galat. vi. 1.
[108] 1 Cor. v. 1.
[109] 2 Cor. ii. 7.
[110] Ambros. de Pœnit. lib. i. cap. 16.
[111] 2 Cor. ii. 10.
[112] 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.
[113] 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.
[114] 2 Cor. v. 20.
[115] Matt. xviii. 18, 20.

[116] Ἄνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ συνεργεῖ εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ παιδεύει καὶ ἐλέγχει τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸν προφήτην· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἐξαλείφει τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων, λέγων, Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐξαλείφων τὰς ἀνομίας σου ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ. Anastas. Quæst. VI.

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confessed, saying, *I am he that blotteth out thine iniquities for mine own sake, and thy sins, and will not remember them.*"

There followeth now another part of the *ministry of reconciliation*, consisting in the due administration of the sacraments; which being the proper seals of the promises of the Gospel, as the censures are of the threats, must therefore necessarily also have reference to the [117]*remission of sins*. And so we see the ancient Fathers do hold, that [118]the commission, John xx. 23, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them*, &c. is executed by the ministers of Christ, as well in the conferring of baptism, as in the reconciling of penitents; yet so in both these, and in all the sacraments likewise of both the Testaments, that [119]the ministry only is to be accounted man's, but the power God's. For, as St Augustine well observeth, "[120]it is one thing to baptize by way of ministry, another thing to baptize by way of power:" "[121]the power of baptizing the Lord retaineth to himself, the ministry he hath given to his servants:" "[122]the power of the Lord's baptism was to pass from the Lord to no man, but the ministry was: the power was to be transferred from the Lord unto none of his ministers; the ministry was both unto the good and unto the bad." And the reason which he assigneth hereof is very good: "[123]that the hope of the baptized might be in him by whom they did acknowledge themselves to have been baptized. The Lord therefore would not have a servant to put his hope in a servant." And therefore those schoolmen argued not much amiss, that gathered this

[117] Acts ii. 38; Matt. xxvi. 28.

[118] Cyprian. Epist. LXXVI. sect. 4 edit. Pamelii, 8 Goulartii; Cyril. Alexandr. in Johan. lib. xii. cap. 56; Ambros. de Pœnitent. lib. i. cap. 7; Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 17, lin. 25; vide et Tom. VII. p. 268, lin. 37.

[119] August. Quæst. in Levitic. cap. LXXXIV.; Optat. lib. v. contra Donatist.; Chrysost. in Matt. xxvi. Homil. LXXXII. edit. Græc. vel LXXXIII. Latin.; in 1 Cor. iii. Homil. VIII.; et in 2 Tim. i. Homil. II. circa finem.

[120] Aliud enim est baptizare per ministerium, aliud baptizare per potestatem. Aug. in Evang. Johan. Tract. v.

[121] Sibi tenuit Dominus baptizandi potestatem, servis ministerium dedit. Id. ib.

[122] Potestatem Dominici baptismi in nullum hominem a Domino transituram, sed ministerium plane transiturum; potestatem a Domino in neminem ministrorum, ministerium et in bonos et in malos. Id. ibid.

[123] Hoc noluit ideo ut in illo spes esset baptizatorum, a quo se baptizatos agnoscerent. Noluit ergo servum ponere spem in servo. Id. ibid.

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conclusion thence: "[124]It is a matter of equal power to baptize inwardly, and to absolve from mortal sin; but it was not fit that God should communicate the power of baptizing inwardly unto any, lest our hope should be reposed in man. Therefore, by the same reason, it was not fit that he should communicate the power of absolving from actual sin unto any." So Bernard, or whosoever was the author of the book entitled *Scala Paradisi:* "[125]The office of baptizing the Lord granted unto many, but the power and authority of remitting sins in baptism he retained unto himself alone: whence John, by way of singularity and differencing, said of him, *He it is which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.*" And the Baptist indeed doth make a singular difference betwixt the conferrer of the external and the internal baptism, in saying, [126]*I baptize with water, but it is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.* While John "[127]did his service, God did give, who faileth not in giving: and now when all others do their service, the service is man's, but the gift is God's," saith Optatus. And Arnaldus Bonævallensis, the author of the twelve treatises *de Cardinalibus Operibus Christi,* falsely ascribed to St Cyprian, touching the Sacraments in general: "[128]Forgiveness of sins, whether it be given by baptism or by other sacraments, is properly of the Holy Ghost; and the privilege of effecting this remaineth to him alone."

But the *word of reconciliation* is it wherein the [129]apostle doth especially place that *ministry of reconciliation,* which the Lord hath committed to his ambassadors here upon earth. This is that key of knowledge, which [130]doth both

[124] Paris potestatis est interius baptizare, et a culpa mortali absolvere. Sed Deus non debuit potestatem baptizandi interius communicare, ne spes poneretur in homine: ergo pari ratione nec potestatem absolvendi ab actuali. Alexand. de Hales. Summ. part IV. Quæst. XXI. Memb. 1.

[125] Officium baptizandi Dominus concessit multis, potestatem vero et auctoritatem in baptismo remittendi peccata sibi soli retinuit: unde Johannes antonomastice et discretive de eo dixit, Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto. Scal. Paradis. cap. 3, Tom. IX. Operum Augustini.

[126] Mark i. 8; John i. 26, 33.

[127] Illo operante dabat Deus, qui dando non deficit. Et nunc operantibus cunctis, humana sunt opera, sed Dei sunt munera. Optat. lib. v. contra Donatist.

[128] Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus Sancti est; et ipsi soli hujus efficientiæ privilegium manet. Arnald. Abbas Bonævallis, Tract. de Baptismo Christi.

[129] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

[130] Clavis quæ et conscientiam ad confessionem peccati aperit, et gratiam ad æternitatem mysterii salutaris includit. Maxim. Taurin. de Natali Petri et Pauli, Hom. v.

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"open the conscience to the confession of sin, and include therein the grace of the healthful mystery unto eternity;" as Maximus Taurinensis speaketh of it. This is that powerful means which God hath sanctified for the washing away of the pollution of our souls. *Now ye are clean*, saith our [131]Saviour to his apostles, *through the word which I have spoken unto you.* And whereas every transgressor is [132]*holden with the cords of his own sins*, the apostles, according to the commission given unto them by their Master, that *whatsoever they should loose on earth, should be loosed in heaven*, did loose those cords "by the word of God, and the testimonies of the Scriptures, and exhortation unto virtues," as [133]saith St Jerome. Thus likewise doth St Ambrose note, that "[134]sins are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Levite was an interpreter and a kind of an executor;" and in that respect concludeth, that "[135]the Levite was a minister of this remission." As the Jewish scribes therefore, by [136]*taking away the key of knowledge, did shut up the kingdom of heaven against men;* so [137]every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, by [138]opening unto his hearers the door of faith doth as it were unlock that kingdom unto them; being the instrument of God herein [139]*to open men's eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith in Christ.* And here are we to understand that the ministers of Christ, by applying the word of God unto the consciences of men, both in public and in private, do discharge that part of their function which concerneth forgiveness of sins, partly operatively, partly declaratively.

[131] John xv. 13. Vide Ephes. v. 26; et August. in Evangel. Johan. Tract. LXXX.

[132] Prov. v. 22.

[133] Funibus peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur. Quos funes atque vincula solvere possunt et apostoli imitantes magistrum suum qui eis dixerat, Quæcunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlo. Solvunt autem eos apostoli sermone Dei, et testimoniis Scripturarum, et exhortatione virtutum. Hieronym. lib. vi. Comment. in Esai. cap. xiv.

[134] Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites interpres et quidam executor est. Ambros. de Abel et Cain, lib. ii. cap. 4.

[135] Levites igitur minister remissionis est. Id. ibid.

[136] Luke xi. 52, compared with Matt. xxiii. 13.

[137] Matt. xiii. 52.

[138] Acts xiv. 27.

[139] Acts xxvi. 18.

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Operatively, inasmuch as God is pleased to use their preaching of the Gospel as a means of [140]conferring his Spirit upon the sons of men, of [141]begetting them in Christ, and of [142]working faith and repentance in them; whereby the remission of sins is obtained. Thus John [143]*preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins*, and teaching [144]*the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus*, is said to [145]*turn many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just*, by [146]*giving knowledge of salvation to God's people, unto the remission of their sins.* Not because he had properly any power given him to turn men's hearts, and to work faith and repentance for forgiveness of sins, when and where he thought good; but because he was trusted with the ministry of the [147]word of God's grace, which is able to convert and quicken men's souls, and to give them an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. By the powerful application of which word, [148]*he who converteth the sinner from the error of his way*, is said to *save a soul from death, and to hide a multitude of sins.* For howsoever in true propriety [149]the covering of sins, the saving from death, and turning of men from their iniquities, is a privilege peculiar to the Lord our God, unto whom alone it appertaineth to [150]*reconcile the world to himself, by not imputing their sins unto them;* yet inasmuch as he hath committed unto his ambassadors the [151]*word of reconciliation*, they, in performing that work of their ministry, may be as rightly said to be employed in reconciling men unto God, and procuring remission of their sins, as they are said to [152]*deliver a man from going down into the pit*, when they *declare unto him his righteousness*, and to [153]*save their hearers*, when they [154]*preach unto them the Gospel, by which they are saved.*

140 Acts x. 44; Gal. iii. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 6.
141 1 Cor. iv. 15; Gal. iv. 19.
142 Rom. x. 17; John xvii. 20; 1 Cor. iii. 5; Acts xiv. 27, and xxvi. 18, 20.
143 Mark i. 4.
144 Acts xix. 4.
145 Luke i. 16, 17.
146 Ibid. vers. 77.
147 Acts xx. 32; Psal. xix. 7, and cxix. 50, 93.
148 James v. 20.
149 Rom. iv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxi. 18; Rev. i. 18; 1 Thess. i. 10; Acts iii. 26; Matt. i. 21.
150 2 Cor. v. 19.
151 Ibid.
152 Job xxxiii. 23, 24.
153 1 Tim. iv. 16.
154 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2; Acts xi. 14.

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For as the word itself which they speak is said to be [155]*their word*, which yet [156]*is in truth the word of God;* so the work which is effectually wrought by that word in them that believe, is said to be their work, though in truth it be the proper work of God. And as they that believe by their word are said to be their epistle, 2 Cor. iii. 2, that is to say, *the epistle of Christ ministered by them*, as it is expounded in the verse following; in like manner forgiveness of sins, and those other great graces that appertain to the believers, may be said to be their work, that is to say, the work of Christ ministered by them. For in very deed, as Optatus speaketh in the matter of baptism, "[157]not the minister, but the faith of the believer, and the Trinity, do bring these things unto every man." And where the preaching of the Gospel doth prove [158]*the power of God unto salvation*, only the weakness of the external ministry must be ascribed to men; but [159]*the excellency of the power* must ever be acknowledged to be *of God, and not of them:* [160]*neither he that planteth* being here *any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.* For howsoever in respect of the former, such as take pains in the Lord's husbandry may be accounted Θεοῦ συνεργοὶ, as the [161]Apostle termeth them, *labourers together with God*, (though that little piece of service itself also be not performed by their own strength, but [162]*according to the grace of God which is given unto them);* yet "[163]that which followeth, of giving the increase, God effecteth not by them, but by himself. This," saith St Augustine, "exceedeth the lowliness of man, this exceedeth the sublimity of angels; neither appertaineth unto any, but unto the husbandman, the Trinity."

Now, as the Spirit of God doth not only [164]*work* diversities of graces in us, *distributing to every man severally as he will*, but also maketh us to [165]*know the things that*

[155] John xvii. 20.

[156] 1 Thess. ii. 13.

[157] Has res unicuique non ejusdem rei operarius, sed credentis fides et Trinitas præstat. Optat. lib. v. 18, contra Donatist.

[158] Rom. i. 16; 1 Cor. i. 18.

[159] 2 Cor. iv. 7. [160] 1 Cor. iii. 7.

[161] Ibid. vers. 9. [162] Ibid. vers. 10.

[163] Jam vero quod sequitur, *Sed Deus incrementum dedit*, non per illos, sed per seipsum facit. Excedit hoc humanam humilitatem, excedit angelicam sublimitatem, nec omnino pertinet nisi ad agricolam, Trinitatem. Aug. in Evang. Johan. Tract. LXXX.

[164] 1 Cor. xii. 11. [165] 1 Cor. ii. 12.

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are freely given to us of God; so the ministers of the New Testament, being [166]*made able ministers of the* same *Spirit*, are not only ordained to be God's instruments to work faith and repentance in men, for the obtaining of remission of sins, but also to declare God's pleasure unto such as believe and repent; and in his name to certify them, and give assurance to their consciences, that their sins are forgiven, they having [167]*received this ministry of the Lord Jesus to testify the Gospel of the grace of God*, and so by their function being appointed to be witnesses rather than conferrers of that grace. For it is here with them in the loosing, as it is in the binding part of their ministry, where they are brought in, like unto those seven angels in the book of the Revelation, [168]which *pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth*, [169]having *vengeance ready against all disobedience*, and a charge from God to [170]*cast men out of his sight;* not because they are properly the avengers, for that [171]title God challengeth unto himself, or that *vengeance* did any way appertain unto them, (for [172]it is written, *Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord*,) but because they were the denouncers, not the inflicters, of this vengeance. So though it be the Lord that [173]*speaketh concerning a nation, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy*, or on the other side, *to build and to plant it;* yet he [174]in whose mouth God put those words of his, is said to be set by him *over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant;* as if he himself were a doer of those great matters, who was only [175]*ordained to be a prophet unto the nations*, to speak the things unto them which God had commanded him. Thus likewise in the thirteenth of Leviticus, where the laws are set down that concern the leprosy, which was a type of the pollution of sin, we meet often with these speeches: [176]*the priest shall cleanse him*, and [177]*the priest shall pollute him*, and in the 44th verse, [178]*the priest with pollution shall pollute*

[166] 1 Cor. iii. 6.
[167] Acts xx. 24.
[168] Rev. xvi. 1.
[169] 2 Cor. x. 6.
[170] Jer. xv. 1.
[171] Psal. xciv. 1.
[172] Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30.
[173] Jer. xviii. 7, 9.
[174] Jer. i. 9, 10.
[175] Ibid. vers. 5, 7.

[176] וטהרו הכהן καὶ καθαριεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.
[177] יטמאו הכהן καὶ μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.
[178] טמא יטמאנו הכהן μιάνσει μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.

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him; [179]not, saith St Jerome, "that he is the author of the pollution, but that he declareth him to be polluted who before did seem unto many to have been clean." Whereupon the Master of the sentences (following herein St Jerome, and being afterwards therein followed himself by many others) observeth, that "[180]in remitting or retaining sins, the priests of the Gospel have that right and office which the legal priests had of old under the law in curing of the lepers. These therefore," saith he, "forgive sins or retain them, whilst they shew and declare, that they are forgiven or retained by God. For the priests put the name of the Lord upon the children of Israel, but it was he himself that blessed them, as it is read in Numbers." The place that he hath reference unto is in the sixth chapter of that book, where the priests are commanded to bless the people by saying unto them, *The Lord bless thee*, &c. and then it followeth in the last verse of that chapter: *So they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.*

Neither do we grant hereupon, as the [181]adversary falsely chargeth us, that "a layman, yea, or a woman, or a child, or any infidel, or the devil," the father of all calumniators and liars, "or a parrot likewise, if he be taught the words, may as well absolve as the priest." As if [182]the *speech* were all the thing that here were to be considered, and not the *power;* where we are taught, that *the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.* Indeed, if the priests by their office brought nothing with them but the ministry of the bare letter, a parrot peradventure might be taught to sound that letter as well as they; but we believe, that [183]*God hath made them able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit:* and that the Gospel ministered by them [184]*cometh unto us not in word only, but also*

[179] Contaminatione contaminabit eum, haud dubium, quin sacerdos, non quo contaminationis auctor sit, sed quo ostendat eum contaminatum qui prius mundus plurimis videbatur. Hieron. lib. vii. in Esai. cap. xxiii.

[180] In remittendis vel in retinendis culpis id juris et officii habent Evangelici sacerdotes, quod olim habebant sub lege legales in curandis leprosis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimissa a Deo vel retenta indicant et ostendunt. Ponunt enim sacerdotes nomen Domini super filios Israel, sed ipse benedixit, sicut legitur in Numeris. Petr. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. XIV. f.

[181] Bellarmin. de Pœnitent. lib. iii. cap. 2, sect. ult.

[182] 1 Cor. iv. 19, 20. [183] 2 Cor. iii. 6.

[184] 1 Thess. i. 5.

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in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance. For God hath added a special [185]beauty to *the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace;* that howsoever others may bring glad tidings of good things to the penitent sinner, as truly as they do, yet neither can they do it with the same authority, neither is it to be expected that they should do it with such power, such assurance, and such full satisfaction to the afflicted conscience. The speech of every Christian, we know, should be employed [186]*to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers;* and a private brother in his place may deliver sound doctrine, reprehend vice, exhort to righteousness, very commendably; yet hath the Lord, notwithstanding all this, for the necessary use of his Church, appointed public officers to do the same things, and hath given unto them a peculiar [187]*power for edification,* wherein they may boast above others, and in the due execution whereof God is pleased to make them instruments of ministering a more plentiful measure of grace unto their hearers than may be ordinarily looked for from others. These men are appointed to be of God's high commission; and therefore they may [188]*speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority:* they are *God's* [189]*angels* and [190]*ambassadors for Christ,* and therefore, in delivering their message, are to be [191]*received as an angel of God,* yea, *as Christ Jesus:* that look how the prophet Isaiah was comforted when the angel said unto him, [192]*Thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged;* and the poor woman in the Gospel, when Jesus said unto her, [193]*Thy sins are forgiven;* the like consolation doth the distressed sinner receive from the mouth of the minister, when he hath compared the truth of God's word faithfully delivered by him, with the work of God's grace in his own heart; according to that of Elihu: [194]*If there be an angel* or a messenger *with him, an interpreter, one of a thousand, to declare unto man his righteousness; then will God have mercy upon him, and say, Deliver him from going down into the pit, I have received a reconciliation.* For as it is the office

[185] Rom. x. 15. [186] Ephes. iv. 29. [187] 2 Cor. x. 8, and xiii. 10. [188] Tit. ii. 15. [189] Rev. i. 20. [190] 2 Cor. v. 20. [191] Gal. iv. 14. [192] Isai. vi. 7. [193] Luke vii. 48. [194] Job xxxiii. 23, 24.

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of this messenger and interpreter, to [195]*pray us in Christ's stead that we would be reconciled to God;* so when we have listened unto this motion, and submitted ourselves to the Gospel of peace, it is a part of his office likewise to declare unto us in Christ's stead, that we are reconciled to God; and [196]*in him Christ* himself must be acknowledged to *speak*, who *to us-ward*, by this means, *is not weak, but is mighty in us.*

But our new masters will not content themselves with such a ministerial power of forgiving sins as hath been spoken of, unless we yield that they have authority so to do properly, directly, and absolutely; that is, unless we acknowledge that their high priest sitteth in the temple of God as God, and all his creatures as so many demi-gods under him. For we "[197]must say," if we will be drunk with the drunken, "that in this high priest there is the fulness of all graces, because he alone giveth a full indulgence of all sins; that this may agree unto him, which we say of the chief prince our Lord, that *of his fulness all we have received.*" Nay, we must acknowledge, that the meanest in the whole army of priests, that followeth this king of pride, hath such fulness of power derived unto him for the opening and shutting of heaven before men, "that [198]forgiveness is denied to them whom the priest will not forgive;" and his absolution on the other side is a sacramental act, which conferreth grace by the work wrought, that is, as they [199]expound it, "actively, and immediately, and instrumentally effecteth the grace of justification" in such as receive it: that "[200]as the wind doth extinguish the fire and dispel the clouds, so doth the priest's absolution scatter sins, and make them to vanish away;" the sinner being thereby immediately acquitted before God, howsoever that sound conversion of heart be

[195] 2 Cor. v. 20. [196] 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

[197] Oportet dicere, in summo pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum, quia ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, ut competat sibi, quod de primo principe Domino dicimus, quia de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus. De Regimine Principum, lib. iii. cap. 10, inter Opuscula Thomæ, Num. 20.

[198] Negatur remissio illis quibus noluerint sacerdotes remittere. Bellar. de Pœnit. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[199] Active et proxime atque instrumentaliter efficit gratiam justificationis. Id. de Sacrament. in genere, lib. ii. cap. 1.

[200] Ut flatus extinguit ignem et dissipat nebulas, sic etiam absolutio sacerdotis peccata dispergit, et evanescere facit. Id. de Pœnit. lib iii. cap. 2.

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wanting in him, which otherwise would be requisite. For [201] a conditional absolution, upon such terms as these, "If thou dost believe and repent as thou oughtest to do," is, in these men's judgment, to no purpose, and can give no security to the penitent; seeing it dependeth upon an uncertain condition. Have we not then just cause to say unto them, as [202] Optatus did unto the Donatists? *Nolite vobis majestatis dominium vendicare.* "Intrude not upon the royal prerogative of our Lord and Master." No man may challenge this absolute power of the keys, but [203] *he that hath the key of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth;* he to whom [204] the Father *hath given power over all flesh*, yea, [205] *all power in heaven and in earth;* even the eternal Son of God, who hath in his hands [206] *the keys of death*, and is able to [207] *quicken whom he will.*

The ministers of the Gospel may not meddle with the matter of sovereignty, and think that they have power to proclaim war or conclude peace betwixt God and man according to their own discretion: they must remember that they are [208] *ambassadors for Christ*, and therefore in this treaty are to proceed according to the instructions which they have received from their sovereign; which if they do transgress, they go beyond their commission therein; they do not πρεσβεύειν but παραπρεσβεύειν, and their authority for so much is plainly void. The bishop, saith St Gregory, and the Fathers in the Council of Aquisgran following him, "[209] in loosing and binding those that are under his charge, doth follow oftentimes the motions of his own will, and not the merit of the causes. Whence it cometh to pass, that he depriveth himself of this power of binding and loosing, who doth exercise the same according to his own will, and not according to the manners of them which be subject unto him." That is to say, he maketh himself worthy to be deprived of that power which he hath

[201] Id. ibid. sect. penult.
[202] Optat. lib. v. [203] Rev. iii. 7.
[204] John xvii. 2. [205] Matt. xxviii. 18.
[206] Rev. i. 18.
[207] John v. 21.
[208] 2 Cor. v. 20.
[209] Sæpe in solvendis ac ligandis subditis suæ voluntatis motus, non autem causarum merita sequitur. Unde fit, ut ipsa hac ligandi et solvendi potestate se privet, qui hanc pro suis voluntatibus, et non pro subjectorum moribus exercet. Greg. in Evangel. Homil. XXVI. Concil. Aquisgran. sub Ludovico Pio, cap. 37.

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thus abused, (as the [210]Master of the sentences, and [211]Semeca in his gloss upon Gratian, would have St Gregory's meaning to be expounded,) and *pro tanto*, as hath been said, actually voideth himself of this power; this unrighteous judgment of his given upon earth being no ways ratified, but absolutely disannulled, in the court of heaven. For he who by his office is appointed to be a minister of [212]*the word of truth*, hath no power given him to [213]*do any thing against the truth, but for the truth;* neither is it to be imagined that the sentence of man, who is subject to deceive and be deceived, should any ways prejudice the sentence of God, whose [214]judgment we know to be always *according to the truth*. Therefore doth Pacianus, in the end of his first epistle to Sympronianus the Novatian, shew, that at that time absolution was [215]not so easily given unto penitents as now-a-days it is; but "[216]with great pondering of the matter and with great deliberation, after many sighs and shedding of tears, after the prayers of the whole Church, pardon was so not denied unto true repentance, that Christ being to judge, no man should prejudge him." And a little before, speaking of the bishop, by whose ministry this was done; "[217]He shall give an account," saith he, "if he have done any thing amiss, or if he have judged corruptly and wickedly. Neither is there any prejudice done unto God, whereby he might not undo the works of this evil builder; but in the meantime, if that administration of his be godly, he continueth a helper of the works of God." Wherein he doth but tread in the steps of St Cyprian, who at the first rising of the Novatian heresy wrote in the same manner unto Antonianus: "[218]We do not prejudice the Lord that is to judge, but

[210] Qui indignos ligat vel solvit, propria potestate se privat, id est, dignum privatione se facit. Petr. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. XVIII. C.

[211] Privat, id est, meretur privari. Jo. Semeca, Gloss. Grat. Caus. 11. Quæst. III. cap. 60, *Ipse ligandi*.

[212] Ephes. i. 13; James i. 18.

[213] 2 Cor. xiii. 8. [214] Rom. ii. 2.

[215] Scio, frater, hanc ipsam pœnitentiæ veniam non passim omnibus dari, &c. Pacian. Epist. I.

[216] Magno pondere magnoque libramine, post multos gemitus effusionemque lacrymarum, post totius ecclesiæ preces, ita veniam veræ pœnitentiæ non negari, ut judicaturo Christo nemo præjudicet. Ibid.

[217] Reddet quidem ille rationem, si quid perperam fecerit, vel si corrupte et impie judicarit. Nec præjudicatur Deo, quo minus mali ædificatoris opera rescindat: interea, si pia illa administratio est, adjutor Dei operum perseverat. Id. ibid.

[218] Neque enim præjudicamus Domino judicaturo, quo minus si pœnitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris invenerit, tunc

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that he, if he find the repentance of the sinner to be full and just, he may then ratify that which shall be here ordained by us; but if any one do deceive us with the semblance of repentance, God (who is not mocked, and who beholdeth the heart of man,) may judge of those things which we did not well discern, and the Lord may amend the sentence of the servants."

Hereupon St Jerome, expounding those words, Daniel iv. 24, *It may be God will pardon thy sins*, reproveth those men of great rashness that are so peremptory and absolute in their absolutions. "[219]When blessed Daniel," saith he, "who knew things to come, doth doubt of the sentence of God, they do a rash deed that boldly promise pardon unto sinners." St Basil also resolveth us, that "[220]the power of forgiving is not given absolutely, but upon the obedience of the penitent, and his consent with him that hath the care of his soul." For it is in loosing as it is in binding. "[221]Thou hast begun to esteem thy brother as a publican," saith St Augustine, "thou bindest him upon earth; but look that thou bindest him justly. For unjust bonds justice doth break." So when the priest saith, "I absolve thee," Maldonat confesseth that he meaneth no more thereby but "[222]As much as in me lieth, I absolve thee;" and Suarez acknowledgeth that it implicitly includeth this condition, "[223]Unless the receiver put some impediment;" for which he allegeth the authority of St Hugo de St Victory, lib. ii. *de Sacramentis*, p. 14, sect. 8, affirming, "[224]that this form doth rather signify the power and virtue, than the event," of the absolution. And therefore doth the Master of the sen-

ratum faciat quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum; si vero nos aliquis pœnitentiæ simulatione deluserit, Deus, qui non deridetur, et qui cor hominis intuetur, de his quæ nos minus perspeximus judicet, et servorum sententiam Dominus emendet. Cypr. Epist. LII. sect. 11, edit. Goulart.

[219] Cum beatus Daniel, præscius futurorum, de sententia Dei dubitet, rem temerariam faciunt, qui audacter peccatoribus indulgentiam pollicentur. Hieronym. in Daniel. cap. iv.

[220] Ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ ἀφιέναι οὐκ ἀπολύτως δέδοται, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπακοῇ τοῦ μετανοοῦντος, καὶ συμφωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς. Basil. Regul. Brevior. Quæst. XV.

[221] Cœpisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum: ligas illum in terra. Sed ut juste alliges, vide: nam injusta vincula dirumpit justitia. August. de Verbis Domini, Serm. XVI. cap. 4.

[222] Quantum in me est, ego te absolvo. Maldonat. Tom. II. de Pœnitent. part. III. Thes. 5.

[223] Nisi suscipiens obicem ponat. Fr. Suarez. in Thom. Tom. IV. Disp. XIX. sect. 2, Num. 20.

[224] Hanc formam magis significare virtutem suam, quam eventum. Hugo.

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tences rightly observe, that "[225]God doth not evermore follow the judgment of the Church, which sometimes judgeth by surreption and ignorance; whereas God doth always judge according to the truth." So the priests "[226]sometime declare men to be loosed or bound who are not so before God: with the penalty of satisfaction or excommunication they sometime bind such as are unworthy, or loose them; they admit them that be unworthy to the sacraments, and put back them that be worthy to be admitted." That saying therefore of Christ must be understood to be verified "in them," saith he, "whose merits do require that they should be loosed or bound. For then is the sentence of the priest approved and confirmed by the judgment of God and the whole court of heaven, when it doth proceed with that discretion, that the merits of them who be dealt withal do not contradict the same: whomsoever therefore they do loose or bind, using the key of discretion according to the parties' merits, they are loosed or bound in heaven, that is to say, with God; because the sentence of the priest, proceeding in this manner, is approved and confirmed by divine judgment." Thus far the Master of the sentences, who is followed herein by the rest of the schoolmen, who generally agree that the power of binding and loosing, committed to the ministers of the Church, is not absolute, but must be limited with *clave non errante*, as being then only of force [227]when matters are carried with right judgment, and no error is committed in the use of the keys.

Our Saviour, therefore, must still have the privilege reserved unto him of being the absolute Lord *over his own*

[225] Ita et hic aperte ostenditur, quod non semper sequitur Deus ecclesiæ judicium; quæ per surreptionem et ignorantiam interdum judicat; Deus autem semper judicat secundum veritatem. Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. Distinct. XVIII. f.

[226] Aliquando enim ostendunt solutos vel ligatos, qui ita non sunt apud Deum; et pœna satisfactionis vel excommunicationis interdum indignos ligant vel solvunt; et indignos sacramentis admittunt, et dignos admitti arcent. Sed intelligendum est hoc in illis, quorum merita solvi vel ligari postulant. Tunc enim sententia sacerdotis judicio Dei et totius cœlestis curiæ approbatur et confirmatur, cum ita ex discretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Quoscunque ergo solvunt vel ligant, adhibentes clavem discretionis reorum meritis, solvuntur vel ligantur in cœlis, id est, apud Deum; quia divino judicio sacerdotis sententia sic progressa approbatur et confirmatur. Id. ibid. h. Vide Gabriel. Biel, in eand. Distinct. XVIII. Quæst. I. lit. b.

[227] Quod in terra sacerdos, clave non errante, et recto judicio procedens, retinet, nec dimittit; Deus etiam in cœlo retinet, nec dimittit. Tolet. Comment. in Johan. XX.

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house: it is sufficient for his officers that they be esteemed as Moses was, [228]*faithful in all his house as servants.* The place wherein they serve is a steward's place; and the Apostle telleth them, [229]*that it is required in stewards, that the man be found faithful.* They may not, therefore, carry themselves in their office as the [230]*unjust steward* did, and presume to strike out their Master's debt without his direction and contrary to his liking. Now, we know that our Lord hath given no authority unto his stewards to grant an acquittance unto any of his debtors, that bring not unfeigned faith and repentance with them. "[231]Neither angel nor archangel can," neither yet "the Lord himself, (who alone can say, I am with you,) when we have sinned, doth release us, unless we bring repentance with us," saith St Ambrose; and Eligius, bishop of Noyon, in his sermon unto the penitents: "[232]Before all things it is necessary you should know, that howsoever you desire to receive the imposition of our hands, yet you cannot obtain the absolution of your sins before the divine piety shall vouchsafe to absolve you by the grace of compunction." To think, therefore, that it lieth in the power of any priest truly to absolve a man from his sins, without implying the condition of his "believing and repenting as he ought to do," is both presumption and madness in the highest degree. Neither dareth Cardinal Bellarmine, who censureth this conditional absolution in us for idle and superfluous, when he hath considered better of the matter, assume unto himself, or communicate unto his brethren, the power of giving an absolute one. For he is driven to confess, with others of his fellows, that when the priest "[233]saith, I absolve thee," he "doth not affirm

[228] Heb. x. 5, 6. [229] 1 Cor. iv. 2.

[230] Luke xvi. 6—8.

[231] Nec angelus potest, nec archangelus: Dominus ipse, (qui solus potest dicere, Ego vobiscum sum,) si peccaverimus, nisi pœnitentiam deferentibus non relaxat. Ambr. Epist. XXVIII. ad Theodosium Imp.

[232] Ante omnia autem vobis scire necesse est, quia licet impositionem manuum nostrarum accipere cupiatis, tamen absolutionem peccatorum vestrorum consequi non potestis, antequam per compunctionis gratiam divina pietas vos absolvere dignabitur. Eligius Noviomens. Homil. XI. Tom. VII. Biblioth. Patr. p. 248. edit. Colon.

[233] Nam qui dicit, Ego te baptizo, vel absolvo, non affirmat se absolute baptizare vel absolvere, cum non ignoret, multis modis fieri posse, ut neque baptizet, neque absolvat, licet ea verba pronunciet; nimirum si is, qui sacramentum suscipere videtur, forte non habeat suscipiendi intentionem, vel non sit rite dispositus, aut obicem ponat. Igitur minister illis verbis nihil aliud significat, nisi se, quod in se est, sacramentum reconciliationis vel ab-

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that he doth absolve absolutely, as not being ignorant that it may many ways come to pass that he doth not absolve, although he pronounce those words; namely, if he who seemeth to receive this sacrament" (for so they call it) "peradventure hath no intention to receive it, or is not rightly disposed, or putteth some block in the way. Therefore the minister," saith he, "signifieth nothing else by those words, but that he, as much as in him lieth, conferreth the sacrament of reconciliation or absolution, which in a man rightly disposed hath virtue to forgive all his sins."

Now, that contrition is at all times necessarily required for obtaining remission of sins and justification, is a matter determined by the Fathers of [234] Trent. But mark yet the mystery. They equivocate with us in the term of *contrition*, and make a distinction thereof into perfect and imperfect. The former of these is contrition properly: the latter they call *attrition*, which, howsoever in itself it be not true contrition, yet when the priest, with his power of forgiving sins, interposeth himself in the business, they tell us that "[235] attrition by virtue of the keys is made contrition;" that is to say, that a sorrow arising from a servile fear of punishment, and such a fruitless [236] *repentance* as the reprobate may carry with them to hell, by virtue of the priest's absolution is made so fruitful that it shall serve the turn for obtaining forgiveness of sins; as if it had been that [237] *godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of.* By which spiritual cozenage many poor souls are most miserably deluded, while they persuade themselves, that upon the receipt of the priest's acquittance, upon this carnal sorrow of theirs, all scores are cleared until that day; and then beginning upon a new reckoning, they sin and confess, confess and sin afresh, and tread this round so long till they put off all thought of saving repentance; and so the [238] blind following the blind, both at last fall into the pit.

solutionis impendere, quod vim habet in homine disposito peccata omnia dimittendi. Bellarmin. de Pœnitent. lib. ii. cap. 14, sect. penult.

[234] Concil. Trident. Sess. XIV. cap. 4.

[235] Attritio virtute clavium fit contritio. Romani Correctores Gloss. Gratiani de Pœnitent. Dist. I. in principio; et alii passim.

[236] Matt. xxvii. 3—5.

[237] 2 Cor. vii. 10.

[238] Matt. xv. 14.

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"[239] Evil and wicked, carnal, natural, and devilish men," saith St Augustine, "imagine those things to be given unto them by their seducers which are only the gifts of God, whether sacraments or any other spiritual works concerning their present salvation." But such as are thus seduced may do well to listen a little to this grave admonition of St Cyprian: "[240] Let no man deceive, let no man beguile himself: it is the Lord alone that can shew mercy. He alone can grant pardon to the sins committed against him, who did himself bear our sins, who suffered grief for us, whom God did deliver for our sins. Man cannot be greater than God, neither can the servant by his indulgence remit or pardon that which by heinous trespass is committed against the Lord; lest to him that is fallen this yet be added as a further crime, if he be ignorant of that which is said, *Cursed is the man that putteth his trust in man.*" Whereupon St Augustine sticketh not to say, that good ministers do consider, that "[241] they are but ministers, they would not be held for judges, they abhor that any trust should be put in them;" and that the power of remitting and retaining sins is committed unto the Church, to be dispensed therein, "[242] not according to the arbitrament of man, but according to the arbitrament of God." Whereas our adversaries lay the foundation of their Babel upon another ground, that "[243] Christ hath appointed priests to be judges upon earth, with such power that none, falling into sin after baptism, may be reconciled without their sentence;" and hath "[244] put

[239] Mali et facinorosi, carnales, animales, diabolici, a seductoribus suis sibi dari arbitrantur, quæ non nisi munera Dei sunt, sive sacramenta, sive spirituales aliquas operationes, circa præsentem salutem. August. de Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. iii. cap. ult.

[240] Nemo se fallat, nemo se decipiat: solus Dominus misereri potest. Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipsum commissa sunt, solus potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris. Homo Deo esse non potest major; nec remittere aut donare indulgentia sua servus potest, quod in Dominum delicto graviore commissum est: ne adhuc lapso et hoc accedat ad crimen, si nesciat esse prædictum, Maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine. Cyprian. de Lapsis, sect. 7 edit. Pamel. 14 Goulart.

[241] Ministri enim sunt, pro judicibus haberi nolunt, spem in se poni exhorrescunt. August. in Evang. Johan. Tract. v.

[242] Non secundum arbitrium hominum, sed secundum arbitrium Dei. Id. de Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. iii. cap. 18.

[243] Christus instituit sacerdotes judices super terram cum ea potestate, ut sine ipsorum sententia nemo post baptismum lapsus reconciliari possit. Bellarmin. de Pœnit. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[244] Igitur in horum arbitrio munus solvendi et ligandi, remittendi et retinendi peccata hominum, a Christo Domino per Spiritum Sanctum fuisse positum liquido constat. Baron. Annal. Tom. I. Ann. 34, sect. 197.

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the authority of binding and loosing, of forgiving and retaining, the sins of men in their arbitrament."

Whether the ministers of the Gospel may be accounted judges in some sort, we will not much contend: for we dislike neither that saying of St Jerome, that "[245]having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, they judge after a sort before the day of judgment;" nor that other of St Gregory, that the Apostles and such as succeed them in the government of the Church, "[246]obtain a principality of judgment from above, that they may in God's stead retain the sins of some and release the sins of others." All the question is, in what sort they do judge, and whether the validity of their judgment do depend upon the truth of the conversion of the penitent; wherein if our Romanists would stand to the judgment of St Jerome or St Gregory, one of whom they make a Cardinal and the other a Pope of their own Church, the controversy betwixt us would quickly be at an end. For St Jerome, expounding that speech of our Saviour touching *the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, in the 16th of St Matthew, "[247]the bishops and priests," saith he, "not understanding this place, assume to themselves somewhat of the Pharisees' arrogancy, as imagining that they may either condemn the innocent or absolve the guilty; whereas it is not the sentence of the priests, but the life of the parties, that is enquired of with God. In the book of Leviticus we read of the lepers, where they are commanded to shew themselves to the priests; and if they shall have the leprosy, that then they shall be made unclean by the priest. Not that the priest should make them leprous and unclean, but

[245] Qui, claves regni cœlorum habentes, quodammodo ante judicii diem judicant. Hieronym. Epist. I. ad Heliodorum.

[246] Principatum superni judicii sortiuntur, ut vice Dei quibusdam peccata retineant, quibusdam relaxent. Gregor. Homil. XXVI. in Evangel.

[247] Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant: non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos; sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit; sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit quive solvendus. Hieronym. Comment. in Matt. cap. XVI.

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that they should take notice who was a leper and who was not, and should discern who was clean and who unclean. Therefore, as there the priest doth make the leper clean or unclean, so here the bishop or priest doth bind or loose; not bind the innocent, or loose the guilty; but when, according to his office, he heareth the variety of sins, he knoweth who is to be bound and who to be loosed." Thus far St Jerome.

St Gregory likewise, in the very same place from whence the Romanists fetch that former sentence, doth thus declare in what manner that principality of judgment which he spake of should be exercised, being therein also followed step by step by the Fathers of the Council of Aquisgran: "[248]The causes ought to be weighed, and then the power of binding and loosing exercised. It is to be seen what the fault is, and what the repentance is that hath followed after the fault; that such as Almighty God doth visit with the grace of compunction, those the sentence of the pastor may absolve. For the absolution of the prelate is then true, when it followeth the arbitrament of the eternal Judge." And this do they illustrate by that which we read in the Gospel of the raising of Lazarus, John xi. 44, that Christ did first of all give life to him that was dead by himself, and then commanded others to *loose him and let him go.* "[249]Behold," say they, "the disciples do loose him being now alive, whom their Master had raised up being dead. For if the disciples had loosed Lazarus being dead, they should have discovered a stench more than a virtue. By which consideration we may see, that by our pastoral authority we ought to loose those whom we know that our Author and Lord hath revived with his quickening grace." The same application also do we find made, not only by

[248] Causæ ergo pensandæ sunt, et tunc ligandi atque solvendi potestas exercenda. Videndum est quæ culpa, aut quæ sit pœnitentia secuta post culpam; ut quos omnipotens Deus per compunctionis gratiam visitat, illos pastoris sententia absolvat. Tunc enim vera est absolutio præsidentis, cum æterni arbitrium sequitur Judicis. Gregor. in Evangel. Hom. XXVI. Concil. Aquisgran. sub Ludovico Pio, cap. 37.

[249] Ecce illum discipuli jam viventem solvunt, quem magister resuscitaverat mortuum. Si enim discipuli Lazarum mortuum solverent, fœtorem magis ostenderent quam virtutem. Ex qua consideratione intuendum est, quod illos nos debemus per pastoralem auctoritatem solvere, quos auctorem nostrum cognoscimus per suscitantem gratiam vivificare. Idem ibidem, et Eligius Noviomens. Hom. XI. Tom. VII. Biblioth. Patr. p. 248, edit. Colon.

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[250]Peter Lombard and another of the schoolmen, but also by Judocus Clichtoveus, not long before the time of the Council of Trent. "[251]Lazarus," saith Clichtoveus, "first of all came forth alive out of the sepulchre, and then was commandment given by our Lord, that he should be loosed by the disciples and suffered to go his way; because the Lord doth first inwardly by himself quicken the sinner, and afterwards absolveth him by the priest's ministry. For no sinner is to be absolved before it appeareth that he be amended by due repentance, and be quickened inwardly. But inwardly to quicken the sinner is the office of God alone, who saith by the Prophet, *I am he that blotteth out your iniquities.*"

The truth, therefore, of the priest's absolution, dependeth upon the truth and sincerity of God's quickening grace in the heart of the penitent; which if it be wanting, all the absolutions in the world will stand him in no stead. For example, our Saviour saith, [252]*If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.* And in this respect, as is observed by Sedulius, "[253]in other men's persons we are either absolved or bound:

"[254]graviusque soluti
Nectimur, alterius si solvere vincla negamus."

Suppose now, that a man who cannot find in his heart to forgive the wrong done unto him by another, is absolved here by the priest from all his sins, according to the usual form of absolution; are we to think that what is thus loosed upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven? and that Christ,

[250] P. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. XVIII. lit. f.; Alexand. de Hales. Summ. part. IV. Quæst. XXI. Memb. 1, &c.

[251] Sed ante prodiit redivivus Lazarus ex sepulchro, et deinde ut solveretur a discipulis, et sineretur abire, a Domino jussum est; quia peccatorem etiam consuetudine committendi reatus gravatum prius Dominus intrinsecus per seipsum vivificat, postea vero eundem per sacerdotum ministerium absolvit. Nullus quippe peccator absolvendus est, antequam per dignam pœnitentiam correctus et intrinsecus appareat vivificatus. Vivificare autem interius peccatorem solius Dei munus est, qui per prophetam dicit, Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates vestras. Clichtov. in Evangel. Johan. lib. vii. cap. 23, inter Opera Cyrilli.

[252] Matt. vi. 14, 15, and xviii. 35.

[253] In aliorum personis aut absolvimur aut ligamur. Sedul. lib. ii. Paschalis Operis, cap. 11.

[254] Id. lib. ii. Paschal. Carm.

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to make the priest's word true, will make his own false? And what we say of charity toward man, must much more be understood of the love of God and the love of righteousness; the defect whereof is not to be supplied by the absolution of any priest. It hath been always observed, for a special difference betwixt good and bad men, that the one [255]hated sin for the love of virtue, the other only for the fear of punishment. The like difference do our adversaries make betwixt contrition and attrition; [256]that the hatred of sin in the one proceedeth from the love of God and of righteousness, in the other from the fear of punishment: and yet teach for all this, that [257]attrition, which they confess would not otherwise suffice to justify a man, being joined with the priest's absolution, is sufficient for that purpose; he that was attrite being by virtue of this absolution made contrite and justified, that is to say, he that was led only by a servile fear, and consequently was to be ranked among disordered and evil persons, being by this means put in as good case for the matter of the forgiveness of his sins as he that loveth God sincerely. For they themselves do grant that [258]such as have this servile fear, from whence attrition issueth, are to be accounted evil and disordered men by reason of their want of charity: to which purpose also they allege that saying of Gregory, *Recti diligunt te, non recti adhuc timent te:* "Such as be righteous love thee, such as be not righteous as yet fear thee."

But they have taken an order notwithstanding, that *non recti* shall stand *recti in curia* with them, by assuming a strange authority unto themselves of justifying the wicked, (a thing, we know, that hath the curse of [259]God and [260]man threatened unto it,) and making men friends with God that have not the love of God dwelling in them. For although we be taught by the word of God, that [261]*perfect*

[255] Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore. Horat. lib. i. Epist. XVI.

[256] Fatemur enim perfectum odium peccati esse illud quod ex amore Dei justitiæque procedit; et ideo dolorem, sive odium ex timore pœnæ conceptum, non contritionem, sed attritionem nominamus. Bellarm. lib. ii. de Pœnit. cap. 18.

[257] Id. ibid.

[258] Argumentum recte probat eos, qui timorem servilem habent, inordinatos ac malos esse, &c. Id. ibid.

[259] Prov. xvii. 15.

[260] Prov. xxiv. 24.

[261] 1 John iv. 18.

love casteth out fear; that we [262]*have not received the spirit of bondage to fear again, but the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father;* that Mount Sinai (which [263]maketh those that come unto it to *fear and quake*) [264]engendereth to bondage, and is to be cast out with her children from inheriting the promise; and that [265]without *love* both we ourselves are nothing, and all that we have doth *profit us nothing;* yet these wonderful men would have us believe, that by their word alone they are able to make something of this nothing; that fear without love shall make men capable of the benefit of their pardon, as well as love without fear; that whether men come by the way of Mount Sinai or Mount Sion, whether they have legal or evangelical repentance, they have authority to absolve them from all their sins. As if it did lie in their power to confound God's testaments at their pleasure, and to give unto a servile fear, not the benefit of manumission only, but the privilege of adoption also, by making the children of the bondwoman children of the promise, and giving them a portion in that blessed inheritance together with the children of her that is free.

[266]Repentance from dead works is one of the foundations and principles of the doctrine of Christ. "[267]Nothing maketh repentance certain, but the hatred of sin and the love of God." And without true repentance all the priests under heaven are not able to give us a discharge from our sins, and deliver us from the wrath to come. [268]*Except ye be converted, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven:* [269]*Except ye repent, ye shall all perish,* is the Lord's saying in the New Testament. And in the Old, [270]*Repent, and turn from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Now put case, one cometh to his

[262] Rom. viii. 15.
[263] Heb. xii. 18, 21.
[264] Gal. iv. 24, 25, 31.
[265] 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3. Vide Auctorem libri de Vera et Falsa Pœnitentia, cap. 17, inter Opera Augustini, Tom. IV.
[266] Heb. vi. 1.
[267] Pœnitentiam certam non facit, nisi odium peccati et amor Dei. August. Serm. VII. de Tempore.
[268] Matt. xviii. 3.
[269] Luke xiii. 3, 5.
[270] Ezek. xviii. 30, 31.

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ghostly Father with such sorrow of mind as the terrors of a guilty conscience usually do produce, and with such a resolution to cast away his sins, as a man hath in a storm to cast away his goods; not because he doth not love them, but because he feareth to lose his life if he part not with them: doth not he betray this man's soul, who putteth into his head that such an extorted repentance as this, which hath not one grain of love to season it withal, will qualify him sufficiently for the receiving of an absolution, by I know not what sacramental faculty that the priest is furnished withal to that purpose? For all do confess with St Augustine, that "[271]this fear which loveth not justice but dreadeth punishment, is servile because it is carnal, and therefore doth not crucify the flesh. For the willingness to sin liveth, which then appeareth in the work when impunity is hoped for; but when it is believed that punishment will follow, it liveth closely, yet it liveth. For it would wish rather that it were lawful to do that which the law forbiddeth, and is sorry that it is not lawful; because it is not spiritually delighted with the good thereof, but carnally feareth the evil which it doth threaten."

What man then, do we think, will take the pains to get him *a new heart and a new spirit*, and undertake the toilsome work of *crucifying the flesh* with the lusts thereof; if without all this ado the priest's absolution can make that other imperfect or rather equivocal contrition, arising from a carnal and servile fear, to be sufficient for the blotting out of all his sins? Or are we not rather to think, that this sacramental penance of the Papists is a device invented by the enemy to hoodwink poor souls, and to divert them from seeking that *true repentance* which is only able to stand them in stead? and that such as take upon them to help lame dogs over the stile, after this manner, by substituting *quid pro quo*, attrition instead of contrition, servile fear instead of filial love, carnal sorrow instead of godly repentance, are physicians of no value, nay such as minister

[271] Timor namque iste quo non amatur justitia, sed timetur pœna, servilis est, quia carnalis est, et ideo non crucifiget carnem. Vivit enim peccandi voluntas, quæ tunc apparet in opere, quando speratur impunitas. Cum vero pœna creditur secutura, latenter vivit, vivit tamen. Mallet enim licere, et dolet non licere quod lex vetat; quia non spiritualiter delectatur ejus bono, sed carnaliter malum metuit quod minatur. August. in Psalm. cxviii. Conc. 25.

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poison unto men under colour of providing a sovereign medicine for them? He, therefore, that will have care of his soul's health, must consider that much resteth here in the good choice of a skilful physician, but much more in the pains that must be taken by the patient himself. For, that every one who beareth the name of a priest is not fit to be trusted with a matter of this moment, their own decrees may give them fair warning, where this admonition is [272]twice laid down out of the author that wrote of true and false repentance: "[273]He who will confess his sins that he may find grace, let him seek for a priest that knoweth how to bind and loose; lest, while he is negligent concerning himself, he be neglected by him who mercifully admonisheth and desireth him, that both fall not into the pit, which the fool would not avoid." And when the skilfullest priest that is hath done his best, St Cyprian will tell them, that "[274]to him that repenteth, to him that worketh, to him that prayeth, the Lord of his mercy can grant a pardon; he can make good that which for such men either the martyrs shall request, or the priest shall do."

If we enquire who they were that first assumed unto themselves this exorbitant power of forgiving sins, we are like to find them in the tents of the ancient heretics and schismatics, who [275]*promised unto others liberty, when they themselves were the servants of corruption.* [276]How many, saith St Jerome, "which have neither bread nor apparel when they themselves are hungry and naked, and neither have spiritual meats, nor preserve the coat of Christ entire, yet

[272] Decret. de Pœnit. Distinct. I. cap. 88, *Quem pœnitet;* et Distinct. VI. cap. 1, *Qui vult.*

[273] Qui confiteri vult peccata ut inveniat gratiam, quærat sacerdotem scientem ligare et solvere; ne, cum negligens circa se exstiterit, negligatur ab illo, qui eum misericorditer monet et petit, ne ambo in foveam cadant, quam stultus evitare noluit. Lib. de Ver. et Fals. Pœnitent. cap. 10, inter Opera Augustini, Tom. IV.

[274] Pœnitenti, operanti, roganti potest clementer ignoscere; potest in acceptum referre, quidquid pro talibus et petierint martyres, et fecerint sacerdotes. Cyprian. de Lapsis, sect. 13 edit. Pamel. 29 Goulart.

[275] 2 Pet. ii. 19.

[276] Quanti panem non habentes et vestimenta, cum ipsi esuriant et nudi sint, nec habent spirituales cibos, neque Christi tunicam integram reservarint; aliis et alimonia et vestimenta promittunt, et pleni vulneribus medicos esse se jactant: nec servant illud Mosaicum, Provide alium quem mittas; aliudque mandatum, Ne quæras judex fieri, ne forte non possis auferre iniquitates. Solus Jesus omnes languores sanat et infirmitates; de quo scriptum est, Qui sanat contritos corde, et alligat contritiones eorum. Hieron. lib. ii. Comment. in Esai. cap. iii.

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promise unto others food and raiment, and being full of wounds themselves, brag that they be physicians; and do not observe that of Moses, Exod. iv. 13, *Provide another whom thou mayest send;* and that other commandment, Ecclesiastic. vii. 6, *Do not seek to be made a judge, lest peradventure thou be not able to take away iniquity.* It is Jesus alone, who healeth all sicknesses and infirmities: of whom it is written, Psalm CXLVII. 4, *He healeth the contrite in heart, and bindeth up their sores.*" Thus far St Jerome.

The Rhemists in their marginal note upon Luke vii. 49, tell us, that "as the Pharisees did always carp Christ for remission of sins in earth, so the heretics reprehend his Church that remitteth sins by his authority." But St Augustine, treating upon the selfsame place, might have taught them, that hereby they bewrayed themselves to be the offspring of heretics rather than children of the Church. For whereas our Saviour there had said unto the penitent woman, *Thy sins are forgiven;* and they that sate at meat with him began to say within themselves, *Who is this that forgiveth sins also?* St Augustine first compareth their knowledge and the knowledge of the woman thus together: "[277] She knew that he could forgive sins; but they knew that a man could not forgive sins. And we are to believe that all, that is, both they which sate at table, and the woman which came to our Lord's feet, they all knew that a man could not forgive sins. Seeing all therefore knew this, she who believed that he could forgive sins, understood him to be more than a man." And a little after: "[278] That do you know well, that do you hold well;" saith that learned Father. "Hold that a man cannot forgive sins. She who believed that her sins were forgiven her by Christ, believed that Christ was not only man, but God also." Then doth he proceed to compare the knowledge of the Jews then, with the opinion of

[277] Noverat ergo illum posse dimittere peccata; illi autem noverant hominem non posse peccata dimittere. Et credendum est, quod omnes, id est, et illi discumbentes et illa mulier accedens ad pedes Domini, omnes hi noverant hominem non posse peccata dimittere. Cum ergo omnes hoc nossent, illa quæ credidit eum posse peccata dimittere, plus quam hominem esse intellexit. August. Homil. XXIII. Ex. 50, cap. 7.

[278] Tamen illud bene nostis, bene tenetis. Tenete, quia homo non potest peccata dimittere. Illa quæ sibi a Christo peccata dimitti credidit, Christum non hominem tantum, sed et Deum credidit. Id. ibid.

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the heretics in his days. "Herein," saith [279]he, "the Pharisee was better than these men; for when he did think that Christ was a man, he did not believe that sins could be forgiven by a man. It appeared, therefore, that the Jews had better understanding than the heretics. The Jews said, *Who is this that forgiveth sins also?* Dare a man challenge this to himself? What saith the heretic on the other side? I do forgive, I do cleanse, I do sanctify. Let Christ answer him, not I: O man, when I was thought by the Jews to be a man, I ascribed the forgiveness of sins to faith. Not I, but Christ doth answer thee: O heretic, thou, when thou art but a man, sayest, Come, woman, I do make thee safe. I, when I was thought to be but a man, said, Go, woman, thy faith hath made thee safe."

The heretics at whom St Augustine here aimeth, were the Donatists; whom Optatus also before him did thus roundly take up for the same presumption. "[280]Understand at length, that you are servants and not lords. And if the Church be a vineyard, and men be appointed to be dressers of it, why do you rush into the dominion of the householder? Why do you challenge unto yourselves that which is God's?" "[281]Give leave unto God to perform the things that belong unto himself. For that gift cannot be given by man which is divine. If you think so, you labour to frustrate the words of the Prophets and the promises of God, by which it is proved that God washeth" away sin, "and not man." It is noted likewise by Theodoret of the Audian heretics, that "[282]they bragged they did for-

[279] Sed in eo melior Pharisæus; quia cum putaverat hominem Christum, non credebat ab homine posse dimitti peccata. Melior ergo Judæis quam hæreticis apparuit intellectus. Judæi dixerunt, Quis est hic qui etiam peccata dimittit? Audet sibi homo usurpare? Quid contra hæreticus? Ego mundo, ego sanctifico. Respondeat illi, non ego, sed Christus: O homo, quando ego a Judæis putatus sum homo, dimissionem peccatorum fidei dedi. Non ego, respondet tibi Christus: O hæretice, tu cum sis homo, dicis, Veni mulier, ego te salvum facio. Ego cum putarer homo, dixi, Vade mulier, fides tua te salvum fecit. Id. ibid. cap. 8.

[280] Intelligite vos vel sero operarios esse, non dominos. Et si ecclesia vinea est, sunt homines et ordinati cultores. Quid in dominium patrisfamilias irruistis? Quid vobis, quod Dei est, vindicatis? Optat. lib. v. contra Donatist.

[281] Concedite Deo præstare quæ sua sunt. Non enim potest munus ab homine dari, quod divinum est. Si sic putatis, prophetarum voces et Dei promissa inanire contenditis, quibus probatur, quia Deus lavat, non homo. Id. ibid.

[282] Οὗτοι δὲ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων ποιεῖσθαι νεανιεύονται. Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. lib. iv.

give sins." The manner of confession which he saith was used among them, was not much unlike that which Alvarus Pelagius acknowledgeth to have been the usual practice of them that made greatest profession of religion and learning in his time. "[283]For scarce at all," saith he, "or very seldom, doth any of them confess otherwise than in general terms; scarce do they ever specify any grievous sin. What they say one day, that they say another, as if every day they did offend alike." The manner of absolution was the same with that which Theodoricus de Niem noteth to have been practised by the pardoners sent abroad by Pope Boniface the Ninth, who "[284]released all sins to them that confessed without any penance or repentance; affirming that they had for their warrant in so doing all that power which Christ gave unto Peter, of binding and loosing upon earth." Just as Theodoret reporteth the Audians were wont to do, who presently "[285]after confession granted remission; not prescribing a time for repentance, as the laws of the Church did require, but giving pardon by authority.

The laws of the Church prescribed a certain time unto penitents, [286]wherein they should give proof of the soundness of their repentance; and gave order that afterwards they should be [287]forgiven and comforted, lest they *should be swallowed up with overmuch heaviness.* So that first their penance was enjoined unto them, and thereby [288]they were held to be bound; after performance whereof they received their absolution, by which they were loosed again. But the Audian heretics, without any such trial taken of their repentance, did of their own heads give them absolution presently upon their confession; as the Popish priests use

[283] Vix enim aut rarissime aliquis talium confitetur nisi per verba generalia: vix unquam aliquod grave specificant. Quod dicunt una die, dicunt et altera; ac si in omni die æqualiter offendant. Alvar. de Planct. Eccles. lib. ii. Art. 78, A.

[284] Omnia peccata etiam sine pœnitentia ipsis confitentibus relaxarunt; super quibuslibet irregularitatibus dispensarunt interventu pecuniæ; dicentes se omnem potestatem habere super hoc, quam Christus Petro ligandi et solvendi contulisset in terris. Niem. de Schismate, lib. i. cap. 68.

[285] Εἶτα τοῖς ὡμολογηκόσιν δωροῦνται τὴν ἄφεσιν, οὐ χρόνον ὁριζόμενοι εἰς μετανοίαν, καθὰ κελεύουσιν οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίᾳ ποιούμενοι τὴν συγχώρησιν. Theodor. Hæres. lib. iv.

[286] August. Enchirid. ad Laur. cap. 65.

[287] 2 Cor. ii. 7.

[288] Vide Nomocanonem Nefleutæ in Theod. Balsamonis Collect. Canon. edit. Paris. ann. 1620, p. 1101, lin. ult.; et Niconis Epist. ad Enclistium, ib. p. 1096, 1097; et Anastas. Sinait. Quæst. VI. p. 64. edit. Græco-Lat. Gretseri.

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to do now-a-days. Only the Audians had one ridiculous ceremony more than the Papists; that, having placed the canonical books of Scripture upon one side, and certain apocryphal writings on the other, they caused their followers to pass betwixt them, and in their passing to make confession of their sins: as the Papists another idle practice more than they; that after they have given absolution, they enjoin penance to the party absolved, that is to say, as they of old would have interpreted it, they first loose him, and presently after bind him; which howsoever they hold to be done in respect of the temporal punishment remaining due after the remission of the fault, yet it appeareth plainly, that the penitential works required in the ancient Church had reference to the fault itself; and that no absolution was to be expected from the minister for the one, before all reckonings were ended for the other. Only where the danger of death was imminent, the case admitted some exception; reconciliation being not denied, indeed, unto them that desired it at such a time; yet so granted, that it was left very doubtful whether it would stand the parties in any great stead or no. "[289]If any one being in the last extremity of his sickness," saith St Augustine, "is willing to receive penance, and doth receive it, and is presently reconciled and departeth hence; I confess unto you, we do not deny him that which he asketh, but we do not presume that he goeth well from hence. I do not presume, I deceive you not, I do not presume." "[290]He who putteth off his penance to the last, and is reconciled; whether he goeth secure from hence, I am not secure. Penance I can give him; security I cannot give him." "[291]Do I say, he shall be damned? I say not so. But do I say also, he shall be freed? No. What dost thou then say unto me? I know not: I presume not, I promise not, I know not. Wilt thou free

[289] Si quis positus in ultima necessitate ægritudinis suæ, voluerit accipere pœnitentiam, et accipit, et mox reconciliatur, et hinc vadit; fateor vobis, non illi negamus quod petit, sed non præsumimus, quia bene hinc exit. Non præsumo, non vos fallo, non præsumo. August. Hom. XLI. Ex. 50; Ambros. Exhort. ad Pœnit.

[290] Agens pœnitentiam ad ultimum, et reconciliatus, si securus hinc exit, ego non sum securus, &c. Pœnitentiam dare possum; securitatem dare non possum. Ibid.

[291] Numquid dico, damnabitur? Non dico. Sed dico etiam, liberabitur? Non. Et quid dicis mihi? Nescio: non præsumo, non promitto, nescio. Vis te de dubio liberare? vis quod incertum est evadere? Age pœnitentiam dum sanus es. Ibid.

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thyself of the doubt? wilt thou escape that which is uncertain? Do thy penance while thou art in health." "[292] The penance which is asked for by the infirm man, is infirm. The penance which is asked for only by him that is a dying, I fear lest it also die."

But with the matter of penance we have not here to deal: those formal absolutions and pardons of course, immediately granted upon the hearing of men's confessions, is that which we charge the Romish priests to have learned from the Audian heretics. "[293] Some require penance to this end, that they might presently have the Communion restored unto them; these men desire not so much to loose themselves as to bind the priest," saith St Ambrose. If this be true, that the priest doth bind himself by his hasty and unadvised loosing of others; the case is like to go hard with our Popish priests, who ordinarily, in bestowing their absolutions, use to make more haste than good speed. Wherein with how little judgment they proceed, who thus take upon them the place of judges in men's consciences, may sufficiently appear by this: that whereas the main ground whereupon they would build the necessity of auricular confession, and the particular enumeration of all known sins, is pretended to be this, that the ghostly Father, having taken notice of the cause, may judge righteous judgment, and discern who should be bound, and who should be loosed; the matter yet is so carried in this court of theirs, that every man commonly goeth away with his absolution, and all sorts of people usually receive one and the selfsame judgment. [294] *If thou separate the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth*, saith the Lord. Whose mouth, then, may we hold them to be, who seldom put any difference between these, and make it their ordinary practice to pronounce the same sentence of absolution as well upon the one as upon the other?

If we would know how late it was before this trade of pardoning men's sins after this manner was established

[292] Pœnitentia quæ ab infirmo petitur, infirma est. Pœnitentia quæ a moriente tantum petitur, timeo ne ipsa moriatur. August. Serm. LVII. de Tempore.

[293] Nonnulli ideo poscunt pœnitentiam, ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint: hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quam sacerdotem ligare. Suam enim conscientiam non exuunt, sacerdotis induunt. Ambros. de Pœnit. lib. ii. cap. 9.

[294] Jer. xv. 19.

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in the Church of Rome, we cannot discover this better than by tracing out the doctrine publicly taught in that Church touching this matter, from the time of Satan's loosing until his binding again, by the restoring of the purity of the Gospel in our days. And here Radulphus Ardens doth in the first place offer himself, who toward the beginning of that time preached this for sound divinity: "[295]The power of releasing sins belongeth to God alone: but the ministry, which improperly also is called a power, he hath granted unto his substitutes; who after their manner do bind and absolve, that is to say, do declare that men are bound or absolved. For God doth first inwardly absolve the sinner by compunction; and then the priest outwardly, by giving the sentence, doth declare that he is absolved. Which is well signified by that of Lazarus; who first in the grave was raised up by the Lord, and afterward by the ministry of the disciples was loosed from the bands wherewith he was tied." Then follow both the Anselms, ours of Canterbury, and the other of Laon in France; who, in their expositions upon the ninth of St Matthew, clearly teach, that none but God alone can forgive sins. Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, writeth, that "[296]by inward contrition the inward judge is satisfied, and therefore without delay forgiveness of sin is granted by him unto whom the inward conversion is manifest; but the Church, because it knoweth not the hidden things of the heart, doth not loose him that is bound, although he be raised up, until he be brought out of the tomb, that is to say, purged by public satisfaction." And if presently, upon the inward conversion, God be pleased to forgive the sin, the absolution of the priest which followeth, cannot in any sort properly be accounted a remission

[295] Potestas peccata relaxandi solius Dei est: ministerium vero, quod improprie etiam potestas vocatur, vicariis suis concessit; qui modo suo ligant vel absolvunt, id est, ligatos vel absolutos esse ostendunt. Prius enim Deus interius peccatorem per compunctionem absolvit; sacerdos vero exterius, sententiam proferendo, eum esse absolutum ostendit. Quod bene significatur per Lazarum, qui prius in tumulo a Domino suscitatur, et post, ministerio discipulorum, a vitiis (*fort.* vittis) quibus ligatus fuerat, absolvitur. Rad. Ardens, Homil. Dominic. I. post Pascha.

[296] Per internum gemitum satisfit interno judici, et idcirco indilato datur ab eo peccati remissio, cui manifesta est interna conversio. Ecclesia vero, quia occulta cordis ignorat, non solvit ligatum, licet suscitatum, nisi de monumento elatum, id est, publica satisfactione purgatum. Ivo Carnotens. Epist. CCXXVIII.

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of that sin, but a further manifestation only of the remission formerly granted by God himself.

The Master of the sentences after him, having propounded the divers opinions of the doctors touching this point, demandeth at last, "[297] In this so great variety what is to be held?" and returneth for answer: "Surely this we may say and think: that God alone doth forgive and retain sins, and yet hath given power of binding and loosing unto the Church; but he bindeth and looseth one way, and the Church another. For he only by himself forgiveth sin, who both cleanseth the soul from inward blot, and looseth it from the debt of everlasting death. But this hath he not granted unto priests; to whom, notwithstanding, he hath given the power of binding and loosing, that is to say, of declaring men to be bound or loosed. Whereupon the Lord did first by himself restore health to the leper, and then sent him unto the priests, by whose judgment he might be declared to be cleansed: so also he offered Lazarus to his disciples to be loosed, having first quickened him." In like manner, Hugo Cardinalis sheweth, that it is [298] only God that forgiveth sins: and [299] that "the priest cannot bind or loose the sinner with or from the bond of the fault, and the punishment due thereunto; but only declare him to be bound or loosed: as the Levitical priest did not make or cleanse the leper, but only declared him to be infected or clean." And a great number of the schoolmen afterward shewed themselves to be of the same judgment: that to pardon the fault and the eternal punishment due unto the same, was the proper work of God; that the priest's absolution hath no real operation that way, but presupposeth

[297] In hac tanta varietate quid tenendum? Hoc sane dicere ac sentire possumus; quod solus Deus dimittit peccata et retinet, et tamen ecclesiæ contulit potestatem ligandi et solvendi: sed aliter ipse solvit vel ligat, aliter ecclesia. Ipse enim per se tantum dimittit peccatum, qui et animam mundat ab interiori macula, et a debito æternæ mortis solvit. Non autem hoc sacerdotibus concessit; quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi, id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos. Unde Dominus leprosum sanitati prius per se restituit, deinde ad sacerdotes misit, quorum judicio ostenderetur mundatus. Ita etiam Lazarum jam vivificatum obtulit discipulis solvendum. Petr. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Distinct. XVIII. e. f.

[298] Solius Dei est dimittere peccata. Hugo Card. in Luc. v.

[299] Vinculo culpæ et pœnæ debitæ non potest eum sacerdos ligare vel solvere; sed tantum ligatum vel absolutum ostendere. Sicut sacerdos Leviticus non faciebat vel mundabat leprosum; sed tantum infectum vel mundum ostendebat. Id. in Matt. XVI.

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the party to be first justified and absolved by God. Of this mind were [300]Gulielmus Altissiodorensis, [301]Alexander of Hales, [302]Bonaventure, [303]Ockam, [304]Thomas de Argentina, [305]Michael de Bononia, [306]Gabriel Biel, [307]Henricus de Huecta, [308]Johannes Major, and others.

To lay down all their words at large would be too tedious. In general, Hadrian the Sixth, one of their own Popes, acknowledgeth, that [309]the most approved divines were of this mind, "that the keys of the priesthood do not extend themselves to the remission of the fault:" and [310]Major affirmeth, that this is "the common tenet of the doctors." So likewise is it avouched by Gabriel Biel, that "[311]the old doctors commonly" follow the opinion of the Master of the sentences; that priests do forgive or retain sins, while they judge and declare that they are forgiven by God or retained. But all this notwithstanding, Suarez is bold to tell us, "that [312]this opinion of the Master is false, and now at this time erroneous." It was not held so the other day, when Ferus preached at Mentz, that "man [313]did not properly remit sin, but did declare and certify that it was remitted by God. So that the absolution received from man is nothing else than if he should say, Behold, my son, I certify thee that thy sins are forgiven thee; I pronounce unto thee that thou hast God favourable unto thee; and whatsoever Christ in baptism and in his Gospel hath promised unto us, he doth

[300] Altissiodorens. Summ. lib. iv. cap. *de generali usu clavium*.

[301] Alexand. Halens. Summ. part. IV. Quæst. XXI. Membr. 1.

[302] Bonavent. in iv. Dist. XVIII. Art. 2, Quæst. I. et II.

[303] Gul. Ockam, in iv. Sentent. Quæst. IX. lit. Q.

[304] Argentin. in iv. Sent. Dist. XVIII. Art. 3.

[305] Mich. Angrian. in Psal. xxix. et xxxi.

[306] Biel. in iv. Sent. Dist. XIV. Quæst. II. d. n. et Dist. XVIII. Quæst. I. k.

[307] Henr. de Oyta (*al.* Jota), in Propositionib. apud Illyricum, in Catal. Test. Veritat.

[308] Major, in iv. Sentent. Dist. XVIII. Quæst. I.

[309] Hadrian. in Quodlibetic. Quæst. V. Art. 3. b.

[310] Major, in iv. Dist. XIV. Quæst. II. Concl. 3.

[311] Et illam opinionem communiter sequuntur doctores antiqui. Biel. in iv. Dist. XIV. Quæst. II. d.

[312] Verumtamen hæc sententia Magistri falsa est, et jam hoc tempore erronea. Fr. Suarez. in Thom. Tom IV. Disp. XIX. sect. 2, num. 4.

[313] Non quod homo proprie remittat peccatum; sed quod ostendat ac certificet a Deo remissum. Neque enim aliud est absolutio, quam ab homine accipis, quam si dicat: En fili, certifico te tibi remissa esse peccata, annuncio tibi te habere propitium Deum; et quæcunque Christus in baptismo et evangelio nobis promisit, tibi nunc per me annunciat et promittit. Jo. Ferus, lib. ii. Comment. in Matt. cap. ix. edit. Mogunt. ann. 1559.

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now declare and promise unto thee by me. Of this shalt thou have me to be a witness: go in peace and in quiet of conscience." But, *jam hoc tempore*, "the case is altered:" these things must be purged out of [314]Ferus as erroneous; the opinion of the old doctors must give place to the sentence of the new Fathers of Trent. And so we are come at length to the end of this long question, in the handling whereof I have spent the more time, by reason our priests do make this faculty of pardoning men's sins to be one of the most principal parts of their occupation, and the particular discovery thereof is not ordinarily by the writers of our side so much insisted upon.

OF PURGATORY.

For extinguishing the imaginary flames of Popish Purgatory, we need not go far to fetch water; seeing the whole current of God's word runneth mainly upon this, that [1]*the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin;* that all God's children [2]*die in Christ*, and that such as [3]*die in him, do rest from their labours:* that, as they be [4]*absent from the Lord while they are in the body*, so when they be *absent from the body they are present with the Lord;* and in a word, that they [5]*come not into judgment, but pass from death unto life.* And if we need the assistance of the ancient Fathers in this business, behold they be here ready with full buckets in their hands.

Tertullian, to begin withal, [6]counteth it injurious unto Christ, to hold that such as be called from hence by him are in a state that should be pitied. Whereas they have obtained their desire of being with Christ, according to that of the Apostle Philip. i. 23, *I desire to depart, and be*

[314] Ferus in Matt. edit. Antuerp. ann. 1559, 1570, &c.

[1] 1 John i. 7.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 18; 1 Thess. iv. 16.

[3] Rev. xiv. 13. [4] 2 Cor. v. 6, 8.

[5] John v. 24.

[6] Christum lædimus, cum evocatos quosque ab illo, quasi miserandos non æquanimiter accipimus. Cupio, inquit Apostolus, recipi jam et esse cum Christo. Quanto melius ostendit votum Christianorum! Ergo votum si alios consequutos impatienter dolemus, ipsi consequi nolumus. Tertul. lib. de Patient. cap. 9.

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with Christ. What pity was it, that the poor souls in purgatory should find no spokesman in those days to inform men better of their rueful condition; nor no secretary to draw up such another supplication for them as this, which of late years Sir Thomas More presented in their name: "[7]To all good Christian people. In most piteous wise continually calleth and crieth upon your devout charity and most tender pity, for help, comfort and relief, your late acquaintance, kindred, spouses, companions, playfellows, and friends, and now your humble and unacquainted and half-forgotten suppliants, poor prisoners of God, the silly souls in purgatory, here abiding, and enduring the grievous pains and hot cleansing fire," &c. If St Cyprian had understood but half thus much, doubtless he would have strucken out the best part of that famous Treatise which he wrote of Mortality, to comfort men against death in the time of a great plague, especially such passages as these are, which by no means can be reconciled with purgatory:

"[8]It is for him to fear death, that is not willing to go unto Christ: it is for him to be unwilling to go unto Christ, who doth not believe that he beginneth to reign with Christ. *For it is written, that the just doth live by faith.* If thou be just, and livest by faith, if thou dost truly believe in God, why, being to be with Christ, and being secure of the Lord's promise, dost not thou embrace the message whereby thou art called unto Christ, and rejoicest that thou shalt be rid of the devil? Simeon said, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation:*" "[9]proving thereby and witnessing, that the servants of God then have peace, then enjoy free and quiet rest, when being drawn

[7] The Supplication of Souls, made by Sir Thomas More; which seemeth to be made in imitation of Joh. Gerson's Querela Defunctorum in Igne Purgatorio detentorum ad superstites in terra Amicos, part. IV. Oper. edit. Paris. ann. 1606, Col. 959.

[8] Ejus est mortem timere, qui ad Christum nolit ire: ejus est ad Christum nolle ire, qui se non credat cum Christo incipere regnare. Scriptum est enim, Justum fide vivere. Si justus es, et fide vivis, si vere in Deum credis, cur non, cum Christo futurus, et de Domini pollicitatione securus, quod ad Christum voceris, amplecteris, et quod Diabolo careas, gratularis? Cypr. de Mortalit. sect. 2, edit. Goulart.

[9] Probans scilicet atque contestans, tunc esse servis Dei pacem, tunc liberam, tunc tranquillam quietem, quando de istis mundi turbinibus extracti, sedis et securitatis æternæ portum petimus, quando expuncta hac morte ad immortalitatem venimus. Ibid.

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from these storms of the world, we arrive at the haven of our everlasting habitation and security, when this death being ended, we enter into immortality." "[10]The righteous are called to a refreshing, the unrighteous are haled to torment: safety is quickly granted to the faithful, and punishment to the unfaithful." "[11]We are not to put on black mourning garments here, when our friends there have put on white." "[12]This is not a going out, but a passage; and, this temporal journey being finished, a going over to eternity." "[13]Let us therefore embrace the day that bringeth every one to his own house; which having taken us away from hence, and loosed us from the snares of this world, returneth us to paradise, and to the kingdom of heaven."

The same holy Father, in his Apology, which he wrote for Christians unto Demetrian, the Proconsul of Afric, affirmeth in like manner, that "[14]the end of this temporal life being accomplished, we are divided into the habitations of everlasting, either death or immortality." "[15]When we are once departed from hence, there is now no further place for repentance, neither any effect of satisfaction. Here life is either lost or obtained." But if "[16]thou," saith he, "even at the very end and setting of thy temporal life, dost pray for thy sins, and call upon the only true God with confession and faith, pardon is given to thee confessing, and saving forgiveness is granted by the divine piety to thee believing; and at thy very death thou hast a passage unto immortality. This grace doth Christ impart, this gift of

[10] Ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur injusti: datur velocius tutela fidentibus, perfidis pœna. Ib. sect. 11.

[11] Nec accipiendas esse hic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumpserint. Ibid. sect. 14.

[12] Non est exitus iste, sed transitus, et, temporali itinere decurso, ad æterna transgressus. Ibid. sect. 15.

[13] Amplectamur diem, qui assignat singulos domicilio suo; qui nos istinc ereptos, et laqueis secularibus exsolutos, paradiso restituit et regno cœlesti. Ibid. sect. 18.

[14] Donec ævi temporalis fine completo, ad æternæ vel mortis vel immortalitatis hospitia dividamur. Id. ad Demetrian. sect. 16.

[15] Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus; hic vita aut amittitur, aut tenetur. Id. ibid. sect. 22.

[16] Tu sub ipso licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu, pro delictis roges; et Deum, qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis ejus implores; venia confitenti datur, et credenti indulgentia salutaris de divina pietate conceditur; et ad immortalitatem sub ipsa morte transitur. Hanc gratiam Christus impertit, hoc munus misericordiæ suæ tribuit, subigendo mortem tropæo crucis, redimendo credentem pretio sanguinis sui, reconciliando hominem Deo Patri, vivificando mortalem regeneratione cœlesti. Ibid.

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his mercy doth he bestow, by subduing death with the triumph of his cross, by redeeming the believer with the price of his blood, by reconciling man unto God the Father, by quickening him that is mortal with heavenly regeneration."

Where Solomon saith, Ecclesiast. xii. 5, that *man goeth to his everlasting house, and the mourners go about in the street*, St Gregory of Neocæsarea maketh this paraphrase upon those words: "[17]The good man shall go rejoicing unto his everlasting house, but the wicked shall fill all with lamentations." Therefore did the Fathers teach, that men should "[18]rejoice" at their death; and the ancient Christians framed their practice accordingly, "[19]not celebrating the day of their nativity," which they accounted to be "the entry of sorrows and temptations," but "celebrating the day of death, as being the putting away of all sorrows, and the escaping of all temptations." And so being filled with "[20]a divine rejoicing, they came to the extremity of death as unto the end of their holy combats;" [21]where they did "more clearly behold the way that led unto their immortality, as being now made nearer; and did therefore praise the gifts of God, and were replenished with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worse, but knowing well that the good things which they possessed shall be firmly and everlastingly enjoyed by them."

The author of the Questions and Answers attributed to Justin Martyr, writeth thus of this matter: "[22]After

[17] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ εἰς αἰώνιον οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χαίρων πορεύσεται· οἱ δέ γε φαῦλοι πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν ἐμπλήσουσι κοπτόμενοι. Greg. Neocæsar. Metaphras. in Ecclesiast.

[18] Δεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ χαίρειν. Anton. Meliss. part. I. Serm. LVIII. &c.

[19] Nos non nativitatis diem celebramus, cum sit dolorum atque tentationum introitus; sed mortis diem celebramus, utpote omnium dolorum depositionem atque omnium tentationum effugationem. Auctor lib. iii. in Job. inter Opera Origenis. Vide S. Basil. Hom. in Psal. cxv. p. 318, edit. Græco-Lat.

[20] Ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ θείᾳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ θανάτου πέρας ἴασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τέλος ἱερῶν ἀγώνων. Et paulo post: Ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐστὶ κοίμησις ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀσαλεύτοις ἐλπίσιν εἰς τὸ τῶν θείων ἀγώνων ἀφικνουμένη πέρας. Dion. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 9.

[21] Ἀλλ' ὅλους αὐτοὺς ἀπολήψεσθαι τὴν χριστοειδῆ λῆξιν εἰδότες, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἔλθωσι τοῦ τῇδε βίου, τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν αὐτῶν ὁδὸν, ὡς ἐγγυτέραν ἤδη γεγενημένην, ἐμφανέστερον ὁρῶσι, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς τῆς θεαρχίας ὑμνοῦσι, καὶ θείας ἡδονῆς ἀποπληροῦνται, τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω τροπὴν οὐκέτι δεδοικότες, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὰ κτηθέντα καλὰ βεβαίως καὶ αἰωνίως ἕξουσιν. Ibid.

[22] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον εὐθὺς γίνεται τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων

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the departure of the soul out of the body, there is presently made a distinction betwixt the just and the unjust. For they are brought by the angels to places fit for them; the souls of the righteous to paradise, where they have the commerce and sight of angels and archangels, &c.; the souls of the unjust to the places in hell." That "[23]is not death," saith Athanasius, that befalleth "the righteous, but a translation; for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest: and as a man would go out of a prison, so do the saints go out of this troublesome life unto those good things that are prepared for them." St Hilary, out of that which is related in the Gospel of the rich man and Lazarus, observeth, that [24]as soon as this life is ended, every one without delay is sent over either to Abraham's bosom, or to the place of torment, and in that state reserved until the day of judgment. St Ambrose, in his book of the Good of Death, teacheth us that death "[25]is a certain haven to them who, being tossed in the great sea of this life, desire a road of safe quietness;" that "it maketh not a man's state worse, but such as it findeth in every one, such it reserveth unto the future judgment, and refresheth with rest;" that thereby "[26]a passage is made from corruption to incorruption, from mortality to immortality, from trouble to tranquillity." Therefore he saith, that where "[27]fools do fear death as the chief of evils, wise men do desire it as a rest after labours, and an end of their evils:" and upon

ἡ διαστολή· ἄγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς ἀξίους αὐτῶν τόπους· αἱ μὲν τῶν δικαίων ψυχαὶ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἔνθα συντυχία τε καὶ θέα ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, &c. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ τόπους. Justin. Respons. ad Orthodox. Quæst. LXXV.

[23] Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς δικαίοις θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μετάθεσις. μετατίθενται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ ὥσπερ τὶς ἀπὸ φυλακῆς ἐξέλθοι, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἐξέρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίου τούτου εἰς τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα αὐτοῖς. Athanas. de Virginitate.

[24] Nihil illic dilationis aut moræ est. Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel pœnæ: tempus vero mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraham reservat aut pœna. Hilar. in Psalm. ii.

[25] Et quia portus quidam est eorum qui, magno vitæ istius jactati salo, fidæ quietis stationem requirunt; et quia deteriorem statum non efficit, sed qualem in singulis invenerit, talem judicio futuro reservat, et quiete ipsa fovet, &c. Ambros. de Bono Mortis, cap. 4.

[26] Transitur autem a corruptione ad incorruptionem, a mortalitate ad immortalitatem, a perturbatione ad tranquillitatem. Ibid.

[27] Insipientes mortem quasi summum malorum reformidant: sapientes quasi requiem post labores et finem malorum expetunt. Ibid. cap. 8.

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these grounds exhorteth us, that "[28] when that day cometh, we should go without fear to Jesus our Redeemer, without fear to the council of the patriarchs, without fear to Abraham our father; that without fear we should address ourselves unto that assembly of saints and congregation of the righteous. Forasmuch as we shall go to our fathers, we shall go to those schoolmasters of our faith; that albeit our works fail us, yet faith may succour us, and our title of inheritance defend us."

Macarius, writing of the double state of those that depart out of this life, affirmeth, that when the soul goeth out of the body, if it be guilty of sin, the devil carrieth it away with him unto his place; but when the holy servants of God "[29] remove out of their body, the quires of angels receive their souls unto their own side, unto the pure world, and so bring them unto the Lord." And in another place, moving the question concerning such as depart out of this world sustaining two persons in their soul, to wit, of sin and of grace, whither they shall go that are thus held by two parts? he maketh answer, that thither they shall go where they have their mind and affection settled. For "[30] the Lord," saith he, "beholding thy mind, that thou fightest, and lovest him with thy whole soul, separateth death from thy soul in one hour, (for this is not hard for him to do), and taketh thee into his own bosom and unto light. For he plucketh thee away in the minute of an hour from the mouth of darkness, and presently translateth thee into his own kingdom. For God can easily do all these things in the minute of an hour; this provided only, that thou bearest love unto him." Than which what can be more direct against the dream of

[28] His igitur freti, intrepide pergamus ad Redemptorem nostrum Jesum, intrepide ad Patriarcharum Concilium, intrepide ad patrem nostrum Abraham, cum dies advenerit, proficiscamur; intrepide pergamus ad illum sanctorum cœtum justorumque conventum. Ibimus enim ad patres nostros, ibimus ad illos nostræ fidei præceptores; ut etiamsi opera desint, fides opituletur, defendat hæreditas. Ib. cap. 12.

[29] Ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος, εἰς τὸν καθαρὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς προσάγουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ. Macar. Ægypt. Homil. XXII.

[30] Βλέπων ὁ Κύριος τὸν νοῦν σου, ὅτι ἀγωνίζῃ καὶ ἀγαπᾷς αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, διαχωρίζει τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς σου μιᾷ ὥρᾳ, (οὐκ ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυσχερὲς,) καὶ προσλαμβάνεταί σε εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ φῶς. ἁρπάζει γάρ σε ἐν ῥοπῇ ὥρας ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ σκότους, καὶ εὐθέως μετατίθησί σε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. τῷ γὰρ θεῷ ἐν ῥοπῇ ὥρας πάντα εὐχερῆ ἐστι ποιῆσαι, μόνον ἵνα τὴν ἀγάπην ἔχῃς πρὸς αὐτόν. Id. Homil. XXVI.

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Popish purgatory? "[31]This present world is the time of repentance, the other of retribution; this of working, that of rewarding; this of patient suffering, that of receiving comfort," saith St Basil.

Gregory Nazianzen, in his funeral Orations, hath many sayings to the same purpose; being so far from thinking of any purgatory pains prepared for men in the other world, that he plainly denieth that [32]after the night of this present life "there is any purging" to be expected. And therefore he telleth us, "[33]that it is better to be corrected and purged now, than to be sent unto the torment there, where the time of punishing is, and not of purging." St Jerome comforteth Paula for the death of her daughter Blæsilla in this manner: "[34]Let the dead be lamented, but such a one whom Gehenna doth receive, whom hell doth devour, for whose pain the everlasting fire doth burn. Let us, whose departure a troop of angels doth accompany, whom Christ cometh forth to meet, be more grieved if we do longer dwell in this tabernacle of death; because, as long as we remain here, we are pilgrims from God."

By all that hath been said, the indifferent reader may easily discern what may be thought of the cracking Cardinal, who would face us down that "[35]all the ancients, both Greek and Latin, from the very time of the Apostles, did constantly teach that there was a purgatory." Whereas his own partners could tell him in his ear, that "[36]in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of purgatory, especially in the Greek

[31] Οὗτος ὁ αἰὼν τῆς μετανοίας, ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως· οὗτος τῆς ἐργασίας, ἐκεῖνος τῆς μισθαποδοσίας· οὗτος τῆς ὑπομονῆς, ἐκεῖνος τῆς παρακλήσεως. Basil. Procem. in Regulas fusius Disputat. 'Εργασίας γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς, ὁ δὲ μέλλων ἀνταποδόσεως. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. IX. ad Julianum. Τὴν ἐξισώτην.

[32] Μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἔστι τὶς κάθαρσις. Nazianz. Orat. XXXII. in Pascha.

[33] Ὡς βέλτιον εἶναι νῦν παιδευθῆναι καὶ καθαρθῆναι, ἢ τῇ ἐκεῖθεν βασάνῳ παραπεμφθῆναι, ἡνίκα κολάσεως καιρὸς, οὐ καθάρσεως. Id. Orat. XV. in plagam grandinis, indeque in locis communib. Maximi, Serm. XLV. et Antonii, part. II. Serm. XCIV.

[34] Lugeatur mortuus; sed ille, quem Gehenna suscipit, quem tartarus devorat, in cujus pœnam æternus ignis æstuat: nos, quorum exitum angelorum turba comitatur, quibus obviam Christus occurrit, gravemur magis, si diutius in tabernaculo isto mortis habitemus; quia quamdiu hic moramur, peregrinamur a Domino. Hieron. Epist. XXV.

[35] Omnes veteres Græci et Latini ab ipso tempore Apostolorum constanter docuerunt purgatorium esse. Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 15.

[36] Alphons. de Castro advers. Hæres. lib. viii. tit. *Indulgentia*; Jo. Roffens. Assert. Lutheran. Confutat. Artic. 18; Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rer. lib. viii. cap. 1.

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writers; and therefore that by the Grecians it is not believed until this day." He allegeth, indeed, a number of authorities to blear men's eyes withal, which being narrowly looked into will be found either to be counterfeit stuff, or to make nothing at all to the purpose, as belonging either to the point of praying for the dead only, (which in those ancient times had no relation to purgatory, as in the handling of the next article we shall see,) or unto the fire of affliction in this life, or to the fire that shall burn the world at the last day, or to the fire prepared for the devil and his angels, or to some other fire than that which he intended to kindle thereby. This benefit only have we here gotten by his labours, that he hath saved us the pains of seeking far for the forge, from whence the first sparkles of that purging fire of his brake forth. For the ancientest memorial that he bringeth thereof, the places which he hath abused out of the canonical and apocryphal Scriptures only excepted, [37]is out of Plato in his Gorgias and Phædo, Cicero in the end of his fiction of the Dream of Scipio, and Virgil in the sixth book of his Æneids; and next after the Apostles' times, [38]out of Tertullian in the seventeenth chapter of his book *de Anima*, and Origen in divers places. Only he must give us leave to put him in mind, with what spirit Tertullian was led when he wrote that book *de Anima;* and with what authority he strengtheneth that conceit of men's paying in hell for their small faults before the resurrection, namely, of [39] the Paraclete; by whom if he mean Montanus the arch-heretic, as there is small cause to doubt that he doth, we need not much envy the Cardinal for raising up so worshipful a patron of his purgatory.

But if Montanus come short in his testimony, Origen, I am sure, pays it home with full measure, not pressed down only and shaken together, but also running over. For he was one of those, as the [40]Cardinal knoweth full well, "who approved of purgatory so much, that he acknowledged no other pains after this life, but purgatory penalties" only; and there-

[37] Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. i. cap. 11.

[38] Id. ibid. cap. 7 et 10.

[39] Hoc etiam Paracletus frequentissime commendavit; si quis sermones ejus ex agnitione promissorum charismatum admiserit. Tertullian. de Anima, cap. ult.

[40] Non defuerunt, qui adeo purgatorium probarint, ut nullas pœnas nisi purgatorias post hanc vitam agnoverint. Ita Origenes sensit. Bellarm. de Purgat. lib. i. cap. 2.

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fore in his judgment hell and purgatory being the selfsame thing, such as blindly follow the Cardinal, may do well to look that they stumble not upon hell while they seek for purgatory. The Grecians profess, [41]that they are afraid to tell their people of any temporary fire after this life, lest it should breed in them a spice of Origen's disease, and put out of their memory the thought of eternal punishment; and by this means occasioning them to be more careless of their conversation, make them indeed fit fuel for those everlasting flames. Which fear of theirs we may perceive not to have been altogether causeless; when the purgatory of Origen resembleth the purgatory of the Pope so nearly, that the wisest of his Cardinals is so ready to mistake the one for the other. And, to speak the truth, the one is but an unhappy sprig cut off from the rotten trunk of the other; which sundry men long since endeavoured to graff upon other stocks, but could not bring unto any great perfection, until the Pope's followers tried their skill upon it with that success which now we behold. Some of the ancient that put their hand to this work, extended the benefit of this fiery purge unto all men in general; others thought fit to restrain it unto such, as some way or other bare the name of Christians; others to such Christians only, as had one time or other made profession of the Catholic faith; and others to such alone as did continue in that profession until their dying day.

Against all these St Augustine doth learnedly dispute; proving that wicked men, of what profession soever, shall be punished with everlasting perdition. And whereas the defenders of the last opinion did ground themselves upon that place in the third chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which the Pope also doth make the principal foundation of his purgatory, although it be a [42]probatory, and not a purgatory fire that the Apostle there treateth of;

[41] Εἰ δὲ νῦν ἐκ νέου καὶ πρόσκαιρον ὀνομάσωμεν πῦρ, δέος μὴ τοῦθ' ὑποπτεύσαντες εἶναι οἱ πιστοὶ τὸ αἰώνιον, καὶ πᾶν ἤδη τοιοῦτο νομίσωσι πῦρ, κἀντεῦθεν τὰ Ὠριγένους νοσήσωσι, καὶ τὴν τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως μνήμην τῶν ψυχῶν ἀποικίσωσιν, τέλος κολάσεως θέμενοι· ὅθεν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἕψεται ἄτοπα, πολλὴν δὲ ἐπιδείξονται περὶ τὴν οἰκείαν πολιτείαν ἀμέλειαν, καὶ πολλὴν χορηγήσουσιν ὕλην τῇ αἰωνίῳ κολάσει, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. Græci, in lib. de Purgatorio Igne, a Bon. Vulcanio edit.

[42] Uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. 1 Cor. iii. 13.

St Augustine [43]maketh answer, that this sentence of the Apostle is very obscure, and to be reckoned among those things which St Peter saith are *hard to be understood* in his writings, which men ought not to pervert unto their own destruction; and freely [44]confesseth, that in this matter he would rather hear more intelligent and more learned men than himself. Yet this he delivereth for his opinion; that by wood, hay, and stubble, is understood that overgreat love which the faithful bear to the things of this life; and by fire, that temporal tribulation which causeth grief unto them by the loss of those things upon which they had too much placed their affections. "But [45]whether in this life only," saith he, "men suffer such things, or whether some such judgments also do follow after this life, the meaning which I have given of this sentence, as I suppose, abhorreth not from the truth." And again: "[46]Whether they find the fire of transitory tribulation, burning those secular affections, which are pardoned from damnation, in the other world only; or whether here and there, or whether therefore here, that they may not find them there; I gainsay it not, because peradventure it is true." And in another place: "[47]That some such thing should be after this life, it is not incredible, and whether it be so it may be inquired, and either be found or remain hidden; that some of the faithful by a certain purgatory fire, by how much more or less they have loved these perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or sooner saved." Wherein the learned Father dealeth no otherwise than when, in disputing against the same men, he is content, if they would acknowledge that the wrath of God did remain everlastingly upon the damned, to give them leave to think that their pains might some way or other be lightened or mitigated. Which yet, notwith-

[43] Augustin. de Fide et Operib. cap. 15.

[44] Id. ibid. cap. 16.

[45] Sive ergo in hac vita tantum homines ista patiuntur, sive etiam post hanc vitam talia quædam judicia subsequuntur; non abhorret, quantum arbitror, a ratione veritatis iste intellectus hujus sententiæ. Id. ibid. cap. 16.

[46] Sive ibi tantum, sive hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi, secularia (quamvis a damnatione venialia) concremantem ignem transitoriæ tribulationis inveniant; non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. Id. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 26.

[47] Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quæri potest, et aut inveniri aut latere; nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusve salvari. Id. in Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 69.

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standing, saith [48]he, "I do not therefore affirm, because I oppose it not."

What the Doctors of the next succeeding ages taught herein, may appear by the writings of St Cyril, Gennadius, Olympiodorus, and others. St Cyril, from those last words of our Saviour upon the cross, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,* [49]delivereth this as the certain ground and foundation of our hope: "We ought to believe, that the souls of the saints, when they are departed out of their bodies, are commended unto God's goodness, as unto the hands of a most dear Father, and do not remain in the earth, as some of the unbelievers have imagined, until they have had the honour of burial; neither are carried, as the souls of the wicked be, unto a place of unmeasurable torment, that is, unto hell; but rather fly to the hands of the Father, this way being first prepared for us by Christ. For he delivered up his soul into the hands of his Father, that from it, and by it, a beginning being made, we might have certain hope of this thing, firmly believing that after death we shall be in the hands of God, and shall live a far better life for ever with Christ. For therefore Paul desired to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." Gennadius, in a book wherein he purposely taketh upon him to reckon up the particular points of doctrine received by the Church in his time, when he cometh to treat of the state of souls separated from the body, maketh no mention at all of purgatory, but layeth down this for one of his positions: "[50]After the

[48] Quod quidem non ideo confirmo, quoniam non refello. Id. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 24.

[49] Quod nobis magnæ spei fundamentum atque originem præbet. Credere namque debemus, quum a corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus carissimi patris, bonitati divinæ commendari; nec, ut quidam infidelium crediderunt, in terris conversari, quousque sepulturæ honoribus affectæ sint; nec, ut peccatorum animæ, ad immensi cruciatus locum, id est, ad inferos, deferri; itinere hoc nobis a Christo primum præparato; sed in manus potius patris evolare. Tradidit enim animam suam manibus genitoris, ut ab illa et per illam facto initio, certam hujus rei spem habeamus; firmiter credentes, in manibus Dei nos post mortem futuros, vitamque multo meliorem ac perpetuo cum Christo victuros; ideo enim Paulus desideravit resolvi et esse cum Christo. Cyrill. Alexandr. in Johan. lib. xii. cap. 36.

[50] Post ascensionem Domini ad cœlos omnium sanctorum animæ cum Christo sunt, et exeuntes de corpore ad Christum vadunt, exspectantes resurrectionem corporis sui, ut ad integram et perpetuam beatitudinem cum ipso pariter immutentur: sicut et peccatorum animæ, in inferno sub timore positæ, exspectant resurrectionem sui corporis, ut cum ipso ad pœnam detrudantur æternam. Gennad. de Ecclesiastic. Dogmatib. cap. 79.

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ascension of our Lord into heaven, the souls of all the saints are with Christ, and departing out of the body, go unto Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body, that together with it they may be changed unto perfect and perpetual blessedness; as the souls of the sinners also, being placed in hell under fear, expect the resurrection of their body, that with it they may be thrust unto everlasting pain." In like manner Olympiodorus, expounding that place of Ecclesiastes, [51]*If the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be*, maketh this inference thereupon: "[52]In whatsoever place therefore, whether of light or of darkness, whether in the work of wickedness or of virtue, a man is taken at his death, in that degree and rank doth he remain; either in light with the just and Christ the king of all, or in darkness with the wicked and the prince of this world."

The first whom we find directly to have held, that "[53]for certain light faults there is a purgatory fire" provided before the day of judgment, was Gregory the First, about the end of the sixth age after the birth of our Saviour Christ. It was his imagination, that the end of the world was then at hand, and that "[54]as when the night beginneth to be ended, and the day to spring before the rising of the sun, the darkness is in some sort mingled together with the light, until the remains of the departing night be turned into the light of the following day; so the end of this world was then intermingled with the beginning of the world to come, and the very darkness of the remains thereof made transparent by a certain mixture of spiritual things." And this he assigneth for the reason, "[55]why in those last times so many things were made clear

[51] Eccles. xi. 3.

[52] Ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τοιγαροῦν τόπῳ, εἴτε τοῦ φωτὸς εἴτε τοῦ σκότους, εἴτε τῷ τῆς κακίας ἔργῳ εἴτε τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς, καταληφθῇ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ καὶ τῇ τάξει, ἢ ἐν φωτὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τοῦ παμβασιλέως Χριστοῦ, ἢ ἐν τῷ σκότει μὲν τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος. Olymp. in Eccles. xi.

[53] Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est. Greg. Dial. lib. iv. cap. 39.

[54] Quemadmodum cum nox finiri et dies incipit oriri, ante solis ortum simul aliquo modo tenebræ cum luce commixtæ sunt, quousque discedentis noctis relliquiæ in luce diei subsequentis perfecte vertantur; ita hujus mundi finis jam cum futuri seculi exordio permiscetur, atque ipsæ relliquiarum tenebræ quadam jam rerum spiritualium permixtione translucent. Id. ibid. cap. 41.

[55] Quid hoc est, quæso te, quod in his extremis temporibus tam multa de animabus clarescunt quæ ante latuerunt; ita ut apertis revelationibus atque ostensionibus venturum seculum inferre se nobis atque aperire videatur? Ibid. cap. 40.

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touching the souls, which before lay hid; so that by open revelations and apparitions the world to come might seem to bring in and open itself" unto them. But as we see that he was plainly deceived in the one of his conceits, so have we just cause to call into question the verity of the other; the Scripture especially having informed us, that a people for inquiry of matters should not have recourse to [56]*the dead*, but to *their God, to the law, and to the testimony;* it being not God's manner to send men [57]*from the dead* to instruct the living, but to remit them unto *Moses and the prophets*, that they may *hear them.* And the reason is well worth the observation, which the author of the Questions to Antiochus rendereth, why God would not permit the soul of any of those that departed hence to return back unto us again, and to declare the state of things in hell unto us; lest "[58]much error might arise from thence unto us in this life. For many of the devils," saith he, "might transform themselves into the shapes of those men that were deceased, and say that they were risen from the dead; and so might spread many false matters and doctrines of the things there, unto our seduction and destruction."

Neither is it to be passed over, that in those apparitions and revelations related by Gregory, there is no mention made of any common lodge in hell, appointed for purging of the dead, which is that which the Church of Rome now striveth for, but of certain souls only, that for their punishment were confined to [59]baths and other such places here upon earth; which our Romanists may believe if they list, but must seek for the purgatory they look for somewhere else. And yet may they save themselves that labour, if they will be advised by the Bishops assembled in the Council of Aquisgran, about 243 years after these visions were published by Gregory, who will resolve them out of the word of God, how sins are punished in the world to come. "[60]The sins

[56] Isai. viii. 19, 20.

[57] Luke xvi. 29, 30.

[58] Πολλὴ ἐντεῦθεν πλάνη ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτεσθαι ἔμελλεν. πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐν σχήμασιν ἀνθρώπων εἶχον μετασχηματίζεσθαι τῶν κοιμηθέντων, καὶ ἔμελλον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγηγέρθαι αὐτοὺς λέγειν, καὶ πολλὰ ψευδῆ πράγματα καὶ δόγματα περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ εἶχον ἡμῖν ἐγκατασπεῖραι πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν πλάνην καὶ ἀπώλειαν. Ad Antioch. Quæst. xxxv. inter Opera Athanasii.

[59] Gregor. Dial. lib. iv. cap. 40 et 55.

[60] Tribus itaque modis peccata mortalium vindicantur; duobus in hac vita, tertio in futura vita. De duobus ita Apo-

of men," say they, "are punished three manner of ways; two in this life, and the third in the life to come. Of those two the Apostle saith, *If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged of the Lord.* This is the punishment wherewith, by the inspiration of God, every sinner, by repenting for his offences, taketh revenge upon himself. But where the Apostle consequently adjoineth, *When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with this world;* this is the punishment which Almighty God doth mercifully inflict upon a sinner, according to that saying, *Whom God loveth he chasteneth, and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth.* But the third is very fearful and terrible, which by the most just judgment of God shall be executed, not in this world, but in that which is to come, when the just Judge shall say, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.*" Add hereunto the saying of the author of the books *de Vanitate Seculi*, and *de Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis*, wrongly ascribed to St Augustine: "[61] Know, that when the soul is separated from the body, presently it is either placed in paradise for his good works, or cast headlong into the bottom of hell for his sins." As also of the second sermon *de Consolatione Mortuorum:* "[62] When the soul departeth, which cannot be seen with carnal eyes, it is received by the angels, and placed either in the bosom of Abraham, if it be faithful, or in the custody

stolus inquit, Si nosmetipsos judicaverimus, a Domino non judicabimur. Hæc est vindicta, quam inspirante Deo omnis peccator, pro suis admissis pœnitendo, in seipso vindicat. Quod autem prosecutus idem Apostolus infert, Cum judicamur autem, a Domino corripimur, ut non cum mundo damnemur; hæc est vindicta, quam omnipotens Deus misericorditer peccatori irrogat, juxta illud, Deus quem amat corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Tertia autem exstat valde pertimescenda atque terribilis, quæ non in hoc sed in futuro, justissimo Dei judicio, fiet seculo, quando justus Judex dicturus est, Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Capitul. Aquisgran. Concil. ad Pipinum Miss. lib. i. cap. 1.

[61] Scitote, quod cum anima a corpore evellitur, statim aut in paradiso pro meritis bonis (*as it is in the one, or,* pro bonis operibus, *as it is in the other book, both importing the selfsame thing*) collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Lib. de Vanit. Seculi, cap. 1, et de Rectitud. Catholic. Conversat. (cujus auctor Eligius Noviomensis,) Tom. IX. Operum Augustini.

[62] Recedens anima, quæ carnalibus oculis videri non potest, ab angelis suscipitur, et collocatur aut in sinu Abrahæ, si fidelis est, aut in carceris inferni custodia, si peccatrix est, donec veniat statutus dies quo suum recipiat corpus, et apud tribunal Christi judicis veri reddat suorum operum rationem. Serm. II. de Consolat. Mortuor. ibid.

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of the prison of hell, if it be sinful, until the day appointed come wherein it is to receive the body, and render an account of the works thereof at the tribunal of Christ the true judge." And that in the days of Otto Frisingensis himself, who wrote in the year of our Lord 1146, the doctrine of purgatory was esteemed only a private assertion held by some, and not an article of faith generally received by the whole Church. (For why should he else write of it in this manner: "[63]That there is in hell a place of purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved are either only troubled with darkness, or decocted with the fire of expiation, SOME do affirm"?) And lastly, that the purgatory wherewith the Romish Clergy doth now delude the world, is a new device, never heard of in the Church of God for the space of a thousand years after the birth of our Saviour Christ.

For the Gregorian purgatory, which reached no further than to the expiation of "[64]small and very light faults," would not serve these men's turn, who very providently considered, that little use could be made of that fire if it had no other fuel but this to maintain it. For such peccadilloes as these, say they, may be taken away in this life [65]by knocking the breast, by receiving the Bishop's blessing, by being sprinkled with holy water, and by such other easy remedies; that if this were all the matter to be cared for, men needed not greatly to stand in fear of purgatory. Yea, admit they should be so extremely negligent in their lifetime that they forgat to use any of these helps, they might for all this at the time of their death be more afraid than hurt; yea, this "[66]fear alone," if there were nothing else, might prove a means to "purge their souls, at the very departing, from those faults of the lightest kind," if Gregory may be credited. Nay, which is more, divers of their own

[63] Esse apud inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantum afficiantur, vel expiationis igne decoquantur, QUIDAM asserunt. Otto Fris. Chron. lib. viii. cap. 26.

[64] Sed tamen hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est; sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, &c. Greg. Dial. lib. iv. cap. 39.

[65] Sext. Procem. in Glossa, verb. *Benedictionem;* Francisc. a Victoria in Summa Sacramentor. Eccles. num. 110; Jacob. de Graffiis, Decis. Cas. Conscient. part. I. lib. i. cap. 6, num. 10.

[66] Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pavor egredientes justorum animas purgat. Gregor. Dialog. lib. iv. cap. 46.

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[67]elder divines, to whom we may adjoin Cardinal [68]Cajetan also in these latter days, have taught, that all the remains of sin in God's children are quite abolished by final grace at the very instant of their dissolution; so that the stain of the least sin is not left behind to be carried unto the other world.

Now, purgatory, as Bellarmine describeth it, is a "[69]certain place, in which as in a prison those souls are purged after this life which were not fully purged in this life; that being so purged, they may be able to enter into heaven, whereinto no unclean thing can enter. And of this," saith he, "is all the controversy." If that be so, their own doctors, you see, will quickly bring this controversy unto an end. For if the souls be fully purged here from all spot of sin, what need have they to be sent unto any other purgatory after this life? Yes, say they, although the fault be quite remitted, and the soul clearly freed from the pollution thereof, yet may there remain a temporal punishment due for the very mortal sins that have been committed; which, if relief do not otherwise come by the help of such as are alive, must be soundly laid on in purgatory. But why in purgatory, say we, seeing here there is no more purging work left? for the fault and blot being taken away already, what remaineth yet to be purged? The punishment only, they say, is left behind: and punishment, I hope, they will not hold to be the thing that is purged away by punishment. Again, we desire them to tell us, what Father or ancient doctor did ever teach this strange divinity, that a man being clearly purged from the blot of his sin, and fully acquitted here from the fault thereof, should yet in the other world be punished for it with such grievous torments, as the tongue of man is not able to express?

[67] Delet gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsa dissolutione corporis et animæ, &c. Hoc ab antiquis dictum est; sed nunc communiter tenetur, quod peccatum veniale cum hinc deferatur a multis, etiam quantum ad culpam, in purgatoria purgatur. Albert. Magn. in Compend. Theologicæ Veritat. lib. iii. cap. 13. Vide Alexand. Halens. Summ. part. IV. Quæst. XV. Membr. 3, Art. 3; Durand. lib. iv. Dist. XLV. Quæst. I. &c.

[68] Cajetan. Opusc. Tom. I. Tract. XXIII. de Purgator. Quæst. I.

[69] Locus quidam, in quo tanquam in carcere post hanc vitam purgantur animæ quæ in hac non plene purgatæ fuerunt; ut nimirum sic purgatæ in cœlum ingredi valeant, quo nihil intrabit coinquinatum. De hoc est tota controversia. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. I. cap. I.

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And yet, as new and as absurd a doctrine as it is, the Pope and his adherents have builded thereupon both their guileful purgatory, with which it suiteth as evil-favouredly as may be, and their gainful indulgences; which, by their own doctrine, [70]free not a man from the guilt of any fault, either mortal or venial, but only from the guilt of the temporal punishment, which remaineth after the fault hath been forgiven.

When Thomas Aquinas and other friars had brought the frame of this new building unto some perfection, and fashioned all things therein unto their own best advantage, the doctors of the Greek Church did publicly oppose themselves against it. Matthæus Quæstor by name wrote against Thomas herein, whose book is still preserved in the emperor's library at Vienna. So Athanasius's Disputation against Purgatory is, or lately was, to be seen in the French King's library, and the like of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and others elsewhere. The Apology of the Grecians touching the same subject is commonly to be had, which was penned by [71]Marcus Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus, and [72]presented to Cardinal Cusanus, and the deputies of the Council of Basil, in the year 1438, the 14th of June; [73]the very same day wherein Bessarion, Archbishop of Nice, disputed with the Latins of the same matter in the Council assembled at Ferrara. In that Apology, the Grecians begin their Disputation with this proposition: "[74]A purgatory fire, and a punishment by fire which is temporal, and shall at last have an end, neither have we received from our doctors, neither do we know that the Church of the East doth maintain." They add further: "[75]Neither have we

[70] Id. de Indulgent. lib. i. cap. 7, Propos. I.

[71] Sixt. Senens. lib. vi. Biblioth. Sanct. Annotat. 259.

[72] Responsio Græcorum ad positionem Latinorum, opinionem ignis purgatorii fundantium et probantium. Quæ lecta et data fuit reverendissimis et reverendis patribus, et Dominis deputatis, die sabbati, XIV. mensis Junii, 1438, in sacristia fratrum minorum Basileæ, præsentata Nicolao Cusano. Martin. Crusius in Turco-Græcia, p. 186, ex libro MS. Johan. Capnionis.

[73] Act. Concil. Florentin.

[74] Πῦρ καθαρτήριον καὶ κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς πρόσκαιρον, καὶ τέλος ἔξουσαν, ὅλως ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐ παρειλήφαμεν διδασκάλων, οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἴσμεν φρονοῦσαν. Apolog. Gregor. de Purgator. a Bonav. Vulcan. edit.

[75] Ὅτι μήτε παρὰ τινὸς τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν, ἔτι τε καὶ φόβος οὐ μικρὸς ὑποθρύπτει ἡμᾶς, μὴ πῦρ πρόσκαιρον ὑποθέμενοι παράδικόν τε καὶ καθαρτήριον, τῷ παντὶ λημηνώμεθα τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματι. Ibid.

received it from any of our doctors; and, moreover, no small fear doth trouble us, lest, by admitting a temporary fire, both penal and purgatory, we should destroy the full consent of the Church." And thereupon they conclude very peremptorily, "[76]For these reasons, therefore, neither have we hitherto affirmed any such thing, neither will we at all affirm it."

Yet, within a year after, the Pope and his ministers prevailed so far with them in the Council at Florence, that they were content for peace' sake to yield, that "[77]the middle sort of souls were in a place of punishment; but whether that were fire, or darkness and tempest, or something else, they would not contend." And accordingly was the pretended union betwixt them and the Latins drawn up, that, "[78]if such as be truly penitent die in God's favour before they have satisfied for their sins of commission and omission by worthy fruits of penance, their souls are purged after death with purgatory punishments;" neither fire, nor any other kind of punishment being specified in particular. But neither would Marcus, the Bishop of Ephesus, who was one of the legates of the Patriarchs of Antioch and of Jerusalem, consent to this union; neither could the Greek Church afterwards by any means be drawn to yield unto it. And so unto this day the Romish purgatory is rejected as well by the Grecians as by the Muscovites and Russians, the Cophtites and Abassines, the Georgians and Armenians, together with the Syrians and Chaldæans, that are subject to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Babylon, from Cyprus and Palæstina unto the East Indies. And this may suffice for the discovery of this new-found creek of purgatory.

[76] *Διὰ ταῦτα οὖν οὐδέποτε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰρήκαμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐροῦμεν.* Ibid.

[77] *Αἱ δὲ μέσαι ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ἐν βασανιστηρίῳ, καὶ εἴτε πῦρ ἐστὶν, εἴτε ζόφος καὶ θύελλα, εἴτε τι ἕτερον, οὐ διαφερόμεθα.* Concil. Florentin. Sess. XXV.

[78] Si vere pœnitentes in Dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas pœnis purgatoriis post mortem purgari. Eugenii IV. Bulla Unionis. Ibid. *Cujus αὐτόγραφον etiam inter κειμήλια Cottoniana vidimus.*

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OF PRAYER FOR THE DEAD.

PRAYER for the Dead, as it is used in the Church of Rome, doth necessarily suppose purgatory; and therefore whatsoever hath been alleged out of the Scriptures and Fathers against the one, doth stand in full force against the other: so that here we need not *actum agere*, and make a new work of overthrowing that which hath been sufficiently beaten down already. But on the other side, the admittal of purgatory doth not necessarily infer prayer for the dead: nay, if we shall suppose, with our adversaries, that purgatory is the [1]*prison* from whence none *shall come out until they have paid the utmost farthing*, their own paying, and not other men's praying, must be the thing they are to trust unto, if ever they look to be delivered out of that jail. Our Romanists indeed do commonly take it for granted, that "[2]purgatory and prayer for the dead be so closely linked together, that the one doth necessarily follow the other;" but in so doing they reckon without their host, and greatly mistake the matter. For howsoever they may deal with their own devices as they please, and link their prayers with their purgatory as closely as they list; yet shall they never be able to shew, that the commemoration and prayers for the dead, used by the ancient Church, had any relation unto their purgatory; and therefore, whatsoever they were, Popish prayers we are sure they were not. I easily foresee, that the full opening of the judgment of the Fathers in this point will hardly stand with that brevity which I intended to use in treating of these questions; the particulars be so many, that necessarily do incur into the handling of this argument. But I suppose the reader will be content rather to dispense with me in that behalf, than be sent away unsatisfied in a matter wherein the adversary beareth himself confident beyond measure, that the whole stream of antiquity runneth clearly upon his side.

[1] Matt. v. 26. [2] Bishop against Perkins's Reformed Catholic, part II. p. 149.

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That the truth, then, of things may the better appear, we are here prudently to distinguish the original institution of the Church from the private opinions of particular doctors, which waded further herein than the general intendment of the Church did give them warrant; and diligently to consider, that the memorials, oblations, and prayers made for the dead at the beginning had reference to such as rested from their labours, and not unto any souls which were thought to be tormented in that Utopian purgatory, whereof there was no news stirring in those days. This may be gathered, *first*, by the practice of the ancient Christians, laid down by the author of the Commentaries upon Job, which are wrongly ascribed unto Origen, in this manner: "[3]We observe the memorials of the saints, and devoutly keep the remembrance of our parents or friends which die in the faith; as well rejoicing for their refreshing, as requesting also for ourselves a godly consummation in the faith. Thus therefore do we celebrate the *death*, not the day of the birth; because they which die shall live for ever. And we celebrate it, calling together religious persons with the priests, the faithful with the clergy; inviting moreover the needy and the poor, feeding the orphans and widows, that our festivity may be for a memorial of rest to the souls departed, whose remembrance we celebrate, and to us may become a sweet savour in the sight of the eternal God." *Secondly*, by that which St Cyprian writeth of Laurentius and Ignatius, whom he acknowledgeth to have received of the Lord palms and crowns for their famous martyrdom, and yet presently addeth: "[4]We offer sacrifices always for them, when we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs with an anniversary commemoration." *Thirdly*, by that which we read in the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, set out under the name of Dionysius the Areo-

[3] Propterea et memorias sanctorum facimus, et parentum nostrorum vel amicorum fide morientium devote memoriam agimus; tam illorum refrigerio gaudentes, quam etiam nobis piam consummationem in fide postulantes. Celebramus nimirum, religiosos cum sacerdotibus convocantes, fideles una cum clero; invitantes adhuc egenos et pauperes, pupillos et viduas saturantes, ut fiat festivitas nostra in memoriam requiei defunctis animabus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem suavitatis in conspectu æterni Dei. Lib. iii. Comment. in Job. inter Opera Origenis.

[4] Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus. Cyprian. Epist. XXXIV.

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pagite: for where the party deceased is described by him to have departed out of this life, "[5]replenished with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worse," being come unto the end of all his labours, and to have been both privately acknowledged by his friends, and publickly pronounced by the ministers of the Church, to be a happy man, and to be verily admitted into the "[6]society of the saints that have been from the beginning of the world;" yet doth he declare, that the Bishop made prayer for him, (upon what ground, we shall afterward hear), that "[7]God would forgive him all the sins that he had committed through human infirmity, and bring him into the light and the land of the living, into the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, into the place from whence pain and sorrow and sighing flieth." *Fourthly*, by the funeral ordinances of the Church related by St Chrysostom, which were appointed to admonish the living that the parties deceased were in a state of joy, and not of grief: "[8]For tell me," saith he, "what do the bright lamps mean? do we not accompany them therewith as champions? What mean the hymns?" "[9]Consider what thou dost sing at that time. *Return, my soul, unto thy rest; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* And again: *I will fear no evil, because thou art with me.* And again: *Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me.* Consider what these Psalms mean."

Fifthly, by the forms of prayers that are found in the ancient Liturgies. As in that of the churches of Syria, attributed unto St Basil: "[10]Be mindful, O Lord, of them

[5] Vide supra p. 153.

[6] Ὡς κοινωνὸν ὄντως ὄντα τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἁγίων, ἱερῶς ἀνακηρυττόμενον. Dionys. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 7.

[7] Ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐχὴ τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος δεῖται πάντα μὲν ἀφεῖναι τὰ δι' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡμαρτημένα τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ, κατατάξαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χώρᾳ ζώντων, εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, ἐν τόπῳ οὗ ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. Ibid.

[8] Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι τί βούλονται αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ φαιδραί; οὐχ ὡς ἀθλητὰς αὐτοὺς προπέμπομεν; τί δὲ οἱ ὕμνοι; Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Homil. IV.

[9] Ἐννόησον τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον. Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε. καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. καὶ πάλιν, Σύ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με. ἐννόησον τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοί. Id. ibid.

[10] Memento etiam, Domine, eorum qui decesserunt migraruntque ex hac vita, et episcoporum orthodoxorum qui inde a Petro et Jacobo Apostolis ad hunc usque diem rectum fidei verbum clare sunt professi; et nominatim Ignatii, Dionysii, Julii, ac reliquorum divorum laudabilis

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which are dead, and are departed out of this life, and of the orthodox Bishops, which, from Peter and James the Apostles until this day, have clearly professed the right word of faith; and namely, of Ignatius, Dionysius, Julius, and the rest of the saints of worthy memory. Be mindful, O Lord, of them also which have stood unto blood for religion, and by righteousness and holiness have fed thy holy flock." And in the Liturgy fathered upon the Apostles: "[11]We offer unto thee for all the saints which have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons," &c. And in the Liturgies of the churches of Egypt, which carry the title of St Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril of Alexandria: "[12]Be mindful, O Lord, of thy saints; vouchsafe to remember all thy saints which have pleased thee from the beginning, our holy fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, preachers, evangelists, and all the souls of the just which have died in the faith; and especially the holy, glorious, the evermore Virgin Mary, the Mother of God; and St John the forerunner, the Baptist and martyr; St Stephen, the first deacon and martyr; St Mark the apostle, evangelist, and martyr," &c. And in the Liturgy of the church of Constantinople, ascribed to St Chrysostom: "[13]We offer unto thee this reasonable service for those who are

memoriæ. Memento, Domine, eorum quoque qui usque ad sanguinem pro religione steterunt, et gregem tuum sacrum per justitiam et sanctitatem paverunt, &c. Basilii Anaphora, ab Andr. Masio ex Syriaco conversa.

[11] Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, &c. Constitut. Apostolic. lib. viii. cap. 12.

[12] Memento, Domine, sanctorum tuorum: dignare ut recorderis omnium sanctorum tuorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio, patrum nostrorum sanctorum, patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, evangelizantium, evangelistarum, et omnium spirituum justorum qui obierunt in fide; et imprimis sanctæ, gloriosæ, semperque virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ, et Sancti Johannis præcursoris, baptistæ et martyris; Sancti Stephani protodiaconi et protomartyris; Sancti Marci apostoli, evangelistæ et martyris, &c. Liturg. Ægyptiac. Basil. Greg. et Cyrilli, a Victorio Scialach ex Arabico convers. p. 22, 47, et 60, edit. August. ann. 1604.

[13] Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων, προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατευτῶν, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας. Chrysost. Liturg. Græc.

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at rest in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith, but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the Mother of God and aye Virgin Mary." Which kind of oblation for the saints, sounding somewhat harshly in the ears of the Latins, Leo Thuscus, in his translation, thought best to express it to their better liking after this manner: "[14]We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithfully deceased, for our fathers and forefathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all the saints interceding" for them. As if the phrase of "[15]offering for the martyrs" were not to be found in St Chrysostom's own works; and more universally "[16]for the just, both the fathers and the patriarchs, the prophets and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, the bishops, and such as led a solitary life, and the whole order," in the suffrages of the Church rehearsed by Epiphanius. Yea, and in the Western Church itself: "[17]for the spirits of those that are at rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidorus," &c. As may be seen in the Muzarabical Office used in Spain.

Sixthly, this may be confirmed out of the Funeral Orations of St Ambrose; in one whereof, touching the Emperor Valentinian and his brother Gratian, thus he speaketh: "[18]Let us believe that Valentinian is ascended from the desert, that is to say, from this dry and unmanured place unto

[14] Adhuc offerimus tibi rationabile hoc obsequium pro fideliter dormientibus, pro patribus et proavis nostris; intervenientibus patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus, et omnibus sanctis. Chrysost. Liturg. Latin.

[15] *Τί οἴει τὸ ὑπὲρ μαρτύρων προσφέρεσθαι;* Chrysost. Homil. XXI. in Act. Tom. IV. edit. Savil. p. 736, et Tom. VII. p. 928.

[16] *Ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων καὶ πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος.* Epiphan. Hæres. LXXV.

[17] Pro spiritibus pausantium, Hilarii, Athanasii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Fulgentii, Leandri, Isidori, &c. Offic. Muzarab. apud Eugen. Roblesium, in Vita Francisci Ximenii.

[18] Credamus quia ascendit a deserto, hoc est, ex hoc arido et inculto loco, ad illas florulentas delectationes, ubi cum fratre conjunctus æternæ vitæ fruitur voluptate. Beati ambo: si quid meæ orationes valebunt, nulla dies vos silentio præteribit; nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio; nulla nox non donatos aliqua precum mearum contextione transcurret. Omnibus vos oblationibus frequentabo. Ambros. de Obitu Valentiniani Imp.

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those flowery delights, where, being conjoined with his brother, he enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are you both: if my orisons shall prevail any thing, no day shall overslip you in silence; no oration of mine shall pass you over unhonoured; no night shall run by, wherein I will not bestow upon you some portion of my prayers. With all oblations will I frequent you." In another, he prayeth thus unto God: "[19]Give rest to thy perfect servant Theodosius, that rest which thou hast prepared for thy saints." And yet he had said before of him: "[20]Theodosius, of honourable memory, being freed from doubtful fight, doth now enjoy everlasting light and continual tranquillity; and for the things which he did in this body he rejoiceth in the fruits of God's reward; because he loved the Lord his God, he hath obtained the society of the saints" And afterward also, "[21]Theodosius remaineth in light, and glorieth in the company of the saints." In a third, he prayeth thus for his brother Satyrus: "[22]Almighty God, I now commend unto thee his harmless soul; to thee do I make my oblation; accept mercifully and graciously the office of a brother, the sacrifice of a priest:" although he had directly pronounced of him before, that "[23]he had entered into the kingdom of heaven, because he believed the word of God," and excelled in many notable virtues. Lastly, in one of his Epistles, he comforteth Faustinus for the death of his sister after this manner: "[24]Do not the carcases of so many half-ruined cities, and the funerals of

[19] Da requiem perfecto servo tuo Theodosio, requiem quam præparasti sanctis tuis. Id. de Obitu Theodosii Imp.

[20] Absolutus igitur dubio certamine, fruitur nunc augustæ memoriæ Theodosius luce perpetua, tranquillitate diuturna; et pro iis quæ in hoc gessit corpore munerationis divinæ fructibus gratulatur. Ergo quia delexit augustæ memoriæ Theodosius Dominum Deum suum, meruit sanctorum consortia. Id. ibid.

[21] Manet ergo in lumine Theodosius, et sanctorum cœtibus gloriatur. Ibid.

[22] Tibi nunc, omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus, sacrificium sacerdotis. Id. de Obitu Fratris.

[23] Intravit in regnum cœlorum, quoniam credidit Dei verbo, &c. Id. ibid.

[24] Tot igitur semirutarum urbium cadavera, terrarumque sub eodem conspectu exposita funera, non te admonent unius sanctæ licet et admirabilis fœminæ decessionem consolabiliorem habendam? præsertim cum illa in perpetuum prostrata ac diruta sint; hæc autem ad tempus quidem erepta nobis meliorem illic vitam exigat. Itaque non tam deplorandam, quam prosequendam orationibus reor; nec mœstificandam lacrymis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino commendandam arbitror. Id. Epist. VIII.

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so much land exposed under one view, admonish thee, that the departure of one woman, although a holy and an admirable one, should be borne with great consolation? especially seeing they are cast down and overthrown for ever; but she, being taken from us but for a time, doth pass a better life there. I therefore think that she is not so much to be lamented as to be followed with prayers, and am of the mind that she is not to be made sad with thy tears, but rather that her soul should be commended with oblations unto the Lord." Thus far St Ambrose. Unto whom we may adjoin Gregory Nazianzen also; who, in the funeral oration that he made upon his brother Cæsarius, having acknowledged that he had "[25]received those honours that did befit a new-created soul, which the Spirit had reformed by water," (for he had been but lately baptized before his departure out of this life), doth notwithstanding pray [26]that the Lord would be pleased to receive him.

Divers instances of the like practice in the ages following I have produced in another [27]place; to which I will add some few more, to the end that the reader may from thence observe, how long the primitive institution of the Church did hold up head among the tares that grew up with it, and in the end did quite choke and extinguish it. Our English Saxons had learned of Gregory to pray for relief of those souls that were supposed to suffer pain in purgatory; and yet the introducing of that novelty was not able to justle out the ancient usage of making prayers and oblations for them which were not doubted to have been at rest in God's kingdom. And therefore the brethren of the church of Hexham, in the anniversary commemoration of the obit of Oswald, King of Northumberland, used "[28]to keep their vigils for the health of his soul;" and having spent the night in praising of God with psalms, "to offer for him in the morning the sacrifice of the sacred oblation," as Bede writeth; who telleth us yet withal, that [29]he "reigned with

[25] Τῆς νεοκτίστου ψυχῆς, ἣν τὸ πνεῦμα δι' ὕδατος ἀνεμόρφωσεν, ἄξια τὰ γέρα καρπούμενος. Greg. Nazianz. in Fun. Cæsarii, Orat. x.

[26] Νῦν μὲν δέχοιο Καισάριον.

[27] Discourse of the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish.

[28] Vigilias pro salute animæ ejus facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, victimam pro eo mane sacræ oblationis offerre. Bed. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[29] Id. ibid. cap. 12 et 14.

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God in heaven," and by his prayers procured many miracles to be wrought on earth. So likewise doth the same Bede [30]report, that when it was discovered, by two several visions, that Hilda, the Abbess of Streamsheale, or Whitby in Yorkshire, was carried up by the angels into heaven, they which heard thereof presently caused prayers to be said for her soul. And Osberne relateth the like of Dunstan, that being at Bath, and [31]beholding in such another vision the soul of one that had been his scholar at Glastonbury to be carried up into "the palace of heaven," he "straightway commended the same into the hands of the divine piety," and entreated the lords of the place where he was to do so likewise.

Other narrations of the same kind may be found among them that have written of saints' lives; and particularly in the tome published by Mosander, p. 69, touching the decease of Bathildis, Queen of France, and p. 25, concerning the departure of Godfry, Earl of Cappenberg, who is said there to have appeared unto a certain abbess, called Gerbergis, and to have acquainted her, "[32]that he was now, without all delay and without all danger of any more severe trial, gone unto the palace of the highest King; and, as the son of the immortal King, was clothed with blessed immortality." And the monk that writ the legend addeth, that [33]she presently thereupon "caused the sacrifice of the Mass to be offered for him." Which how fabulous soever it may be for the matter of the vision, yet doth it strongly prove

[30] Id. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 23.

[31] Repente ad superna raptus cujusdam discipuli, nobiliter a se apud Glastoniam educati, animam innumera angelorum frequentia hinc inde stipatam, atque immensi luminis fulgore perfusam, ad cœli palatium provehi conspexit. Moxque in manus divinæ pietatis eam commendans, dominos quoque loci ad commendandum invitat. Osbernus, in Vita Sti. Dunstani MS. in Biblioth. Cottoniana et Bodleiana. *Notandum vero, in Jo. Capgravii Legenda (in qua prior narrationis hujus pars ad verbum ex Osberno, ut alia de Dunstano complura, descripta cernitur) posteriorem hanc sententiam omitti penitus; in Eadmero vero (ex quo, non autem ex Osberno vel Osberto, Vita Dunstani, quæ Maii 19 apud Surium legitur, est desumpta) ita tantummodo referri:* Qui pro tanta gloria fratris ultra quam dici queat exultans, et immensas corde et ore Deo cunctipotenti gratias agens, sociis quid acciderit manifesta voce exposuit, et diem ac horam transitus ejus notari præcepit.

[32] Noveris, ait, me modo sine ulla dilatione, aut ullo severioris examinis periculo, ad summi Regis palatium commigrasse, atque tanquam Regis immortalis filium beata immortalitate vestitum. Vit. Godefrid. cap. 13, a Jac. Mosandro, edit. Colon. ann. 1581.

[33] Mox fratribus Cappenbergensibus indicavit beati viri obitum, et pro eo Missæ sacrificium offerendum curavit. Ibid.

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that within these 500 years, (for no longer since it is that this is accounted to have been done,) the use of offering for the souls of those that were believed to be in heaven was still retained in the Church. The letters of Charles the Great unto Offa, King of Mercia, are yet extant; wherein he [34]wisheth, that "intercession" should be made "for the soul of" Pope Adrian then lately deceased: "not having any doubt at all," saith he, "that his blessed soul is at rest; but that we may shew faithfulness and love unto our most dear friend. Even as St Augustine also giveth direction, that intercessions ought to be made for all men of ecclesiastical piety; affirming, that to intercede for a good man doth profit him that doeth it." Where the two ends of this kind of intercession are to be observed: the one, to shew their love to their friend; the other, to get profit to themselves thereby, rather than to the party deceased. Lastly, Pope Innocent the Third, or the Second rather, being inquired of by the Bishop of Cremona concerning the state of a certain priest that died without baptism, resolveth him out of St Augustine and St Ambrose, that "[35]because he continued in the faith of the holy mother the Church, and the confession of the name of Christ, he was assoiled from original sin, and had attained the joy of the heavenly country." Upon which ground at last he maketh this conclusion: "[36]Ceasing therefore all questions, hold the sentences of the learned Fathers; and command continual prayers and sacrifices to be offered unto God in thy church for the foresaid priest."

Now, having thus declared, unto what kind of persons the commemorations ordained by the ancient Church did

[34] Deprecantes ut diligenter jubeatis intercedere pro anima illius; nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse; sed ut fidem et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis carissimum, sicut et beatus præcipit Augustinus pro omnibus ecclesiasticæ pietatis intercessiones fieri debere; asserens pro bono intercedere facienti proficere. Carol. Magn. Epist. ad Offam, inter Epistolas Alcuini MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana. Vide Gulielm. Malmsburiens. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 4, et Matth. Westmonaster. ann. Dom. 797.

[35] Quia in sanctæ matris ecclesiæ fide et Christi nominis confessione perseveravit, ab originali peccato solutum, et cœlestis patriæ gaudium esse adeptum, asserimus incunctanter. Decretal. lib. iii. tit. 43 *de presbytero non baptizato*, cap. 2, *Apostolicam*; et Collect. I. Bernardi Papiensis, lib. v. tit. 35, cap. 2.

[36] Sopitis igitur quæstionibus, doctorum patrum sententias teneas; et in ecclesia tua juges preces hostiasque Deo offerri jubeas pro presbytero memorato. Ibid.

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extend, the next thing that cometh to consideration is, what we are to conceive of the primary intention of those prayers that were appointed to be made therein. And here we are to understand, that first prayers of praise and thanksgiving were presented unto God for the blessed estate that the party deceased was now entered upon; whereunto were afterwards added prayers of deprecation and petition, that God would be pleased to forgive him his sins, to keep him from hell, and to place him in the kingdom of heaven. Which kind of intercessions, howsoever at first they were well meant, as we shall hear, yet in process of time they proved an occasion of confirming men in divers errors; especially when they began once to be applied not only to the good, but to evil livers also, unto whom by the first institution they never were intended.

The term of εὐχαριστήριος εὐχὴ, *a thanksgiving prayer*, I borrow from the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; who, in the description of the funeral observances used of old in the Church, informeth us, first, that the friends of the dead "[37]accounted him to be, as he was, blessed, because that, according to his wish, he had obtained a victorious end;" and thereupon "sent forth hymns of thanksgiving to the Author of that victory; desiring withal that they themselves might come unto the like end." And then that [38]the Bishop likewise offered up a prayer of thanksgiving unto God, when the dead was afterward [39]brought unto him, to receive, as it were, at his hands a sacred coronation. Thus at the funeral of Fabiola, the praising of God by singing [40]of Psalms and resounding of Hallelujah is specially mentioned by St Jerome; and the general practice and intention of the Church therein is expressed and earnestly urged by St Chrysostom in this manner: "[41]Do not we praise

[37] Αὐτόν τε ὅστις (vel οἷός) ἐστι, μακαρίζουσι, πρὸς τὸ νικήφορον εὐκταίως ἀφικόμενον τέλος, καὶ τῷ τῆς νίκης αἰτίῳ χαριστηρίους ᾠδὰς ἀναπέμπουσι, προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν εὐχόμενοι λῆξιν. Dionys. Ecclesiastic. Hierarch. cap. 7.

[38] Εἶτα τελεῖ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαριστήριον εὐχὴν ὁ ἱεράρχης. Ibid.

[39] Λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην ἄγουσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ στεφάνων ἱερῶν δόσιν. Ib.

[40] Sonabant psalmi, et aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluja. Hieron. in Epitaphio Fabiolæ, Epist. xxx.

[41] Οὐχὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζομεν, καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἀπελθόντα, ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ὅτι τῆς δειλίας ἐκβαλὼν, ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῷ; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ὕμνοι; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ψαλμῳδίαι; ταῦτα πάντα χαιρόντων ἐστίν. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Homil. IV.

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God and give thanks unto him, for that he hath now crowned him that is departed, for that he hath freed him from his labours, for that quitting him from fear, he keepeth him with himself? Are not the hymns for this end? Is not the singing of psalms for this purpose? All these be tokens of rejoicing." Whereupon he thus presseth them that used immoderate mourning for the dead: "[42]Thou sayest, ***Return, O my soul, unto thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee;*** and dost thou weep? is not this a stage-play? is it not mere simulation? For if thou dost indeed believe the things that thou sayest, thou lamentest idly; but if thou playest, and dissemblest, and thinkest these things to be fables, why dost thou then sing? why dost thou suffer those things that are done? Wherefore dost thou not drive away them that sing?" And in the end he concludeth somewhat prophetically, that he "[43]very much feared lest by this means some grievous disease should creep in upon the Church."

Whether the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome, that the children of God, presently after their departure out of this life, are cast into a lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, be not a spice of this disease, and whether their practice in chanting of psalms, appointed for the expression of joy and thankfulness, over them whom they esteem to be tormented in so lamentable a fashion, be not a part of that scene and pageant at which St Chrysostom doth so take on, I leave it unto others to judge. That his fear was not altogether vain, the event itself doth shew. For howsoever in his days the fire of the Romish purgatory was not yet kindled, yet were there certain sticks then a-gathering, which ministered fuel afterwards unto that flame. Good St Augustine, who then was alive, and lived three and twenty years after St Chrysostom's death, declared himself to be of this mind; that the "[44]oblations and alms

[42] 'Επίστρεψον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε, λέγεις, καὶ δακρύεις; οὐχὶ σκηνὴ ταῦτά ἐστιν; οὐχ ὑπόκρισις; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως πιστεύεις οἷς λέγεις, περιττῶς πενθεῖς. εἰ δὲ παίζεις καὶ ὑποκρίνῃ καὶ μύθους αὐτὰ εἶναι νομίζεις, τί καὶ ψάλλεις; τί καὶ ἀνέχῃ τῶν παραγινομένων; διὰ τί μὴ ἀπελαύνεις τοὺς ψάλλοντας; Id. Ibid.

[43] Καὶ γὰρ μειζόνως δέδοικα, μὴ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χαλεπή τις νόσος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπεισέλθῃ. Ibid.

[44] Cum sacrificia sive altaris sive quarumcunque eleemosynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde

usually offered in the Church "for all the dead that received baptism, were thanksgivings for such as were very good, propitiations for such as were not very bad; but as for such as were very evil, although they were no helps of the dead, yet were they some kind of consolations of the living." Which, although it were but a private exposition of the Church's meaning in her prayers and oblations for the dead, and the opinion of a doctor too that did not hold purgatory to be any article of his creed, yet did the Romanists in times following greedily take hold thereof, and make it the main foundation upon which they laid the hay and stubble of their devised purgatory.

A private exposition I call this; not only because it is not to be found in the writings of the former Fathers, but also because it suiteth not well with the general practice of the Church which it intendeth to interpret. It may indeed fit in some sort that part of the Church service, wherein there was made a several commemoration, first, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, after one manner; and then of the other dead, after another; which, together with the conceit, that "[45]an injury was offered to a martyr by praying for him," was it that first occasioned [46]St Augustine to think of the former distinction. But in the "[47]supplications for the spirits of the dead, which the Church, under a general commemoration, was accustomed to make for all that were deceased in the Christian and Catholic Communion" to imagine that one and the same act of praying should be a petition for some, and for others a thanksgiving only, is somewhat too harsh an interpretation: especially where we find it propounded by way of petition, and the intention thereof directly expressed, as in the Greek Liturgy attributed to St James, the brother of our Lord: "[48]Be mindful, O Lord God of the spirits

bonis gratiarum actiones sunt, pro non valde malis propitiationes sunt, pro valde malis etsi nulla sunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualescunque vivorum consolationes sunt. Augustin. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110.

[45] Augustin. de Verbis Apostoli, Serm. XVII.

[46] Id. ibid. et in Evang. Johan. Tractat. LXXXIV.

[47] Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum, quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana et Catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia. Id. de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 4

[48] Μνήσθητι, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθημεν, ὀρθοδόξων, ἀπὸ

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and of all flesh, of such as we have remembered, and such as we have not remembered, being of right belief, from Abel the just until this present day. Do thou cause them to rest in the land of the living, in thy kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, in the bosoms of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers; whence grief, and sorrow, and sighing are fled; where the light of thy countenance doth visit them, and shine for ever." And in the offices compiled by Alcuinus: "[49]O Lord, holy Father, almighty and everlasting God, we humbly make request unto thee for the spirits of thy servants and handmaids, which from the beginning of this world thou hast called unto thee; that thou wouldst vouchsafe, O Lord, to give unto them a lightsome place, a place of refreshing and ease, and that they may pass by the gates of hell and the ways of darkness, and may abide in the mansions of the saints, and in the holy light which thou didst promise of old unto Abraham and his seed.

So the "commemoration of the faithful departed," retained as yet in the Roman Missal, is begun with this orison: "[50]Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord, and let everlasting light shine unto them." Whereunto we may add these two prayers, to omit a great number more of the like kind, used of old in the same Church: "[51]Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto thee for all that are departed in the confession of thy name; that thou reaching unto them the right hand of thy help, they may have

Ἀβὲλ τοῦ δικαίου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀνάπαυσον ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμὸς, ἔνθα ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ καταλάμπει διὰ παντός. Jacob. Liturg.

[49] Te, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, supplices deprecamur pro spiritibus famulorum et famularum tuarum, quos ab origine seculi hujus ad te accersiri præcepisti; ut digneris, Domine, dare eis locum lucidum, locum refrigerii et quietis, et ut liceat eis transire portas infernorum et vias tenebrarum, maneantque in mansionibus sanctorum, et in luce sancta quam olim Abrahæ promisisti et semini ejus. Alcuin. Offic. per Ferias, col. 228, Oper. edit. Paris. ann. 1617.

[50] Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis. Introitus Missæ, in commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum. Agenda mortuorum, in Antiphonario Gregorii, circa finem.

[51] Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro omnibus in tui nominis confessione defunctis; ut te dexteram auxilii tui porrigente, vitæ perennis requiem habeant; et a pœnis impiorum segregati, semper in tuæ laudis lætitia perseverent. Missa Latina Antiqua, edit. Argentin. ann. 1557, p. 52.

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the rest of everlasting life; and being separated from the punishments of the wicked, they may always persevere in the joy of thy praise." And, "[52]This oblation, which we humbly offer unto thee for the commemoration of the souls that sleep in peace, we beseech thee, O Lord, receive graciously; and of thy goodness grant, that both the affection of this piety may profit us, and obtain for them everlasting bliss." Where you may observe, that the souls unto which "everlasting bliss" was wished for, were yet acknowledged to rest "in peace," and, consequently, not to be disquieted with any purgatory torment. Even as in the Canon of the Mass itself the priest in the commemoration for the dead prayeth thus: "[53]Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids, which have gone before us with the ensign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that are at rest in Christ, we beseech thee that thou wouldst grant a place of refreshing, light, and peace."

Nay, the Armenians, in their Liturgy, entreat God to "[54]give eternal peace," not only in general "unto all that have gone before us in the faith of Christ;" but also in particular to the "patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs." Which maketh directly for the opinion of those, against whom [55]Nicolaus Cabasilas doth dispute, who held, that these

[52] Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi pro commemoratione animarum in pace dormientium suppliciter immolamus, quæsumus, Domine, benignus accipias; et tua pietate concedas, ut et nobis proficiat hujus pietatis affectus, et illis impetret beatitudinem sempiternam. Offic. Gregorian. Tom. v. Oper. Gregor. edit. Paris. ann. 1605, col. 235, 236; Tom. II. Liturg. Pamelii, p. 610; et Præfation. Vetust. edit. Colon. ann. 1530, num. 111.

[53] Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur. Canon. Missæ, in Officio Ambrosiano et Gregoriano, et Missali Romano. In Græca tamen Liturgia B. Petro attributa, pro Commemoratione *defunctorum* posita hic cernitur Commemoratione *viventium*. (*'Ενταῦθα ἀναφέρει τοὺς ζῶντας.*) Et in vetustissimis quibusdam Romanis Missalibus manuscriptis hæc mortuorum commemorationis formula nusquam exstat; P. Vireto teste lib. v. de Adulterat. Cœn. Dom. et Missæ Myster. cap. XLVIII. Ac nominatim in vetustissimo Canone Gregoriano, qui in Tigurinæ Abbatiæ Bibliotheca habebatur, *ex authentico libro Bibliothecæ cubiculi* descriptus; apud Henric. Bullinger. lib. ii. de Origine Erroris, cap. 8.

[54] Per hanc etiam oblationem da æternam pacem omnibus qui nos præcesserunt in fide Christi, sanctis patribus, patriarchis, apostolis, prophetis, martyribus, &c. Liturg. Armen. edit. Cracoviæ, Andrea Lubelczyck interp.

[55] Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τινὲς ἠπατήθησαν, οὐκ εὐχαριστίαν ἀλλ' ἱκεσίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὴν μνήμην αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαντες. Cabasil. Exposit. Liturg. cap. 49.

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"commemorations" contained "a supplication for the saints unto God," and not a "thanksgiving" only. As also do those forms of prayer which were used in the Roman Liturgy in the days of Pope Innocent the Third: "[56]Let such an oblation profit such or such a saint unto glory." And especially that for St Leo, which is found in the elder copies of the Gregorian Sacramentary: "[57]Grant unto us, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of thy servant Leo." For which the latter books have chopped in this prayer: "[58]Grant unto us, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo this oblation may profit us." Concerning which alteration, when the Archbishop of Lyons propounded such another question unto Pope Innocent as our Challenger at the beginning did unto us, "[59]Who it was that did change it, or when it was changed, or why?" the Pope returneth him for answer, "[60]that who did change it, or when it was changed, he was ignorant of; yet he knew upon what occasion it was changed: because, that where the authority of the holy Scripture doth say, that he doth injury unto a martyr who prayeth for a martyr," which is a new text of holy Scripture, of the Pope's own canonization, "the same by the like reason is to be held of other saints." The gloss upon this decretal layeth down the reason of this mutation a little more roundly: "[61]Of old they prayed for him, now at this day he prayeth for us; and so was the change made." And [62]Alphonsus Mendoza telleth us, that the old prayer was "deservedly" disused, and this

[56] Prosit vel proficiat huic sancto vel illi talis oblatio ad gloriam. Innocent. III. Epist. ad Archiep. Lugdun. lib. iii. Decretal. tit. 41, de Celebrat. Missar. cap. 6. *Cum Marthæ.*

[57] Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio. Gregor. Oper. Tom. v. edit. Paris. ann. 1605, col. 135, d.

[58] Annue nobis, Domine, ut intercessione famuli tui Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio. Liturg. Pamelii, Tom. II. p. 314.

[59] Tertio loco tua fraternitas requirit, quis mutaverit, vel quando fuit mutatum aut quare, quod in secreta beati Leonis, secundum quod antiquiores codices continent, &c. Innocent. III. in Collect. III. Decretal. Petri Beneventani, lib. iii. tit. 33, cap. 5.

[60] Super quo tibi taliter respondemus, quod quis illud mutaverit, aut quando mutatum fuerit, ignoramus; scimus tamen qua fuerit occasione mutatum, quia cum sacræ scripturæ dicat auctoritas, quod injuriam facit martyri qui orat pro martyre, idem est ratione consimili de sanctis aliis sciendum. Ibid.

[61] Olim orabatur pro ipso, hodie ipse orat pro nobis; et ita mutatum est. Cap. *Cum Marthæ*, Extra. de Celebr. Missar. in Glossa.

[62] Alphons. Mendoz. Controvers. Theolog. Quæst. VI. Scholastic. num. 7.

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other substituted in the room thereof, "Grant unto us, we beseech thee, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo this oblation may profit us." Which prayer, indeed, was to be found heretofore *in moderníoribus sacramentariis*, as Pope Innocent speaketh, and in the Roman Missals that were published before the Council of Trent, as namely in that which was printed at Paris ann. 1529; but in the new reformed Missal, wherewith, it seemeth, Mendoza was not so well acquainted as with his scholastical controversies, it is put out again, and another prayer for Leo put in; that by the celebration of those "[63]offices of atonement a blessed retribution might accompany him." Neither is there any more wrong done unto St Leo in praying for him after this manner, than unto all the rest of his fellows in that other prayer of the Roman Liturgy: "[64]We have received, O Lord, the divine mysteries; which as they do profit thy saints unto glory, so we do beseech thee that they may profit us for our healing:" and nothing so much as is done unto all the faithful deceased, when in their Masses for the dead they say daily, "[65]Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful that are departed from the pains of hell and from the deep lake; deliver them from the mouth of the lion, that hell do not swallow them up, that they fall not into darkness." So that, whatsoever commodious expositions our adversaries can bring for the justifying of the Roman service, the same may we make use of to shew, that the ancient Church might pray for the dead, and yet in so doing have no relation at all unto purgatory; yea, and pray for the martyrs and other saints that were in the state of bliss, without offering unto them any injury thereby.

For the clearing of the meaning of those prayers which are made for Leo and the other saints, to the two expositions

[63] Ut per hæc piæ placationis officia, et illum beata retributio comitetur, et nobis gratiæ tuæ dona conciliet. Missal. Roman. ex Decreto Concil. Tridentin. restitut. in Festo Sti Leonis.

[64] Sumpsimus, Domine, divina mysteria; quæ sicut sanctis tuis prosunt ad gloriam, ita nobis, quæsumus, proficiant ad medelam. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. ii. cap. 18; Sixt. Senens. lib. vi. Biblioth. Sanct. Annotat. 47, ex Gregorii Sacramentario.

[65] Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni et de profundo lacu; libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum. Missa in Commemorat. omnium fidelium defunctorum, et in Missis quotidianis defunctorum in *Offertorio*.

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brought in by Pope Innocent Cardinal Bellarmine addeth this for a third, "[66]that peradventure therein the glory of the body is petitioned for, which they shall have in the day of the resurrection. For although," saith he, "they shall certainly obtain that glory, and it be due unto their merits; yet it is not absurd to desire and ask this for them, that by more means it may be due unto them." Where, laying aside those unsavoury terms of *debt* and *merits*, whereof we shall have occasion to treat in their proper place, the answer is otherwise true in part, but not full enough to give satisfaction unto that which was objected. For the primary intention of the Church indeed, in her prayers for the dead, had reference unto the day of the resurrection; which also in divers places we find to have been expressly prayed for. As in the Egyptian Liturgy, attributed unto St Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria: "[67]Raise up their bodies in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy promises which are true and cannot lie; grant unto them, according to thy promises, that which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which hath not ascended into the heart of man, which thou hast prepared, O Lord, for them that love thy holy name; that thy servants may not remain in death, but may get out from thence, although slothfulness and negligence have followed them." And in that which is used by the Christians of St Thomas, as they are commonly called, in the East Indies: "[68]Let the Holy Ghost give resurrection to your dead at the last day, and make them worthy of the incorruptible kingdom." Such is the prayer of St Ambrose for Gratian and Valentinian the emperors: "[69]I do

[66] Adde tertio, fortasse peti gloriam corporis, quam habebunt in die resurrectionis. Nam etiamsi gloriam illam certo consequentur, et debetur eorum meritis; tamen non est absurdum hoc illis desiderare et petere, ut pluribus modis debeatur. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. ii. cap. 18.

[67] Resuscita corpora eorum in die quem constituisti, secundum promissiones tuas veras et mendacii expertes: concede eis, secundum promissa tua, id quod non vidit oculus, et auris non audivit, et quod in cor hominis non ascendit, quod præparasti, Domine, amatoribus nominis tui sancti; ut famuli tui non permaneant in morte, sed ut inde emigrent, etiamsi persecuta sit eos pigritia aut negligentia, &c. Cyrill. Liturg. a Victorio Scialach ex Arabico convers. p. 62.

[68] Resurrectionem faciat defunctis vestris in die novissimo, et dignos faciat illos regno incorruptibili Spiritus Sanctus. Missa Angamallensis, ex Syriaco convers. in Itinerar. Alexii Menesis.

[69] Te quæso, summe Deus, ut carissimos juvenes matura resurrectione suscites et resuscites, ut immaturum hunc vitæ istius cursum matura resurrectione compenses. Ambros. de Obit. Valentiniani, in ipso fine.

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beseech thee, most high God, that thou wouldst raise up again those dear young men with a speedy resurrection, that thou mayest recompense this untimely course of this present life with a timely resurrection." And that in Alcuinus: "[70]Let their souls sustain no hurt; but when that great day of the resurrection and remuneration shall come, vouchsafe to raise them up, O Lord, together with thy saints and thine elect." And that in Grimoldus's Sacramentary: "[71]Almighty and everlasting God, vouchsafe to place the body and the soul and the spirit of thy servant *N.* in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that, when the day of thy acknowledgment shall come, thou mayest command them to be raised up among thy saints and thine elect." And that which the Syrians do use: "[72]Cause, Lord God, their souls and their spirits and their bodies to rest; and sprinkle the dew of mercy upon their bones."

But yet the Cardinal's answer, that the glory of the body may be prayed for, which the saints shall have at the day of the resurrection, cometh somewhat short of that which the Church used to request in the behalf of St Leo: for in that prayer express mention is made of his soul, and to it is wished that profit may redound by the present oblation. And therefore this defect must be supplied out of his answer unto that other prayer which is made for the souls of the faithful departed, that they may be delivered out of the mouth of the lion, and that hell may not swallow them up. To this he saith, that "[73]the Church

[70] Nullam læsionem sustineant animæ eorum; sed cum magnus ille dies resurrectionis ac remunerationis advenerit, resuscitare eos digneris, Domine, una cum sanctis et electis tuis. Alcuin. Offic. per Ferias, Oper. col. 228, Preces Ecclesiast. a Georg. Cassandro collect. p. 384, Oper.

[71] Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, collocare dignare corpus et animam et spiritum famuli tui *N.* in sinibus Abrahæ, Isaac, et Jacob; ut cum dies agnitionis tuæ venerit, inter sanctos et electos tuos eum resuscitari præcipias. Grimold. Sacramentar. Tom. II. Liturgic. Pamel. p. 456, 457. Habetur eadem oratio in Missali Romano nondum reformato, (nam in novo ex decreto Concilii Tridentini restituto nusquam comparet,) *corporis* tantum mentione omissa; et Tomo v. Oper. Gregorii, edit. Paris. ann. 1605, col. 234, *corporis* simul et *spiritus* nominibus prætermissis.

[72] נרמיהון אכית מריא אלהא כבשתהון דרוחהון ופגריתון וריס טאלא ררתמא על Orat. pro Defunctis, in Syriacæ linguæ primis elementis ab Alb. Widmanstadio edit. Viennæ, ann. 1555.

[73] Ecclesia orat pro animabus quæ in purgatorio degunt, ne damnentur ad pœnas Gehennæ sempiternas; non quidem quod certum non sit eas non damnandas ad eas pœnas, sed quia vult Deus nos orare etiam pro iis rebus, quas certo accepturi sumus. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. ii. cap. 5.

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doth pray for these souls, that they may not be condemned unto the everlasting pains of hell; not as if it were not certain that they should not be condemned unto those pains, but because it is God's pleasure that we should pray even for those things which we are certainly to receive." The same answer did Alphonsus de Castro give before him, that "[74]very often those things are prayed for which are certainly known shall come to pass as they are prayed for; and that of this there be very many [75]testimonies." And Johannes Medina, that "[76]God delighteth to be prayed unto even for those things which otherwise he purposed to do. For God had decreed," saith he, "after the sin of Adam to take our flesh, and he decreed the time wherein he meant to come; and yet the prayers of the saints, that prayed for his incarnation and for his coming, were acceptable unto him. God hath also decreed to grant pardon unto every repentant sinner; and yet the prayer is grateful unto him, wherein either the penitent doth pray for himself, or another for him, that God would be pleased to accept his repentance. God hath decreed also and promised not to forsake his Church, and to be present with councils lawfully assembled; yet the prayer notwithstanding is grateful unto God, and the hymns, whereby his presence and favour and grace is implored both for the council and the Church." And whereas it might be objected, that howsoever the Church may sometimes pray for those things which she shall certainly receive, yet she doth not pray for those things which she hath already received; and this she hath received, that those souls shall not be damned, seeing they have received their

[74] Sæpissime petuntur illa quæ certo sciuntur eventura ut petuntur; et hujus rei plurima sunt testimonia. Alphons. Castr. contr. Hæres. lib. xii. de Purgator. Hæres. III.

[75] One whereof may be that prayer of the Prophet in the 9th of Daniel, whereupon St Jerome writeth thus: In cinere et sacco postulat impleri quod promiserat Deus; non quo incredulus esset futurorum, sed ne securitas negligentiam, et negligentia pareret offensam.

[76] Gaudet Deus orari etiam pro his, quæ alioqui facturus esset. Decreverat enim Deus post peccatum Adæ carnem sumere, decrevitque tempus quo venturus erat; et gratæ illi fuerunt orationes sanctorum pro sua incarnatione et adventu orantium. Decrevit etiam Deus omni peccatori pœnitenti veniam dare, et tamen grata est illa oratio qua vel ipse pœnitens pro se, vel alius pro illo orat, ut ejus pœnitentiam Deus acceptare dignetur. Decrevit etiam Deus, et promisit, ecclesiam suam non deserere, et conciliis legitime congregatis adesse; et tamen grata est Deo oratio et hymni, quibus ejus præsentia et favor et gratia ipsi concilio et ecclesiæ imploratur. Jo. Medin. de Pœnit. Tract. VI. Quæst. VI. Codicis de Oratione.

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sentence, and are most secure from damnation; the Cardinal replieth, that this objection may easily be avoided: "[77]For although those souls," saith he, "have received already their first sentence in the particular judgment, and by that sentence are freed from hell, yet doth there yet remain the general judgment, in which they are to receive the second sentence. Wherefore the Church, praying that those souls in the last judgment may not fall into darkness, nor be swallowed up of hell, doth not pray for the thing which the soul hath, but which it shall receive." Thus these men, labouring to shew how the prayers for the dead used in their Church may stand with their conceits of purgatory, do thereby inform us how the prayers for the dead used by the ancient Church may stand well enough without the supposal of any purgatory at all. For if we may pray for those things which we are most sure shall come to pass, and the Church, by the adversary's own confession, did pray accordingly that the souls of the faithful might escape the pains of hell at the general judgment, notwithstanding they had certainly been freed from them already by the sentence of the particular judgment; by the same reason, when the Church in times past besought God to "[78]remember all those that slept in the hope of the resurrection of everlasting life," which is the form of prayer used in the Greek Liturgies, and to give unto them rest, and to bring them unto the place where the light of his countenance should shine upon them for evermore, why should not we think that it desired these things should be granted unto them by the last sentence at the day of the resurrection, notwithstanding they were formerly adjudged unto them by the particular sentence at the time of their dissolution?

For as "[79]that which shall befall unto all at the day of judgment is accomplished in every one at the day of his death;" so, on the other side, whatsoever befalleth the soul

[77] Nam etsi animæ purgatorii jam acceperint primam sententiam in judicio particulari, eaque sententia liberæ sint a Gehenna; tamen adhuc superest judicium generale, in quo secundam sententiam accepturæ sunt. Quocirca ecclesia orans ne in judicio extremo animæ illæ cadant in obscurum, neve absorbeantur a Tartaro, non orat pro ea re quam accepit, sed pro ea quam acceptura est anima. Bellarmin. ut supra.

[78] Μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Liturg. Basil. et Chrysost.

[79] Quod enim in die judicii futurum est omnibus, hoc in singulis die mortis impletur. Hieronym. in Joel. cap. ii.

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of every one at the day of his death, the same is fully accomplished upon the whole man at the day of the general judgment. Whereupon we find that the Scriptures everywhere do point out that great day unto us, as the time wherein mercy and forgiveness, rest and refreshing, joy and gladness, redemption and salvation, rewards and crowns, shall be bestowed upon all God's children. As in 2 Tim. i. 16, 18, *The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus: the Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.* 1 Cor. i. 8, *Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Acts iii. 19, *Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.* 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, *It is a righteous thing with God to recompense unto you which are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.* Philip. ii. 16, *That I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain.* 1 Thess. ii. 19, *For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?* 1 Pet. i. 5, *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time.* 1 Cor. v. 5, *That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* Ephes. iv. 30, *Grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.* Luke xxi. 28, *When these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.* 2 Tim. iv. 8, *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day;* and Luke xiv. 14, *Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.*

And that the Church, in her offices for the dead, had special respect unto this time of the resurrection, appeareth plainly, both by the portions of Scripture appointed to be read therein, and by divers particulars in the prayers themselves, that manifestly discover this intention. For there "[80]the

[80] Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θείοις λογίοις ἐμφερομένας ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίας περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως ἀναγνόντες, ἱερῶς ᾄδουσι τὰς ὁμολόγους καὶ ταυτοδυνάμους τῶν ψαλμικῶν λογίων ᾠδάς. Dionys. Hierarch. Ecclesiast. cap. 7.

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ministers," as the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy reporteth, "read those undoubted promises which are recorded in the divine Scriptures of our divine resurrection, and then devoutly sang such of the sacred Psalms as were of the same subject and argument." And so accordingly in the Roman Missal, the lessons ordained to be read for that time are taken from 1 Cor. xv. *Behold, I tell you a mystery; We shall all rise again,* &c. John v. *The hour cometh wherein all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life,* &c. 1 Thess. iv. *Brethren, we would not have you ignorant concerning them that sleep, that ye sorrow not, as others which have no hope.* John xi. *I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he were dead, shall live.* 2 Macab. xii. *Judas caused a sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, justly and religiously thinking of the resurrection.* John vi. *This is the will of my Father that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth in him may have life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day.* And, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day.* And lastly, Apocal. xiv. *I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow them.* Wherewith the sequence also doth agree, beginning,

> [81] Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet seclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla:

and ending,

> Lacrymosa dies illa,
> Qua resurget ex favilla
> Judicandus homo reus;
> Huic ergo parce Deus.
> Pie Jesu Domine,
> Dona eis requiem.

Tertullian, in his book *de Monogamia*, which he wrote after he had been infected with the heresy of the Montanists,

[81] Missal. Roman. in Commemorat. omnium Fidelium Defunctorum.

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speaking of the prayer of a widow for the soul of her deceased husband, saith, that "[82]she requesteth refreshing for him, and a portion in the first resurrection." Which seemeth to have some tang of the error of the Millenaries, (whereunto not [83]Tertullian only with his [84]Prophet Montanus, but [85]Nepos also, and [86]Lactantius, and divers other doctors of the Church did fall), who, misunderstanding the prophecy in the 20th of the Revelation, imagined that there should be a *first resurrection* of the just, that should reign here a thousand years upon earth; and after that a *second resurrection* of the wicked at the day of the general judgment. "[87]They that come not to the first resurrection, but are reserved to the second, shall be burned until they fulfil the times betwixt the first and the second resurrection; or if they have not fulfilled them, they shall remain longer in punishment. And therefore let us pray that we may obtain to have our part in the first resurrection," saith St Ambrose. Hence, in a certain Gothic Missal, I meet with two several exhortations made unto the people to pray after this form: the one, that God would "[88]vouchsafe to place in the bosom of Abraham the souls of those that be at rest, and admit them unto the part of the first resurrection; the other, which I find elsewhere also repeated in particular, that [89]he would "place in rest the spirits of their friends

[82] Enimvero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium. Tertull. de Monogam. cap. 10.

[83] Id. de Resurrect. Carnis, cap. 25.

[84] Id. advers. Marcion. lib. iii. cap. ult.

[85] Sicut Nepos docuit, qui primam justorum resurrectionem et secundam impiorum confinxit. Gennad. de Ecclesiast. Dogmat. cap. 55. Idem in Catalogo Scriptor. Ecclesiastic. de Tichonio Donatista. Mille annorum regni in terra justorum, post resurrectionem futuri, suspicionem tulit; neque duas in carne mortuorum resurrectiones futuras, unam justorum, et aliam injustorum, sed unam et semel omnium, ostendit.

[86] Lactant. Institut. Divin. lib. vii. cap. 21, 24, et 26.

[87] Qui non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem; aut si non impleverint, diutius in supplicio permanebunt: ideo ergo rogemus ut in prima resurrectione partem habere mereamur. Ambros. in Psal. i. 5.

[88] Quiescentium animas in sinu Abrahæ collocare dignetur, et in partem primæ resurrectionis admittat. Missal. Gottic. Tom. VI. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Paris. ann. 1589, col. 251.

[89] Deum judicem universitatis, Deum cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, fratres dilectissimi, deprecemur pro spiritibus carorum nostrorum, qui nos in Dominica pace præcesserunt; ut eos Dominus in requie collocare dignetur, et in parte primæ resurrectionis resuscitet. Ibid. col. 257; Gregor. Oper. Tom. v. col. 228, edit. Paris.; Preces Ecclesiast. a Gregor. Cassandro collect. p. 385, Oper.

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which were gone before them in the Lord's peace, and raise them up in the part of the first resurrection." And, to come nearer home, Asserius Menevensis, writing of the death and burial of Æthelred, King of the West Saxons, and Burghred, King of the Mercians, saith, that they "[90]expect the coming of the Lord and the first resurrection with the just." The like doth Abbo Floriacensis also write of our [91]Cuthbert. Which, how it may be excused otherwise, than by saying that at the general resurrection [92]*the dead in Christ shall rise first*, and then the wicked shall be raised after them, and by referring the *first resurrection* unto the [93]*resurrection of the just*, which shall be at that day, [94]I cannot well resolve. For certain it is, that the *first resurrection*, spoken of in the 20th chapter of the Revelation of St John, is the resurrection of the soul from the death of sin and error in this world; as the *second* is the resurrection of the body out of the dust of the earth in the world to come; both which be distinctly laid down by our Saviour in the fifth chapter of the Gospel of St John; the first in the 25th verse, *The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live;* the second in the 28th and 29th, *Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in which all that are in the grave shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.*

And to this general resurrection, and to the judgment of the last day, had the Church relation in her prayers; some patterns whereof it will not be amiss to exhibit here, in these examples following: "[95]Although the condition of

[90] Adventum Domini et primam cum justis resurrectionem exspectant. Asser. de Ælfredi Rebus Gestis, ann. 871 et 874.

[91] Sanctus Domini Cuthbertus incomparabilis confessor et episcopus non solum adhuc exspectat diem primæ resurrectionis incorrupto corpore; sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tempore. Abbo Floriac. Præfat. in Vitam S. Eadmundi Regis, ad Dunstanum.

[92] 1 Thess. iv. 6. [93] Luke xiv. 14.

[94] Ita Origenes, in Esai. lib. xxviii. citatus in Pamphili pro eo Apologia: Licet omnes resurgant, et unusquisque in suo ordine resurgat; considerandum est tamen propter illum sermonem Johannis, (Apocal. xx.), ne forte dividi omnis resurrectionis ratio in duas partes possit, id est, in eos qui salvandi sunt justos, et in eos qui cruciandi sunt peccatores: ut sit una quidem bonorum, quæ dicitur prima; illa vero quæ est miserorum, secunda dicatur. Hieronym. in Psal. i. 5. Si non resurgunt peccatores in concilio justorum; diversa est peccatorum justorumque resurrectio.

[95] Quamvis humano generi mortis illata conditio pectora nostra mentesque contristet; tamen clementiæ tuæ dono spe fu-

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death brought in upon mankind doth make our hearts and minds heavy; yet, by the gift of thy clemency, we are raised up with the hope of future immortality; and being mindful of eternal salvation, are not afraid to sustain the loss of this light. For by the benefit of thy grace, life is not taken away to the faithful, but changed; and the souls being freed from the prison of the body, abhor things mortal when they attain unto things eternal. Wherefore we beseech thee that thy servant *N.*, being placed in the tabernacles of the blessed, may rejoice that he hath escaped the straits of the flesh, and in the desire of glorification expect with confidence the day of judgment." "[96]Through Jesus Christ our Lord, whose holy passion we celebrate without doubt for immortal and well resting souls; for them especially upon whom thou hast bestowed the grace of the second birth; who, by the example of the same Jesus Christ our Lord, have begun to be secure of the resurrection. For thou, who hast made the things that were not, art able to repair the things that were; and hast given unto us evidences of the resurrection to come, not only by the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, but also by the resurrection of the same thy only begotten Son our Redeemer." "[97]O God, who art the Creator and Maker of all things, and who art the bliss of thy saints, grant unto us who make request unto

turæ immortalitatis erigimur; ac memores salutis æternæ, non timemus lucis hujus sustinere jacturam, quoniam beneficio gratiæ tuæ fidelibus vita non tollitur, sed mutatur: atque animæ, corporeo ergastulo liberatæ, horrent mortalia dum immortalia consequuntur. Unde quæsumus ut famulus tuus *N.*, in tabernaculis beatorum constitutus, evasisse se carnales glorietur angustias, diemque judicii cum fiducia voto glorificationis exspectet. Præfat. antiqu. edit. Colon. ann. 1530, num. 106; Tom. II. Liturgic. Pamel. p. 608; et Tom. v. Oper. Gregorii, edit. Paris. col. 233. Habetur et prior Præfat. hujus pars in Missa Ambrosiana, Tom. I. Liturg. Pamel. p. 450, 451; posterior in altera Præfat. ibid. p. 449, et Oper. Gregor. col. 232, a.

[96] Per Christum Dominum nostrum, cujus sacram passionem pro immortalibus et bene quiescentibus animabus sine dubio celebramus; pro his præcipue, quibus secundæ nativitatis gratiam præstitisti; qui exemplo ejusdem Jesu Christi Domini nostri cœperunt esse de resurrectione securi. Quippe qui fecisti quæ non erant, potes reparare quæ fuerant; et resurrectionis futuræ nobis documenta non solum per propheticam et apostolicam doctrinam, sed per ejusdem unigeniti tui, Redemptoris nostri, resurrectionem dedisti. Præfat. antiqu. 107 et 112, Grimold. Sacrament.; Tom. II. Liturg. Pamel. p. 460, 461; et Tom. v. Oper. Gregor. col. 235.

[97] Deus, qui universorum es Creator et Conditor, quique tuorum es beatitudo sanctorum, præsta nobis petentibus, ut spiritum fratris nostri, corporis nexibus absolutum, in beata resurrectione facias præsentari. Prec. Ecclesiast. Cassandr. Oper. p. 385; Tom. v. Gregor. col. 228, e.

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thee, that the spirit of our brother, who is loosed from the knot of his body, may be presented in the blessed resurrection of thy saints." "[98] O almighty and merciful God, we do entreat thy clemency, forasmuch as by thy judgment we are born and made an end, that thou wilt receive into everlasting rest the soul of our brother, whom thou of thy piety hast commanded to pass from the dwelling of this world, and permit him to be associated with the company of thine elect, that together with them he may remain in everlasting bliss without end." "[99] Eternal God, who in Christ thine only begotten Son our Lord hast given unto us the hope of a blessed resurrection; grant, we beseech thee, that the souls for which we offer this sacrifice of our redemption unto thy Majesty, may of thy mercy attain unto the rest of a blessed resurrection with thy saints." "[100] Let this communion, we beseech thee, O Lord, purge us from sin; and give unto the soul of thy servant *N.* a portion in the heavenly joy, that, being set apart before the throne of the glory of thy Christ with those that are upon the right hand, it may have nothing common with those that are upon the left." "[101] Through Christ our Lord: at whose coming, when thou shalt command both the peoples to appear, command thy servant also to be severed from the number of the evil; and grant unto him that he may both escape the flames of everlasting punishment, and obtain the rewards of a righteous life," &c. Lastly, Abbot Berengosius, speak-

[98] Omnipotens et misericors Deus, tuam deprecamur clementiam, quia judicio tuo et nascimur et finimur, ut animam fratris nostri, quem tua pietas de incolatu hujus mundi transire præcepit, in requiem æternam suscipias, et in consortio electorum tuorum in resurrectione sociari permittas, ut in æterna beatitudine una cum illis sine fine permaneat. Alcuin. Offic. per Ferias, Oper. p. 230, 231, collat. cum simili, Tom. v. Gregor. col. 228, c. d.; et in Operib. Cassandr. p. 385.

[99] Æterne Deus, qui nobis in Christo unigenito Filio tuo Domino nostro spem beatæ resurrectionis concessisti; præsta, quæsumus, ut animæ pro quibus hoc sacrificium redemptionis nostræ tuæ offerimus majestati, ad beatæ resurrectionis requiem, te miserante, cum sanctis tuis pervenire mereantur. Præf. antiqu. 110, edit. Colon. ann. 1530, Tom. II. Liturg. Pamel. p. 609; Tom. v. Gregor. col. 236, e.

[100] Hæc nos communio, quæsumus, Domine, purget a crimine; et animæ famuli tui *N.* cœlestis gaudii tribuat consortium, ut ante thronum gloriæ Christi tui segregata cum dextris, nihil commune habeat cum sinistris. Tom. v. Gregor. col. 233, c.

[101] Per Christum Dominum nostrum: in cujus adventu, cum geminam jusseris sistere plebem, jubeas et famulum tuum a numero discerni malorum. Quem una tribuas pœnæ æternæ evadere flammas, et justæ potius adipisci præmia vitæ, &c. Offic. Ambrosian. Tom. I.; Liturg. Pamel. p. 450.

ing of Constantine the Great, "[102]Forasmuch," saith he, "as hitherto he hath not the full perfection of his future rest, but rather doth hope as yet with us to find a better resurrection, we are to pray that he who by his blood was pleased to sanctify the banner of the quickening cross, would hereafter bring unto perfect rest both us and him."

In these and other prayers of the like kind, we may descry evident footsteps of the primary intention of the Church in her supplications for the dead; which was, that the whole man, not the soul separated only, might receive public remission of sins and a solemn acquittal in the judgment of that great day, and so obtain both a full escape from all the consequences of sin, [103]*the last enemy being now destroyed*, and *death swallowed up in victory*, and a perfect consummation of bliss and happiness. All which are comprised in that short prayer of St Paul for Onesiphorus, though made for him while he was alive, [104]*The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day*. Yea, divers prayers for the dead of this kind are still retained in the Roman Offices; of which the great Spanish Doctor, Johannes Medina, thus writeth: "[105]Although I have read many prayers for the faithful deceased which are contained in the Roman Missal, yet have I read in none of them that the Church doth petition that they may more quickly be freed from pains; but I have read that in some of them petition is made that they may be freed from everlasting pains." For beside the common prayer that is used in the Mass for the commemoration of all the faithful deceased, that "Christ would free them from the mouth of the lion,

[102] Quoniam ipse futuræ quietis plenariam nondum habet perfectionem, sed nobiscum potius meliorem adhuc sperat invenire resurrectionem, orandum est nobis ut ipse, qui per sanguinem suum vivificæ crucis voluit sanctificare vexillum, ad perfectam requiem nos perducat quandoque et illum. Berengos. de Invent. et Laude Crucis, lib. ii. cap. 11. *Cum quo conferendum et illud Cassiodori*, in Psal. xxiv. Quia justis hominibus exutis corpore non statim perfecta beatitudo datur, quæ sanctis in resurrectione promittitur; animam tamen ejus dicit in bonis posse remorari, quoniam etsi adhuc præmia illa suspensa sunt, quæ nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, modo tamen futuri præmii certissima spei delectatione pascuntur.

[103] 1 Cor. xv. 26, 54.

[104] 2 Tim. i. 18.

[105] Etsi quamplures orationes fidelium defunctorum legerim, quæ in Missali Romano continentur, in nulla tamen earum legi per ecclesiam peti, ut citius a pœnis liberentur; legi tamen in nonnullis peti, ut ab æternis pœnis liberentur. Johan. Medin. in Codice de Oratione, Quæst. vi.

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that hell may not swallow them up, and that they may not fall into the place of darkness," this prayer is prescribed for the day wherein the dead did depart out of this life: "[106]O God, whose property is always to have mercy and to spare, we most humbly beseech thee for the soul of thy servant *N.* which this day thou hast commanded to depart out of this world, that thou mayest not deliver it into the hands of the enemy, nor forget it finally; but command it to be received by the holy angels, and brought unto the country of paradise; that because he hath trusted and believed in thee, he may not sustain the pains of hell, but possess joys everlasting." Which is a direct prayer, that the soul of him which was then departed might immediately be received into heaven, and escape, not the temporary pains of purgatory, but the everlasting pains of hell. For howsoever the new reformers of the Roman Missal have put in here *pœnas inferni*, under the generality peradventure of the term of the "pains of hell" intending to shroud their purgatory, which they would have men believe to be one of the lodges of hell; yet in the [107]old Missal which Medina had respect unto, we read expressly *pœnas æternas*, "everlasting pains;" which by no construction can be referred unto the pains of purgatory. And to the same purpose, in the book of the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, at the exequies of a Cardinal, a prayer is appointed to be read, that by the assistance of God's grace he might "[108]escape the judgment of everlasting revenge, who, while he lived, was marked with the seal of the holy Trinity."

Again, "[109]there be other prayers," saith Medina, "wherein petition is made, that God would raise the soul of the dead in their bodies unto bliss at the day of judgment." Such, for example, is that which is found in the

[106] Deus, cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, te supplices exoramus pro anima famuli tui *N.* quam hodie de hoc seculo migrare jussisti, ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviscaris in finem; sed jubeas eam a sanctis angelis suscipi, et ad patriam paradisi perduci; ut, quia in te speravit et credidit, non pœnas inferni sustineat, sed gaudia æterna possideat. Orat. in die obitus seu depositionis defuncti, in Missali Romano reformato.

[107] Missal. Rom. edit. Paris. ann. 1529.

[108] Gratia tua illi succurrente, mereatur judicium evadere ultionis æternæ, qui dum viveret insignitus est signaculo sanctæ Trinitatis. Sacr. Ceremoniar. Rom. Eccles. lib. I. sect. 15, cap. 1, fol. 152, b. edit. Colon. ann. 1574.

[109] Sunt aliæ orationes in quibus petitur, ut Deus animas defunctorum in corporibus ad beatitudinem in die judicii suscitet. Jo. Medin. ut supra.

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Roman Missal: "[110]Absolve, we beseech thee, O Lord, the soul of thy servant from all the bond of his sins, that in the glory of the resurrection being raised among thy saints and elect, he may breathe again," or be refreshed. And that other in the Roman Pontifical: "[111]O God, unto whom all things do live, and unto whom our bodies in dying do not perish, but are changed for the better, we humbly pray thee that thou wouldst command the soul of thy servant *N.* to be received by the hands of thy holy angels, to be carried into the bosom of thy friend the Patriarch Abraham, and to be raised up at the last day of the great judgment; and whatsoever faults by the deceit of the devil he hath incurred, do thou of thy pity and mercy wash away by forgiving them." Now, forasmuch as it is most certain that all such as depart in grace, as the adversaries acknowledge that all in purgatory do, are sure to escape hell, and to be raised up unto glory at the last day, Medina perplexeth himself exceedingly in according these kind of prayers with the received grounds of purgatory; and after much agitation of the business to and fro, at last resolveth upon one of these two desperate conclusions. That touching these "[112]prayers which are made in the Church for

[110] Absolve, quæsumus, Domine, animam famuli tui ab omni vinculo delictorum, ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitatus respiret. Orat. pro Defunct. in Missali Romano, vetere et novo; nec non in Gregorii Sacramentario; Tom. II. Liturgic. Pamelii, p. 386; et Tom. V. Oper. Gregor. edit. Paris. col. 229, 230. *Similis etiam oratiuncula habetur in Gregorii Antiphonario*, p. 175, Pamelii, col. 62, edit. Paris. Erue, Domine, animas eorum ab omni vinculo delictorum, ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos tuos resuscitari mereantur.

[111] Deus, cui omnia vivunt, et cui non pereunt moriendo corpora nostra, sed mutantur in melius, te supplices deprecamur, ut suscipi jubeas animam famuli tui *N.* per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum, deducendam in sinu amici tui Abrahæ Patriarchæ, resuscitandamque in novissimo judicii magni die; et quicquid vitiorum, diabolo fallente, contraxit, tu pius et misericors abluas indulgendo. Pontific. Roman. Clem. VIII. jussu edit. Romæ, ann. 1595, p. 685, et Venet. ann. 1572, fol. 226, col. 4; lib. i. Sacr. Ceremoniar. Rom. Eccles. sect. 15, cap. 1, fol. 153, b. edit. Colon.; Tom. V. Oper. Gregorii, col. 227, edit. Paris.; Prec. Ecclesiast. a G. Cassandro edit. p. 384, Operum.

[112] Respondetur, quantum ad orationes quæ pro defunctis in ecclesia fiunt, posse primo dici, non esse necessarium omnes eas ab omni ineptudine excusare. Multa enim in ecclesia legi permittuntur, quæ quamvis non omnino vera sint, vel omnino apta, conferunt tamen ad fidelium devotionem excitandam et augendam. Talia multa credendum est contineri in historiis non sacris, et in legendis sanctorum, et in opinionibus doctorum et scripturis; quæ omnia tolerantur in ecclesia interim, dum super illis nulla movetur quæstio, nullumque insurgit scandalum. Ac proinde non mirum in orationibus prædictis aliquid minus aptum contineri, et ab ecclesia tole-

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the dead, it may first of all be said, that it is not necessary to excuse them all from all unfitness. For many things are permitted to be read in the Church, which although they be not altogether true, nor altogether fit, yet serve for the stirring up and increasing the devotion of the faithful. Many such things," saith he, "we believe are contained in the histories that be not sacred, and in the legends of the saints, and in the opinions and writings of the doctors; all which are tolerated by the Church in the mean time, while there is no question moved of them, and no scandal ariseth from them. And therefore it is no marvel, that somewhat not so fit should be contained in the foresaid prayers, and be tolerated in the Church, seeing such prayers were made by private persons, not by Councils, neither were approved at all by Councils."

And we easily do believe, indeed, that their offices and legends are fraught not only with untrue and unfit, but also with far worse stuff; neither is this any news unto us. Agobardus, Bishop of Lyons, complained, about 800 years ago, that the Antiphonary used in his church had "[113]many ridiculous and phantastical" things in it; that he was fain [114]to cut off from thence such things as seemed to be "either superfluous, or light, or lying, or blasphemous." The like complaint was made not long since by Lindanus of the Roman Antiphonaries and Missals; [115]wherein "not only apocryphal tales," saith he, "out of the Gospel of Nicodemus and other toys are thrust in, but the very secret prayers themselves are defiled with most foul faults." But now that we have the "[116]Roman Missal restored according to the decree of the Council of Trent, set out by the command of Pius V., and revised again by the authority of

rari, cum tales orationes factæ sint a personis privatis, non a conciliis, nec per concilia omnino sunt approbatæ. Johan. Medin. ut supra.

[113] Multa ridiculosa et phantastica. Agobard. ad Cantores Lugdunens. de Correct. Antiphonarii, p. 396, edit. Paris.

[114] Hac de causa et Antiphonarium pro viribus nostris magna ex parte correximus; amputatis his, quæ vel superflua, vel levia, vel mendacia, aut blasphema videbantur. Id. ibid. p. 392.

[115] Ubi non apocrypha modo ex Evangelio Nicodemi et aliis nugis sunt infarta, sed ipsæ adeo secretæ preces (imo ipse, pro pudor et dolor! canon et varians et redundans) sunt mendis turpissimis conspurcatæ. Wil. Lindan. de Opt. Gen. Interpr. Script. lib. iii. cap. 3.

[116] Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum, et Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum. Rom. ann. 1604, Paris. 1605.

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Clemens VIII.," I doubt much whether our Romanists will allow the censure which their Medina hath given of the prayers contained therein. And therefore if this will not please them, he hath another answer in store; of which though his countryman [117]Mendoza hath given sentence that it is *indigna viro theologo*, "unworthy of any man that beareth the name of a divine," yet such as it is you shall have it. Supposing, then, that the Church hath no intention to pray for any other of the dead but those that are detained in purgatory, this he delivereth for his second resolution: "[118]The Church knowing that God hath power to punish everlastingly those souls by which, when they lived, he was mortally offended, and that God hath not tied his power unto the Scriptures and unto the promises that are contained in the Scripture, (forasmuch as he is above all things, and as omnipotent after his promises as if he had promised nothing at all,) therefore the Church doth humbly pray God, that he would not use this his absolute omnipotency against the souls of the faithful, which are departed in grace; therefore she doth pray that he would vouchsafe to free them from everlasting pains, and from revenge and the judgment of condemnation, and that he would be pleased to raise them up again with his elect."

But leaving our Popish doctors, with their profound speculations of the not limiting of God's power by the Scriptures, and the promises which he hath made unto us therein, let us return to the ancient Fathers, and consider the differences that are to be found among them touching the place and condition of souls separated from their bodies. For, according to the several apprehensions which they had thereof, they made different applications and interpretations of the use of praying for the dead; whose particular intentions and devotions in that kind must of necessity

[117] Alphons. Mendoz. Controv. Theolog. Quæst. VI. Scholastic. num. 5.

[118] Sciens ecclesia Deum potestatem habere puniendi æternaliter animas illas per quas, cum viverent, fuerat mortaliter offensus; quodque Deus potestatem suam non alligaverit scripturis, et promissis quæ in scriptura continentur; quandoquidem ipse super omnia est, et tam omnipotens post promissa, ac si nil promisisset; ideo ecclesia simpliciter Deum orat, ne illa absoluta omnipotentia contra animas fidelium, qui in gratia decesserunt, utatur; ideo orat ut eas ab æternis pœnis et a vindicta et judicio condemnationis liberare, et ut eas cum suis electis resuscitare, dignetur. Johan. Medina, ut supra.

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therefore be distinguished from the general intention of the whole Church.

St Augustine, (that I may begin with him, who was, as the most ingenious, so likewise the most ingenuous of all others, in acknowledging his ignorance where he saw cause,) being to treat of these matters, maketh this preface beforehand unto his hearers: "[119]Of hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you; and peradventure it may be that our passage may lie some other way, and not prove to be by hell. For these things be uncertain." And having occasion to speak of the departure of Nebridius his dear friend: "[120]Now he liveth," saith he, "in the bosom of Abraham; whatsoever the thing be that is signified by that bosom, there doth my Nebridius live." But elsewhere he directly distinguisheth this bosom from the place of bliss into which the saints shall be received after the last judgment: "[121]After this short life," saith he, "thou shalt not as yet be where the saints shall be, unto whom it shall be said, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* Thou shalt not as yet be there: who knoweth it not? But now thou mayest be there, where that proud and barren rich man in the midst of his torments saw afar off the poor man, sometimes full of ulcers, resting. Being placed in that rest, thou dost securely expect the day of judgment; when thou mayest receive thy body, when thou mayest be changed to be equal unto an angel." And for the state of souls betwixt the time of the particular and general judgment, this is his conclusion in general: "[122]The

[119] Infernum nec ego expertus sum adhuc, nec vos; et fortassis alia via erit, et non per infernum erit. Incerta sunt enim hæc. Augustin. in Psal. LXXXV.

[120] Nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham: quicquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit. Id. Confession. lib. ix. cap. 3.

[121] Post vitam istam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt sancti, quibus dicetur, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi. Nondum ibi eris: quis nescit? Sed jam poteris ibi esse, ubi illum quondam ulcerosum pauperem dives ille superbus et sterilis in mediis suis tormentis vidit a longe requiescentem. In illa requie positus, certe securus exspectas judicii diem; quando recipias et corpus, quando immuteris ut angelo æqueris. Id. in Psalm. xxxvi. Conc. 1.

[122] Tempus autem quod inter hominis mortem et ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est, animas abditis receptaculis continet; sicut unaquæque digna est vel requie vel ærumna, pro eo quod sortita est in carne cum viveret. Id. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 108.

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time that is interposed betwixt the death of man and the last resurrection containeth the souls in hidden receptacles, as every one is worthy either of rest or of trouble, according unto that which it did purchase in the flesh when it lived." Into these hidden receptacles he thought the souls of God's children might carry some of their lighter faults with them; which being not removed would hinder them from coming into the kingdom of heaven, whereinto no polluted thing can enter, and from which, by the prayers and almsdeeds of the living, he held they might be released. But of two things he professed himself here to be ignorant. *First*, [123] What those sins were which did so hinder the coming unto the kingdom of God, that yet by the care of good friends they might obtain pardon. *Secondly*, [124] Whether those souls did endure any temporary pains in the interim betwixt the time of death and the resurrection. For howsoever in his one and twentieth book of the City of God, and the thirteenth and sixteenth chapters, (for the new patch which they have added to the four and twentieth chapter is not worthy of regard,) he affirm, that some of them do suffer certain purgatory punishments before the last and dreadful judgment; yet, by comparing these places with the [125] five and twentieth chapter of the twentieth book, it will appear, that by those purgatory punishments he understandeth here the furnace of the fire of conflagration that shall immediately go before this last judgment, and, as he otherwhere describeth the effects thereof, "[126] separate some unto the left hand, and melt out others unto the right."

Neither was this opinion of the reservation of souls in secret places, and the purging of them in the fire of conflagration at the day of judgment, entertained by this famous Doctor alone; divers others there were that had touched upon the same string before him. Origen, in his fourth

[123] Sed quis iste sit modus, et quæ sint ipsa peccata, quæ ita impediunt perventionem ad regnum Dei, ut tamen sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam; difficillimum est invenire, periculosissimum definire. Ego certe usque ad hoc tempus, cum inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. Id. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 27.

[124] See before, p. 159.

[125] Ex his quæ dicta sunt videtur evidentius apparere, in illo judicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias pœnas futuras, &c. Verum ista quæstio de purgatoriis pœnis, ut diligentius pertractetur, in tempus aliud differenda est; nempe, ubi ad librum xxi. perventum fuerit.

[126] Hoc aget caminus: alios in sinistram separabit, alios in dexteram quodammodo eliquabit. Aug. in Psal. ciii. Conc. 3.

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book *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, as we have him translated by Ruffinus, (for both in the [127]extracts selected out of him by St Basil and St Gregory, and in St Jerome's 59th epistle *ad Avitum*, we find the place somewhat otherwise expressed,) saith, that "[128]such as depart out of this world after the common course of death are disposed of according to their deeds and merits, as they shall be judged to be worthy, some into the place which is called hell, others into Abraham's bosom, and through divers either places or mansions." And in his commentaries upon Leviticus, he addeth further: "[129]Neither have the Apostles themselves as yet received their joy; but even they do expect, that I also may be made partaker of their joy. For the saints departing from hence do not presently obtain the full rewards of their labours; but they expect us likewise, howsoever staying, howsoever slacking." Then touching the purging of men after the resurrection, he thus delivereth his mind in his commentaries upon Luke: "[130]I think that even after our resurrection from the dead we shall have need of a sacrament to wash and purge us; for none can rise without pollutions." And upon Jeremy: "[131]If any one be saved in the second resurrection, he is that sinner which needeth the baptism of fire, which is purged with burning, that whatsoever he hath of *wood, hay, and stubble*, the fire may consume it." Which in his 5th book against Celsus he doth explicate more at large.

Neither doth Lactantius shew himself to vary much from him in either of those points; for thus he writeth:

[127] *Οἱ ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πεπραγμένων οἰκονομοῦνται· εἰ κριθεῖεν ἄξιοι τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου ᾅδου, τόπων διαφόρων τυγχάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.* Origenis Philocalia, cap. 1.

[128] De hoc mundo secundum communem istam mortem recedentes, pro actibus suis et meritis dispensantur prout digni fuerint judicati; alii quidem in locum qui dicitur infernus, alii in sinum Abrahæ, et per diversa quæque vel loca vel mansiones. Orig. de Principiis, lib. iv. cap. 2.

[129] Nondum receperunt lætitiam suam, ne Apostoli quidem; sed et ipsi exspectant, ut et ego lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam. Neque enim decedentes hinc sancti continuo integra meritorum suorum præmia consequuntur; sed exspectant etiam nos, licet morantes, licet desides. Id. Homil. VII. in Lev. cap. x.

[130] Ego puto quod et post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento eluente nos atque purgante; nemo enim absque sordibus resurgere poterit. Id. in Luc. Homil. XIV.

[131] Si quis in secunda resurrectione servatur, iste peccator est qui ignis indiget baptismo, qui combustione purgatur, ut quicquid habuerit lignorum, fœni, et stipulæ, ignis consumat. Id. in Jer. Hom. XIII.

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"[132]When God shall judge the righteous, he will examine them by fire. Then they whose sins shall prevail, either in weight or number, shall be touched with the fire and burned; but they whom perfect righteousness and the ripeness of virtue hath thoroughly seasoned, shall not feel that fire; for from thence have they something in them that will repel and put back the force of the flame. So great is the force of innocency, that that fire shall fly back from it without doing any harm, which hath received this power from God, that it may burn the wicked and do service to the righteous. Yet, notwithstanding, let no man think that the souls are presently judged after death. All of them are detained in one common custody, until the time come wherein the great Judge doth make trial of their doings." In like manner doth St Hilary write of the one part: "[133]All the faithful, when they are gone out of the body, shall be reserved by the Lord's custody for that entry into the heavenly kingdom, being in the mean time placed in the bosom of Abraham, whither the wicked are hindered from coming by the gulf interposed betwixt them, until the time of entering into the kingdom of heaven do come." And thus of the other: "[134]Being to render an account of every idle word, shall we desire the day of judgment, wherein that unwearied fire must be passed by us, in which those grievous punishments for expiating the soul from sins must be endured?" for "[135]to such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost

[132] Sed et justos cum judicaverit, etiam igni eos examinabit. Tum quorum peccata vel pondere vel numero prævaluerint, perstringentur igni atque amburentur: quos autem plena justitia et maturitas virtutis incoxerit, ignem illum non sentient; habent enim in se aliquid inde, quod vim flammæ repellat ac respuat. Tanta est vis innocentiæ, ut ab ea ignis ille refugiat innoxius, qui accepit a Deo hanc potestatem, ut impios urat, justis obtemperet. Nec tamen quisquam putet animas post mortem protinus judicari. Omnes in una communique custodia detinentur, donec tempus adveniat quo maximus Judex meritorum faciat examen. Lactant. Institut. Divin. lib. vii. cap. 21.

[133] Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœlestis, per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quo adire impios interjectum chaos inhibet, quousque introeundi rursum in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. Hilar. in Psalm. cxx.

[134] An, cum ex omni otioso verbo rationem sumus præstituri, diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis obeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia? Id. in Psalm. cxviii. Octonar. III.

[135] Salutis igitur nostræ et judicii tempus designat in Domino dicens: Ille baptizabit vos in Spiritu Sancto et igni; quia baptizatis in Spiritu Sancto reliquum sit consummari igne judicii. Id. in Matt. Canon. II.

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it remaineth, that they should be consummated with the fire of judgment."

In St Ambrose also there are some passages to be found which seem to make directly for either of these points; as these for the former: "[136]The soul is loosed from the body, and yet after the end of this life it is held as yet in suspense, with the uncertainty of the future judgment; so that there is no end where there is thought to be an end." "[137]We read in the books of Esdras, that when the day of judgment shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the deceased, and the dust shall restore the relics of the dead which do rest in the graves; and the habitacles shall restore the souls which were committed to them; and the most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment." [138]Also that Scripture "nameth those habitacles of the souls promptuaries," or secret receptacles; "and meeting with the complaint of man, that the just which have gone before may seem to be defrauded, until the day of judgment, which is a very long time, of the reward due unto them, saith wonderfully, that the day of judgment is like unto a crown, wherein as there is no slackness of the last, so is there no swiftness of the first. For the day of crowning is expected by all; that within that day both they who are overcome may be ashamed, and they who do overcome may obtain the palm of victory." "[139]Therefore while the fulness of time is expected, the souls expect their due reward. Pain is provided for some of them, for some glory; and yet, in the mean time, neither are those without trouble, nor these

[136] Solvitur corpore anima, et post finem vitæ hujus adhuc tamen futuri judicii ambiguo suspenditur. Ita finis nullus ubi finis putatur. Ambr. de Cain et Abel, lib. ii. cap. 2.

[137] Siquidem et in Esdræ libris legimus, quia cum venerit judicii dies, reddet terra defunctorum corpora, et pulvis reddet eas quæ in tumulis requiescunt relliquias mortuorum. Et habitacula, inquit, reddent animas quæ his commendatæ sunt; et revelabitur Altissimus super sedem judicii. Ambros. de Bono Mortis, cap. x. ex. IV. Esdr. vii. 32, 33.

[138] Denique et scriptura habitacula illa animarum promptuaria nuncupavit: quæ occurrens querelæ humanæ, eo quod justi qui præcesserunt videantur usque ad judicii diem, per plurimum scilicet temporis, debita sibi remuneratione fraudari, mirabiliter ait, coronæ esse similem judicii diem, in quo sicut novissimorum tarditas, sic non priorum velocitas. Coronæ enim dies exspectatur ab omnibus; ut intra eum diem et victi erubescant, et victores palmam adipiscantur victoriæ. Id. ibid. ex. IV. Esdr. iv. 35, et v. 41, 42.

[139] Ergo dum exspectatur plenitudo temporis, exspectant animæ remunerationem debitam. Alias manet pœna, alias gloria: et tamen nec illæ interim sine injuria, nec istæ sine fructu sunt. Ibid.

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without fruit." And these for the latter: "[140]With fire shall the sons of Levi be purged, with fire Ezekiel, with fire Daniel. But these, although they shall be tried with fire, yet shall say, *We have passed through fire and water.* Others shall remain in the fire." "[141]And if the Lord shall save his servants, we shall be saved by faith, yet saved as it were by fire. Although we shall not be burned up, yet shall we be burned." "[142]After the end of the world, when the angels shall be sent to separate the good and the bad, this baptism shall be; when iniquity shall be burnt up by the furnace of fire, that in the kingdom of God the righteous may shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. And if any one be as Peter or as John, he is baptized with this fire." Seeing therefore, "[143]he that is purged here, hath need to be purged again there, let him purge us there also, when the Lord may say, Enter into my rest: that every one of us being burned with that flaming sword, not burned up, when he is entered into that pleasure of paradise, may give thanks unto his Lord, saying, Thou hast brought us into a place of refreshment."

Hereunto we may adjoin that observation of Suarez the Jesuit: "[144]They who think that the souls of men are not judged at their death, nor do receive reward or punishment, but are reserved in hidden receptacles until the general judgment, do consequently say, that as men do

[140] Igne ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezekiel, igne Daniel. Sed hi etsi per ignem examinabuntur, dicent tamen, Transivimus per ignem et aquam. Alii in igne remanebunt. Id. in Psal. xxxvi.

[141] Et si salvos faciet Dominus servos suos, salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem. Et si non exuremur, tamen uremur. Id. ibid.

[142] Siquidem post consummationem seculi, missis angelis qui segregent bonos et malos, hoc futurum est baptisma, quando per caminum ignis iniquitas exuretur, ut in regno Dei fulgeant justi, sicut sol in regno patris sui. Et si aliquis ut Petrus sit, ut Johannes, baptizatur hoc igni. Id. in Psalm. cxviii. Serm. III.

[143] Sed quia hic purgatus, iterum necesse habet illic purificari; illic quoque nos purificet, quando dicat Dominus, Intrate in requiem meam; ut unusquisque nostrum ustus romphæa illa flammea, non exustus, introgressus in illam paradisi amœnitatem, gratias agat Domino suo, dicens, Induxisti nos in refrigerium. Id. ibid. Vide et Serm. xx. in eund. Psalm. cxviii. et Enarrat. Psalm. i. supra p. 220.

[144] Qui opinantur animas hominum non judicari in morte, nec præmium aut pœnam recipere, sed reservari in abditis receptaculis usque ad judicium universale, consequenter dicunt, sicut non accipiunt homines ultimum præmium vel pœnam, ita neque etiam purgari, donec sit facta generalis resurrectio et judicium; ex quo satis consequenter dicere potuerunt, purgandos esse homines igne conflagrationis. Fr. Suarez. in III. part. Thom. Quæst. LIX. Art. 6, Disput. LVII. sect. 1.

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not receive their last reward or punishment, so neither are they also purged, until the general resurrection and judgment do come; from whence they might say with reasonable good consequence, that men are to be purged with the fire of conflagration." And with as good consequence also may we further add, that prayers were not to be made for the delivery of the souls of the dead from any purgatory pains, supposed to be suffered by them betwixt the time of their death and their resurrection, which be the only prayers that are now in question. "[145]In the resurrection, when our works, like unto clusters of grapes, shall be cast into the probatory fire, as it were into the wine-press, every man's husbandry shall be made manifest," saith Gregorius Cerameus, sometime Archbishop of Tauromenium in Sicilia. And, "[146]No man as yet is entered either into the torments of hell, or into the kingdom of heaven, until the time of the resurrection of the bodies," saith Anastasius Sinaita. Upon whom Gretser bestoweth this marginal annotation; that this is the "[147]error of certain of the ancient and of latter Greece." And we find it to be held indeed both by some of the ancient (as namely in Caius, who lived at Rome when Zephyrinus was Bishop there, and is accounted to be the author of the treatise falsely fathered upon Josephus, *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας*, a large fragment whereof hath been lately published by Hœschelius in his notes upon Photius's Bibliotheca,) and by the latter Grecians; in whose name Marcus Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus, doth make this protestation against such of his countrymen as yielded to the definition of the Florentine Council: "[148]We say, that neither the saints do receive the kingdom prepared for them, and those secret good things, neither the sinners do as yet

Οὔτως

[145] Ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν δίκην βοτρύων τῷ δοκιμαστικῷ πυρὶ τεθέντων ὡς ἐν ληνῷ, κατάδηλος ἡ γεωργία ἑκάστου γίνεται. Gregor. Ceram. Homil. in Indictionis sive Novi Anni Principium.

[146] Ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω οὐδὲ ἐν γεέννῃ οὐδὲ ἐν βασιλείᾳ εἰσῆλθεν, ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως. Anastas. Sinait. (*al.* Nicæn.) Quæst. XCI.

[147] Error veterum quorundam, et recentioris Græciæ. Gretser. ibid. in margin. p. 501, edit. Ingolstad.

[148] Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οὔτε τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην αὐτοῖς βασιλείαν καὶ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα ἀγαθὰ, οὔτε τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς τὴν γεένναν ἐμπεσεῖν ἤδη, φαμέν· ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν ἴδιον ἑκατέρους κλῆρον, καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο καιροῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα μετὰ θάνατον

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fall into hell; but that either of them do remain in expectation of their proper lot; and that this appertaineth unto the time that is to come after the resurrection and the judgment. But these men, with the Latins, would have these to receive presently after death the things they have deserved; but unto those of the middle sort, that is, to such as die in penance, they assign a purgatory fire, which they feign to be distinct from that of hell, that thereby, say they, being purged in their souls after death, they likewise may be received into the kingdom of heaven together with the righteous." And therefore, as the Latins in their prayers for the dead, have respect to the delivery of souls out of purgatory, so the Grecians in theirs have relation to that other state which is to determine with the resurrection. As in that prayer of their Euchologe for example: "[149]The body is buried in the earth, but the soul goeth in unknown places, waiting for the future resurrection of the dead; in which, O gracious Saviour, make bright thy servant, place him together with the saints, and refresh him in the bosom of Abraham:" the condition of which "unknown places," they do thus further explicate in another prayer: Forasmuch as by thy divine will thou hast appointed "[150]the soul to remove thither, where it received the first being, until the common resurrection, and the body to be resolved into that of which it was composed; therefore do we beseech thee, the Father without beginning, and thine only begotten Son, and thy most holy and consubstantial and quickening Spirit, that thou wilt not permit thine own workmanship to be swallowed

ἀπολαβεῖν ἤδη τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐθέλουσι· τοῖς δὲ μέσοις, εἴτ' οὖν τοῖς ἐν μετανοίᾳ τετελευτηκόσι, πῦρ αὐτοὶ καθάρσιον, ἕτερόν τι τῆς γεέννης ὑπάρχον, ἀναπλάσαντες ἀποδιδοῦσιν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ, φησι, καθαιρόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ἀποκαταστῶσι. Marc. Ephesius, in Epistola Encyclica contra Concil. Florentin. Vide et Gennadium Scholarium, in Defens. Concil. Florentin. cap. iii. sect. 2.

[149] Τέθαπται σῶμα μὲν ἐν γῇ, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἐν ἀδήλοις πορεύεται, προσαναμένουσα τὴν ἐσομένην νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν· ἐν ᾗ, φιλάνθρωπε σωτὴρ, λαμπρύνας τὸν δοῦλόν σου, ἁγίοις σύνταξον, καὶ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ διανάπαυσον. Eucholog. Græc. fol. 138.

[150] Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκεῖθεν χωρεῖν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ εἶναι προσελάβετο, μέχρι τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη ἀναλύεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο δεόμεθα τοῦ ἀνάρχου πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σου πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ παρίδῃς τὸ σὸν πλάσμα καταποθῆναι τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα διαλυθῆναι εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν καταταγῆναι ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῶν δικαίων. Ibid. fol. 151, b.

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up in destruction, but that the body may be dissolved into that of which it was composed, and the soul placed in the quire of the righteous."

That "barbarous impostor," as [151]Molanus rightly styleth him, who counterfeited a letter as written by St Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, unto St Augustine, touching the miracles of St Jerome, taketh upon him to lay down the precise time of the first arising of this opinion among the Grecians in this manner: "[152]After the death of most glorious Jerome a certain heresy or sect arose amongst the Grecians, and came to the Latins also, which went about with their wicked reasons to prove, that the souls of the blessed, until the day of the general judgment, wherein they were to be joined again unto their bodies, are deprived of the sight and knowledge of God, in which the whole blessedness of the saints doth consist; and that the souls of the damned in like manner until that day are tormented with no pains. Whose reason was this: That as the soul did merit or sin with the body, so with the body was it to receive rewards or pains. Those wicked sectaries also did maintain, that there was no place of purgatory, wherein the souls which had not done full penance for their sins in this world might be purged. Which pestilent sect getting head, so great sorrow fell upon us, that we were even weary of our life." Then he telleth a wise tale, how St Jerome, being at that time with God, for the confutation of this new-sprung heresy, raised up three men from the dead, after that he had first "[153]led their souls into paradise, purgatory, and hell, to the end they

[151] Jo. Molan. Histor. Imag. lib. iii. cap. 36.

[152] Post obitum gloriosissimi Hieronymi, quædam hæresis inter Græcos, id est, secta surrexit, quæ ad Latinos devenit, quæ suis nefandis nitebatur rationibus probare, quod animæ beatorum usque ad universalis judicii diem, in quo eorum corporibus erant iterum conjungendæ, visione et cognitione divina, in qua tota constitit beatitudo sanctorum, privabuntur; et damnatorum animæ similiter ad diem illum nullis cruciabuntur pœnis. Quorum ratio talis erat: sicut anima cum corpore meruit vel peccavit, ita cum corpore recipit præmia sive pœnas. Asserebant etiam illius sectæ nequissimi, nullum fore purgatorii locum, in quo animæ, quæ nondum de suis peccatis in mundo plenam egissent pœnitentiam, purgarentur. Qua quidem secta pestifera crebrescente, tantus in nos dolor irruit, ut nos amplius pigeret vivere. Pseudo-Cyrillus, Tom. II. Operum Augustini, Epist. CCVI. et sub finem Tom. IV. Operum Hieronymi edit. Basil. vel IX. ut a Mariano Victorio tomi sunt dispositi.

[153] Nam (ut mihi postmodum interroganti dixerunt) beatus Hieronymus eos conduxerat secum in paradisum, purgatorium, et infernum; ut quæ ibi agebantur patefacerent universis. Ibid.

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might make known unto all men the things that were done there;" but had not the wit to consider, that St Cyril himself had need to be raised up, to make the fourth man among them. For how otherwise should he, who died thirty years before St Jerome, as is known to every one that knoweth the history of those times, have heard and written the news which those three good fellows, that were raised by St Jerome after his death, did relate concerning heaven, hell, and purgatory? Yet is it nothing so strange to me, I confess, that such idle dreams as these should be devised in the times of darkness, to delude the world withal, as that now in the broad daylight [154]Binsfeldius and [155]Suarez, and other Romish merchants, should adventure to bring forth such rotten stuff as this, with hope to gain any credit of antiquity thereby unto the new-erected staple of Popish purgatory.

The Dominican Friars, in a certain treatise written by them at Constantinople in the year 1252, assign somewhat a lower beginning unto this error of the Grecians; affirming that they "[156]followed therein a certain inventor of this heresy, named Andrew, Archbishop sometime of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who said, that the souls did wait for their bodies, that together with them, with which they had committed good or evil, they might likewise receive the recompence of their deeds." But that which Andrew saith herein he saith not out of his own head, and therefore is wrongfully charged to be the first inventor of it; but out of the judgment of many godly Fathers that went before him. "[157]It hath been said," saith he, "by many of the saints, that all virtuous men," after this life, "do receive places fit for them; whence they may certainly make conjecture of the glory that shall befall unto them." Where Peltanus bestoweth such another marginal note upon him, as Gretser

[154] Binsfeld. de Condition. Animarum post Mortem, sect. 5.

[155] Fran. Suarez, in part. III. Thom. Tom. IV. Disputat. XLV. sect. 1, num. 1.

[156] Sequentes quendam hujus hæreseos inventorem, Archiepiscopum quondam Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, Andream nomine, qui dixit, propria corpora præstolari, ut cum eis, cum quibus bona vel mala commiserint, retributiones similiter factorum recipiant. Tractat. contra Græcos, in tomo auctorum a Petro Steuartio edit. Ingolstad. ann. 1616, p. 562.

[157] Πολλοῖς γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦτο εἴρηται, χώρους ἀξίους εἰληφέναι τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργατῶν ἕκαστον, δι' ὧν καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτῶν δόξης τεκμαίρονται. Andr. Cæsar. cap. 17, Commentar. in Apocalyps.

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his fellow Jesuit did upon Anastasius: "[158]This opinion is now expressly condemned and rejected by the Church." And yet doth Alphonsus de Castro acknowledge, that "[159]the patrons thereof were famous men, renowned as well for holiness as for knowledge;" but telleth us withal, that "no man ought to marvel that such great men should fall into so pestilent an error, because, as the Apostle St James saith, *he that offendeth not in word is a perfect man.*"

Another particular opinion, which we must sever from the general intention of the Church in her oblations and prayers for the dead, is that which is noted by Theophylact upon the speech of our Saviour, Luke xii. 5, in which he wisheth us to observe, that [160]he did not say, "Fear him who after he hath killed casteth into hell;" but, "hath power to cast" into hell. "For the sinners which die," saith he, "are not always cast into hell; but it remaineth in the power of God to pardon them also. And this I say for the oblations and doles which are made for the dead, which do not a little avail even them that die in grievous sins. He doth not therefore generally after he hath killed cast into hell, but hath power to cast. Wherefore let us not cease by alms and intercessions to appease him who hath power to cast, but doth not always use this power, but is able to pardon also." Thus far Theophylact: whom our adversaries do blindly bring in for the countenancing of their use of praying and offering for the dead; not con-

[158] Hæc sententia diserte est jam condemnata, et ab ecclesia proscripta. Theod. Peltan. ad marginem Latinæ suæ versionis.

[159] Sunt adhuc alii hujus erroris patroni, viri quidem illustres, sanctitate perinde ac scientia clari: Irenæus videlicet beatissimus pro Christo martyr, Theophylactus Bulgariæ Episcopus, beatus Bernardus. Nec mirari quisquam debet si tanti viri in tam pestiferum errorem sunt lapsi; quoniam, ut beatus Jacobus Apostolus ait, *qui non offendit in verbo, hic perfectus est vir.* Alphons. Castr. lib. iii. advers. Hæreses, verbo *Beatitudo*, Hær. VI.

[160] Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἶπε, Φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι βάλλοντα εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα βαλεῖν. οὐ γὰρ πάντως οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἁμαρτωλοὶ βάλλονται εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κεῖται τοῦτο τοῦ Θεοῦ ὥστε καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω διὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς κεκοιμημένοις γενομένας προσφορὰς καὶ τὰς διαδόσεις, αἳ οὐ μικρὰ συντελοῦσι τοῖς καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις βαρείαις ἀποθανοῦσιν. οὐ πάντως οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι βάλλει εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχει βαλεῖν. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐλλείψωμεν ἡμεῖς σπουδάζοντες δι' ἐλεημοσυνῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὸν ἐξουσίαν μὲν ἔχοντα βαλεῖν, οὐ πάντως δὲ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχωρεῖν δυνάμενον. Theoph. in Luc. xii.

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sidering, that the prayers and oblations which he would uphold do reach even unto such as "die in grievous sins," (which the Romanists acknowledge to receive no relief at all by any thing that they can do), and are intended for the keeping of souls from being cast into hell, and not for fetching them out when they have been cast into purgatory; a place that never came within the compass of Theophylact's belief. His testimony will fit a great deal better the prayer of St Dunstan; [161] who, as the tale goeth, having understood that the soul of King Edwin was to be carried into hell, never gave over praying until he had gotten him rid of that danger, and transferred him unto the coast of penitent souls; where he well deserved, doubtless, to undergo that penance which [162] Hugh, Bishop of Coventry and Chester, on his death-bed imposed upon himself; even to lie in the dungeon of purgatory, without bail or mainprise, until the general jail-delivery of the last day.

Another private conceit entertained by divers, as well of the elder as of middle times, in their devotions for the dead was, that an augmentation of glory might thereby be procured for the saints, and either a total deliverance, or a diminution of torment at leastwise, obtained for wicked. "[163] If the barbarians," saith St Chrysostom, "do bury with their dead the things that belong unto them, it is much more reason that thou shouldst send with the deceased the things that are his; not that they may be made ashes as they were, but that they may add greater glory unto him; and if he be departed hence a sinner, that they may loose his sins; but if righteous, that an addition may be made to his reward and retribution. Yea,

[161] Osbern. et Eadmer. (et ex eis, Capgrav. et Surius) in Vita Dunstani. Vide Gulielm. Malmsburiens. de Gestis Regum Anglor. lib. ii. fol. 50, b.; et lib. i. de Gestis Pontific. Anglor. fol. 115, b. edit. Londin.

[162] Injungatis mihi, ut secundum voluntatem Dei sim in pœnis purgatorii usque in diem judicii. Roger. Wendover, et Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. ann. 1198.

[163] Εἰ γὰρ βάρβαροι συγκατακαίουσι τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι τὰ ὄντα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον σὲ συναποστεῖλαι τῷ τετελευτηκότι δίκαιον τὰ αὐτοῦ· οὐχ ἵνα τέφρα γένηται, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἵνα πλείονα τούτῳ περιβάλῃ δόξαν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπῆλθεν, ἵνα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα λύσῃ· εἰ δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα προσθήκη γένηται μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως. Chrysost. in Matt. Homil. XXXI. Græc. (XXXII. Latin.) indeque Homil. LXIX. perperam inscript. ad populum Antiochen.

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in the very latter days, Ivo Carnotensis, writing unto Maud, Queen of England, concerning the prayers that were to be made for the king her brother's soul, saith, that "[164]it doth not seem idle if we make intercessions for those who already enjoy rest, that their rest may be increased." Whereupon Pope Innocent the Third doth bring this for one of the answers wherewith he laboureth to salve the prayers which were used in the Church of Rome, that "such or such an oblation might profit such or such a saint unto glory;" that "[165]many repute it no indignity, that the glory of the saints should be augmented until the day of judgment; and therefore that in the mean time the Church may wish the increase of their glorification." So likewise for the mitigation of the pains of them whose souls were doubted to be in torment, this form of prayer was of old used in the same Church, as in Grimoldus's Sacramentary may be seen, and retained in the Roman Missal itself, until in the late Reformation thereof it was removed: "[166]O Almighty and merciful God, incline, we beseech thee, thy holy ears unto our poor prayers, which we do humbly pour forth before the sight of thy Majesty for the soul of thy servant *N.*, that forasmuch as we are distrustful of the quality of his life, by the abundance of thy pity we may be comforted; and if his soul cannot obtain full pardon, yet at least in the midst of the torments themselves, which peradventure it suffereth, out of the abundance of thy compassion it may feel refreshment." Which prayer whither it tended may appear partly by that which Prudentius writeth of the play-days, which he supposeth the souls in hell sometimes do obtain:

[164] Non videtur otiosum, si pro his intercedimus qui jam requie perfruuntur, ut eorum requies augeatur. Ivo. Epist. CLXXIV.

[165] Licet plerique reputent non indignum, sanctorum gloriam usque ad judicium augmentari; et ideo ecclesiam interim sane posse augmentum glorificationis eorum optare. Innocent. III. Epist. ad Archiep. Lugdun. cap. *Cum Marthæ.* Extra de Celebr. Missar.

[166] Omnipotens et misericors Deus, inclina, quæsumus, venerabiles aures tuas ad exiguas preces nostras, quas ante conspectum majestatis tuæ pro anima famuli tui *N.* humiliter fundimus, ut quia de qualitate vitæ ejus diffidimus, de abundantia pietatis tuæ consolemur; et si plenam veniam anima ipsius obtinere non potest, saltem vel inter ipsa tormenta, quæ forsitan patitur, refrigerium de abundantia miserationum tuarum sentiat. Orat. pro Defunct. in Missali Romano, edit. Paris. ann. 1529; Grimold. Sacramentar. Tom. II.; Liturgic. Pamelii, p. 457.

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[167] Sunt et spiritibus sæpe nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ, &c.
Marcent suppliciis Tartara mitibus,
Exultatque sui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus, liber ab ignibus;
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure—

partly by the doubtful conceits of God's merciful dealing with the wicked in the world to come, which are found in [168] others, but especially by these passages that we meet withal in the Sermons of St Chrysostom:

"[169] This man hath spent his whole life in vain, neither hath lived one day to himself, but to voluptuousness, to luxury, to covetousness, to sin, to the devil. Tell me, therefore, shall we not mourn for him? shall we not endeavour to pull him out of these dangers? For there be means, if we will, whereby his punishment may be made light unto him. If, then, we do make continual prayers for him, if we bestow alms, although he be unworthy, God will respect us." For "[170] many have received benefit by the alms that have been given by others for them; and found thereby, although not a perfect, yet some consolation." "[171] This therefore is done, that although we ourselves be not virtuous, we may be careful to get virtuous companions and friends, and wife and son, as looking to reap some fruit even by them also; reaping indeed but little, yet reaping some fruit notwithstanding." "[172] Let us not therefore simply

[167] Prudent. lib. *Cathemerinōn*, Hymn. v.

[168] August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110, 112, 113; Hieronym. lib. i. contra Pelag. et in fine Commentarior. in Esai.; Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. XL. de Baptismo. *Εἰ μή τῳ φίλον κἀνταῦθα νοεῖν τοῦτο φιλανθρωπότερον, καὶ τοῦ κολάζοντος ἐπαξίως.* Vide etiam Johannis Metropolitani Vota ad Christum pro Salute Platonis et Plutarchi, p. 32, edit. Anglican.

[169] *Καὶ οὗτος πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν εἰκῇ κατεκόπη, οὐδὲ μίαν ἡμέραν ἔζησεν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τρυφῇ, τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ, τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, τῷ διαβόλῳ. Τοῦτον οὖν οὐ θρηνήσομεν, εἰπέ μοι; οὐ πειρασόμεθα τῶν κινδύνων ἐξαρπάσαι;* (The Latin edition rendereth this, not very faithfully, *Hoc igitur non plorabimus, dic, oro? non tentabimus nos ab his periculis eripere?*) *ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν, ἐὰν θέλωμεν, κούφην αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν κόλασιν. ἂν οὖν εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν συνεχεῖς, ἂν ἐλεημοσύνην διδῶμεν, κἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνάξιος ᾖ, ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς δυσωπήσεται.* Chrysost. in Act. Homil. XXI.

[170] *Πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ἑτέρων δι' αὐτοὺς γεγενημένων ἀπώναντο. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τελεόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως παραμυθίαν εὗρόν τινα.* Ibid.

[171] *Τοῦτο οὖν γίνεται, ἵνα κἂν αὐτοὶ μὴ ὦμεν ἐνάρετοι, σπουδάζωμεν ἑταίρους καὶ φίλους ἐναρέτους ἔχειν, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ υἱὸν, ὡς καρπούμενοί τι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν· μικρὸν μὲν καρπούμενοι, καρπούμενοι δὲ ὅμως.* Ibid.

[172] *Μὴ τοίνυν ἁπλῶς κλαίωμεν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις.*

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weep for the dead, but for such as are dead in their sins; these be worthy of lamentations and bewailings and tears. For what hope is there, tell me, for men to depart with their sins, where they cannot put off their sins? for as long as they were here, there was peradventure great expectation that they would be altered, that they would be bettered: but being gone unto hell, where there is no gaining of any thing by repentance, (for in hell, saith he, who shall confess unto thee?) how are they not worthy of lamentations?" "[173]Let us therefore weep for such, let us succour them to our power, let us find out some help for them, little indeed, but yet such as may relieve them. How and after what manner? both praying ourselves, and entreating others to make prayers for them, and giving continually unto the poor for them; for this thing bringeth some consolation."

The like doctrine is delivered by [174]Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, in his Sermon of the Life of Man and of the Dead; and by John Damascen, or whosoever else was author of the book ascribed unto him concerning them that are departed in the faith; where three notable tales are told of the benefit that even infidels and idolaters themselves should receive by such prayers as these. One touching the soul of the Emperor Trajan, delivered from hell by the prayers of Pope Gregory; of the truth whereof, lest any man should make question, he affirmeth very roundly that no less than "[175]the whole east and west will witness that this is true and uncontrollable." And indeed in the east this fable seemeth first to have risen, where it obtained such credit, that the Grecians to this day do still use this form of prayer:

οὗτοι θρηνῶν ἄξιοι, οὗτοι κοπετῶν καὶ δακρύων. ποία γὰρ ἐλπὶς, εἰπέ μοι, μετὰ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπελθεῖν, ἔνθα οὐκ ἔστιν ἁμαρτήματα ἀποδύσασθαι; ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα, ἴσως ἦν προσδοκία πολλὴ ὅτι μεταβαλοῦνται, ὅτι βελτίους ἔσονται· ἂν δὲ ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, ἔνθα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ μετανοίας κερδᾶναί τι, (Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ᾅδῃ, φησὶ, τίς ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι;) πῶς οὐ θρήνων ἄξιοι; Id. in Epist. ad Philip. Homil. III.

[173] Κλαίωμεν μὲν οὖν τούτους, βοηθῶμεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐπινοήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τινα βοήθειαν, μικρὰν μὲν, βοηθεῖν δὲ ὅμως δυναμένην. πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; αὐτοί τε εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἑτέρους παρακαλοῦντες εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόντες συνεχῶς· ἔχει τινὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθίαν. Ibid.

[174] Andr. Hierosolymitan. Εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, καὶ εἰς κοιμηθέντας. p. 69, 70, edit. Meursii.

[175] Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο γνήσιον πέλει καὶ ἀδιάβλητον, μάρτυς ἑῴα πᾶσα καὶ ἑσπέριος. Damascen. Serm. de Defunctis.

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"[176]As thou didst loose Trajan from punishment by the earnest intercession of thy servant Gregory the Dialogue writer, hear us likewise who pray unto thee." And therefore to them doth Hugo Etherianus thus appeal for justifying the truth of this narration: "[177]Do not, I pray you, say in your hearts, that this is false or feigned. Enquire, if you please, of the Grecians: the whole Greek Church surely doth testify these things." He might, if he had pleased, being an Italian himself, have enquired nearer home of the Romans, among whom this feat was reported to have been acted, rather than among the Grecians, who were strangers to the business. But the Romans, as we understand by [178]Johannes Diaconus, in the life of St Gregory, found no such matter among their records; and when they had notice given them thereof out of the legends of the Church of England, (for from thence received they the news of this and some other such strange acts, reported to have been done by St Gregory among themselves,) they were not very hasty to believe it; because they could hardly be persuaded that St Gregory, who had taught them that "[179]infidels and wicked men, departed out of this life, were no more to be prayed for than the devil and his angels, which were appointed unto everlasting punishment," should in his practice be found to be so much different from his judgment.

The second tale toucheth upon the very times of the Apostles, wherein the Apostless [180]Thecla is said to have prayed for Falconilla, (the daughter of Tryphæna, whom St Paul saluteth, Rom. xvi. 12,) "[181]a Gentile and an idolatress, altogether profane, and a servitor of another god,"

[176] Ὡς ἔλυσας τῆς μάστιγος Τραιανὸν δι' ἐκτενοῦς ἐντεύξεως τοῦ δούλου σου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἡμῶν δεομένων σου. Euchol. Græc. cap. 19, ut citat Meursius, vel 96, ut Baronius, ann. 604, sect. 44, quanquam in Euchologio impresso Venetiis ann. 1600 nusquam invenerim, ut suspicio sit, a Romanis Censoribus inde fuisse sublata.

[177] Nolite, quæso, dicere in cordibus vestris, falsum hoc aut fictum esse. Quærite, si placet, apud Græcos: Græca certe omnis testatur hæc ecclesia. Hug. Etherian. de Regressu Animar. ab Inferis, cap. 15.

[178] Johan. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. lib. ii. cap. 44.

[179] Gregor. Moral. in Job. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16, quod pene ad verbum descriptum etiam habetur lib. iv. Dialog. cap. 44.

[180] Τῆς μακαρίας Θέκλης τῆς ἀποστόλου καὶ μάρτυρος. Basil. Seleuc. in ipso initio Commentarii de Vita Theclæ.

[181] Σκόπει δὲ πάλιν, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἡ αἴτησις· ὅτι περ ὑπὲρ ἑλληνίδος, εἰδωλολάτριδός τε, καὶ πάμπαν ἀνιέρου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου κυρίου ἐργάτιδος. Damascen.

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to this effect: "[182]O God, Son of the true God, grant unto Tryphæna, according to thy will, that her daughter may live with thee time without end." Or, as Basil, Bishop of Seleucia, doth express it: "[183]Grant unto thy servant Tryphæna, that her desire may be fulfilled concerning her daughter; her desire therein being this, that her soul may be numbered among the souls of those that have already believed in thee, and may enjoy the life and pleasure that is in paradise."

The third tale he produceth out of Palladius's historical book written unto Lausus, (although neither in the Greek set out by Meursius and Fronto Ducæus, nor in the three several Latin editions of that history published before, there be any such thing to be found,) touching a dead man's skull, that should have uttered this speech unto Macarius, the great Egyptian anchoret: "[184]When thou dost offer up thy prayers for the dead, then do we feel some little consolation." A brainless answer you may well conceive it to be, that must be thought to have proceeded from a dry skull lying by the highway side; but, as brainless as it is, it hath not a little troubled the quick heads of our Romish divines, and put many an odd crotchet into their nimble brains. Renatus Laurentius telleth us, that "[185]without all doubt it was an angel that did speak in this skull." And "[186]I say," quoth Alphonsus Mendoza, "that this head which lay in the way was not the head of one that was damned, but of a just man remaining in purgatory; for Damascen doth not say in that sermon that it was the head of a Gentile, as it may there be seen." And true it is, indeed, he neither saith that it was so, neither yet that it

[182] Θεὲ υἱὲ Θεοῦ ἀψευδοῦς, δὸς Τρυφαίνῃ κατὰ τὸ σὸν θέλημα, ὥστε τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τὸν αἰώνιον ζῆν παρά σοι χρόνον. Simeon. Metaphrast. in Vita Theclæ.

[183] Δὸς καὶ τῇ δούλῃ σου Τρυφαίνῃ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ πληρωθῆναι πόθον. πόθος δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ τὴν ἐκείνης ψυχὴν ταῖς τῶν ἤδη σοὶ πεπιστευκότων ἐναριθμηθῆναι ψυχαῖς, καὶ τῆς ἐν παραδείσῳ διαίτης καὶ τρυφῆς ἀπολαύειν. Basil. Seleuc. lib. i. de Vita Theclæ.

[184] Ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρεις, τότε παραμυθίας μικρὰς αἰσθανόμεθα. Damasc.

[185] Non dubium est quin fuerit angelus qui in cranio loqueretur. Renat. Laurent. Annotat. in Tertul. de Anima, cap. 33.

[186] Ad rem itaque dico, caput illud, quod, ut habetur in D. Damasceno, in via jacebat, non fuisse hominis damnati, sed justi existentis in purgatorio; nam Damascenus non dicit in illo sermone quod fuerit hominis Gentilis, ut ibi patet. Alphons. Mendoz. Controvers. Theolog. Quæst. VI. Scholast. sect. 5.

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was not so; but the Grecians generally relate the matter thus: that Macarius "[187]did hear this from the skull of one that had been a priest of idols, which he found lying in the wilderness, that by his prayers such as were with him in punishment received a little ease of their torment, whensoever it fell out that he made the same for them." And among the Latins, Thomas Aquinas and other of the schoolmen take this for granted, because they found in the Lives of the Fathers that the speech which the dead skull used was this: "[188]I was a priest of the Gentiles;" so John, the Roman sub-deacon, translateth it; or, as Rufinus is supposed to have rendered it, "I was the chief of the priests of the idols, which dwelt in this place, and thou art Abbot Macarius, that art filled with the Spirit of God. At whatsoever hour, therefore, thou takest pity of them that are in torments, and prayest for them, they then feel some consolation." Well, saith Mendoza then, "[189]if St Thomas, relating this history out of the Lives of the Fathers, doth say that this was the head of a Gentile, he himself is bound to untie this knot." And so he doth, resolving the matter thus: [190]that the damned get no true ease by the prayers made for them, but such a phantastical kind of joy only, as the devils are said to have when they have seduced and deceived any man. "[191]But peradventure," saith Cardinal Bellarmine for the upshot, "the things which are brought touching that skull might better be rejected as false and apocryphal." And Stephen Durant, more peremptorily: "[192]The things which are told of Trajan and Falconilla, delivered out of hell by the prayers

[187] Παρὰ κρανίου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κειμένου ἱερέως τῶν εἰδώλων γεγονότος τοῦτο ἀκήκοε, ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν τοὺς ἐν τῇ κολάσει αὐτοῦ ἀνίεσθαι τῆς βασάνου, ὅταν τύχοι ταύτας ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Menæ. Græc. Januar. 19.

[188] Vit. Patrum, edit. Lugdun. ann. 1515, fol. 105, col. 3, 4, et fol. 143, col. 1, 2; et edit. Antuerp. ann. 1615, p. 526 et 656.

[189] Quod si D. Thomas, hanc historiam referens ex Vitis Patrum, dicit fuisse caput Gentilis, ipse nodum hunc tenetur enodare. Alphons. Mendoz. ut supra.

[190] Thom. Aquinas, in lib. iv. Sentent. Distinct. XLV. Quæst. II. Artic. 2 ad 4; et Durand. in eandem Quæst. num. 15.

[191] At fortasse melius rejicerentur, ut falsa et apocrypha, quæ afferuntur de illo cranio. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. ii. cap. 18.

[192] Quare quod de Trajano et Falconilla (quos liberatos ex inferno orationibus Sti Gregorii et Theclæ, ex Damasceno, et quibusdam aliis, vulgo fertur,) quæ item de cranio arido interrogato a Macario, ex historia Palladii ad Lausum referuntur, ficta et commentitia sunt. Steph. Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 43, sect. 12.

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of St Gregory and Thecla, and of the dry skull spoken to by Macarius, be feigned and commentitious."

Which last answer, though it be the truest of all the rest, yet is it not to be doubted for all that, but that the general credit which these fables obtained, together with the countenance which the opinion of the Origenists did receive from Didymus, Evagrius, Gregory Nyssen, (if he be not corrupted), and other doctors, inclined the minds of men very much to apply the common use of praying for the dead unto this wrong end of hoping to relieve the damned thereby. St Augustine doth shew, that in his time not only "[193]some," but exceeding "many" also, did out of a humane affection take compassion of the eternal pains of the damned, and would not believe that they should never have an end. And notwithstanding this error was publicly condemned afterwards in the Origenists by the fifth general Council held at Constantinople, yet by idle and voluptuous persons was it still greedily embraced, as [194]Climacus complaineth: and "[195]even now also," saith St Gregory, "there be some who therefore neglect to put an end unto their sins, because they imagine that the judgments which are to come upon them shall sometimes have an end." Yea, of late days this opinion was maintained by the Porretanians, as Thomas calleth them, and some of the [196]Canonists, (the one following therein Gilbert Porreta, Bishop of Poictiers, in his book of theological questions, the other John Semeca in his gloss upon Gratian,) that by the prayers and suffrages of the living the pains of some of the damned were continually diminished, in such manner as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a line, without ever coming unto an end of the division; which was in effect to take from them at the last all pain of sense or sense of pain. For, as [197]Thomas

[193] Frustra itaque nonnulli, imo quamplurimi, æternam damnatorum pœnam, et cruciatus sine intermissione perpetuos, humano miserentur affectu; atque ita futurum esse non credunt. August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 112.

[194] Johan. Climac. in fine v. gradus Scalæ suæ.

[195] Sunt enim nunc etiam, qui idcirco peccatis suis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoque finem futura super se judicia suspicantur. Gregor. Moral. in Job. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

[196] Gloss. in Gratian. Caus. XIII. Quæst. II. cap. 23. *Tempus*. Durand. in lib. iv. Sentent. Distinct. XLV. Quæst. II. num. 7. *Hæc est sententia aliquorum Juristarum.*

[197] Quia in divisione lineæ tandem pervenitur ad hoc quod non est sensibile; corpus enim sensibile non est in infinitum divisibile. Et sic sequeretur, quod post multa suffragia pœna remanens propter

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observeth it rightly, and [198]Durand after him, "in the division of a line at last we must come unto that which is not sensible, considering that a sensible body cannot be divided infinitely. And so it would follow, that after many suffrages the pain remaining should not be sensible, and consequently should be no pain at all."

Neither is it to be forgotten, that the invention of All-Souls' Day, (of which you may read, if you please, Polydore Virgil, in his sixth book of the Inventors of Things, and the ninth chapter,) that solemn day, I say, wherein our Romanists most devoutly perform all their superstitious observances for the dead, was occasioned at the first by the apprehension of this same erroneous conceit, that the souls of the damned might not only be eased, but fully also delivered by the alms and prayers of the living. The whole narration of the business is thus laid down by Sigebertus Gemblacensis in his Chronicle at the year of our Lord 998. "[199]This time," saith he, "a certain religious man returning from Jerusalem, being entertained for a while in Sicily by the courtesy of a certain anchoret, learned from him, among other matters, that there were places near unto them that used to cast up burning flames, which by the inhabitants were called the Pots of Vulcan, wherein the souls of the reprobate, according to the quality of their deserts, did suffer divers punishments, the devils being there deputed for the execution thereof; whose voices, angers, and terrors, and sometimes howlings also he said he often heard, as lamenting that the souls of the damned were taken out of their hands by the alms and prayers of the faithful, and more at

sui parvitatem non sentiretur, et ita non esset pœna. Thom. in iv. Sent. Distinct. XLV. Quæst. II. Art. 2.

[198] Durand. in iv. Distinct. XLV. Quæst. II. num. 8.

[199] Hoc tempore quidam religiosus ab Hierosolymis rediens, in Sicilia reclusi cujusdam humanitate aliquandiu recreatus, didicit ab eo inter cetera, quod in illa vicinia essent loca eructantia flammarum incendia, quæ loca vocantur ab incolis Ollæ Vulcani, in quibus animæ reproborum luant diversa pro meritorum qualitate supplicia; ad ea exequenda deputatis ibi dæmonibus, quorum se crebro voces, iras, et terrores, sæpe etiam ejulatus audisse dicebat, plangentium quod animæ damnatorum eriperentur de manibus eorum per eleemosynas et preces fidelium; et hoc tempore magis per orationes Cluniacensium, orantium indefesse pro defunctorum requie. Hoc per ipsum Abbas Odilo comperto, constituit per omnia monasteria sibi subjecta, ut sicut primo die Novembris solemnitas omnium sanctorum agitur, ita sequenti die memoria omnium in Christo quiescentium celebretur. Qui ritus ad multas ecclesias transiens, fidelium defunctorum memoriam solemnizari fecit. Sigebert. Chron. ann. 998.

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this time by the prayers of the Monks of Cluny, who prayed without ceasing for the rest of those that were deceased. The Abbot Odilo having understood this by him, appointed throughout all the monasteries under his subjection, that as upon the first day of November the solemnity of all the saints is observed, so upon the day following the memorial of all that rested in Christ should be celebrated. Which rite passing into many other churches, made the memory of the faithful deceased to be solemnized."

For the elect, this form of prayer was wont to be used in the Roman Church: "[200]O God, unto whom alone is known the number of the elect that are to be placed in the supernal bliss, grant, we beseech thee, that the book of blessed predestination may retain the names of all those whom we have undertaken to recommend in our prayer, or of all the faithful that are written therein." And to pray, that the names of all those that are written in the book of God's election should still be retained therein, may be somewhat tolerable; considering, as the divines of that side have informed us, that those things may be prayed for which we know most certainly will come to pass: but hardly, I think, shall you find in any Ritual a form of prayer answerable to this of the Monks of Cluny for the reprobate; unless it be that whereby St Francis is said to have obtained that Friar Elias should be made [201]*ex præscito prædestinatus*, "an elect of a reprobate." [202]Yet it seemeth that some were not very well pleased that what was done so seldom by St Francis, the [203]angel of the friars, and that for a reprobate yet living, should be so usually practised by the

[200] Deus, cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandorum, tribue, quæsumus, ut universorum quos in oratione commendatos suscepimus, vel omnium fidelium nomina, beatæ prædestinationis liber ascripta retineat. Greg. Opera, Tom. v. col. 226; Alcuin. lib. Sacramentor. cap. 18, Opera, col. 1190; Missal. Roman. edit. Paris. ann. 1529, inter Orationes communes.

[201] Raphael Volateran. Comment. Urban. lib. xxi.

[202] So Alanus de Rupe would fain persuade fools, *quod reprobi et præsciti per devotionem rosarii vitam æternam assequantur*; "that very reprobates, by the devout use of the rosary, might obtain everlasting life." But the friars of his own order were so much ashamed thereof, that in the revival of his work of the Rosary, set out by Coppenstein, and printed at Mentz, ann. 1624, they have quite cut it off and extinguished it.

[203] Bonaventur. in Prologo Vitæ Francisci. Bernardin. de Busto, Rosar. Tom. II. Serm. XXVII. part. II.

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followers of St Odilo, the [204] archangel of the monks, for reprobates that were dead; and therefore, in the common editions of Sigebert's Chronicle, they have clean struck out the word *damnatorum*, and instead of *reproborum* chopped in *defunctorum*. Which depravation may be detected, as well by the sincere edition of Sigebert, published by Aubertus Miræus out of the manuscript of Gemblac Abbey, which is thought to be the original copy of Sigebert himself, as by the comparing of him with Petrus Damiani in the life of Odilo, whence this whole narration was by him borrowed. For there also do we read, that in those flaming places "[205] the souls of the reprobate, according to the quality of their deserts, did suffer divers torments;" and that the devils did complain, "[206] that by the alms and prayers" of Odilo and others "the souls of the damned were taken out of their hands."

By these things we may see what we are to judge of that which our adversaries press so much against us out of Epiphanius; that he "[207] nameth an obscure fellow, one Aerius, to be the first author of this heresy, that prayers and sacrifice profit not the departed in Christ." For neither doth Epiphanius name this to be an heresy, neither doth it appear that himself did hold that prayers and oblations bring such profit to the dead as these men dream they do. He is much deceived who thinketh every thing that Epiphanius findeth fault withal in heretics is esteemed by him to be an heresy; seeing heresy cannot be but in matters of faith; and the course which Epiphanius taketh in that work, is not only to declare in what special points of faith heretics did dissent from the Catholic doctrine, but in what particular observances also they refused to follow the received customs and ordinances of the Church. Therefore at the end of the whole work he setteth down a brief, [208] first

[204] Fulbert. Carnotens. Epist. LXVI.

[205] In quibus etiam locis animæ reproborum diversa luunt pro meritorum qualitate tormenta. Petr. Damian. in Vit. Odil. Tom. I. Surii. Januar. 1.

[206] Quod orationibus et eleemosynis quorundam, adversus eos infœderabiliter concertantium, frequenter ex eorum manibus eriperentur animæ damnatorum. Inter cetera de Cluniacensium cœtu permaximam et eorum abbate quærimoniam faciunt, quia quam sæpe per eos sui juris vernaculos perdunt. Ibid.

[207] Allen of Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead, lib. ii. cap. 14.

[208] Καὶ ἃ μὲν περὶ πίστεως ἔχει αὕτη ἡ μόνη καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, &c. συντόμως ἔφημεν, περί τε πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου

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of the faith, and then of the ordinances and observances of the Church; and among the particulars of the latter kind he rehearseth this: "[209]For the dead they make commemorations by name, performing," or, "when they do perform, their prayers and divine service and dispensation of the mysteries;" and disputing against Aerius touching the point itself, he doth not at all charge him with forsaking the doctrine of the Scriptures, or the faith of the Catholic Church, concerning the state of those that are departed out of this life, but with rejecting the order observed by the Church in her commemorations of the dead; which being an ancient institution, brought in upon wonderful good considerations, as he maintaineth, should not by this humorous heretic have been thus condemned. "[210]The Church," saith he, "doth necessarily perform this, having received it by tradition from the Fathers; and who may dissolve the ordinance of his mother, or the law of his father?" And again: "[211]Our mother the Church hath ordinances settled in her which are inviolable, and may not be broken. Seeing then there are ordinances established in the Church, and they are well, and all things are admirably done, this seducer is again refuted."

For the further opening hereof it will not be amiss to consider both of the objection of Aerius, and of the answer of Epiphanius. Thus did Aerius argue against the practice of the Church: "[212]For what reason do ye commemorate

πνεύματος ὁμοουσιότητος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου Χριστοῦ καὶ τελείας παρουσίας, καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς πίστεως. Περὶ θεσμῶν δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέν μοι ἐστὶ πάλιν ἀνάγκη τοῦ παραθέσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν θεσμῶν ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ εἶδος. Epiphan. in fine Panarii, p. 465.

[209] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐξ ὀνόματός τὰς μνήμας ποιοῦνται, προσευχὰς τελοῦντες καὶ λατρείας καὶ οἰκονομίας. Ibid. p. 466.

[210] Ἀναγκαίως ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖ, παράδοσιν λαβοῦσα παρὰ πατέρων. τίς δὲ δυνήσεται θεσμὸν μητρὸς καταλύειν, ἢ νόμον πατρός; Id. Hæres. LXXV. p. 388.

[211] Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία εἶχε θεσμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένους, ἀλύτους, μὴ δυναμένους καταλυθῆναι. Τεταγμένων τοίνυν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θεσμῶν, καὶ καλῶς ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν πάντων θαυμασίως γενομένων, ἐλήλεκται πάλιν καὶ οὗτος ὁ πλάνος. Ibid.

[212] Τίνι τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ θάνατον ὀνομάζετε ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων; εὔχεται γὰρ ὁ ζῶν, ἢ οἰκονομίαν ἐποίησε· τί ὠφεληθήσεται ὁ τεθνεώς; εἰ δὲ ὅλως εὐχὴ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ὤνησεν, ἆρα γοῦν μηδεὶς εὐσεβείτω μηδὲ ἀγαθαποιείτω, ἀλλὰ κτησάσθω φίλους τινὰς, δι' οὗ βούλεται τρόπου, ἤτοι χρήμασι πείσας, ἤτοι φίλους ἀξιώσας ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ, καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τὶ ἐκεῖ πάθῃ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκζητηθῇ. Aerius, apud Epiphan. ibid. p. 386.

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after death the names of those that are departed? He that is alive prayeth or maketh dispensation" of the mysteries: "what shall the dead be profited hereby? And if the prayer of those here do altogether profit them that be there, then let nobody be godly, let no man do good, but let him procure some friends, by what means it pleaseth him, either persuading them by money, or entreating friends at his death; and let them pray for him that he may suffer nothing there, and that those inexpiable sins which he hath committed may not be required at his hands." This was Aerius's argumentation, which would have been of force indeed if the whole Church had held, as many did, that the judgment after death was suspended until the general resurrection, and that in the mean time the sins of the dead might be taken away by the suffrages of the living. But he should have considered, as Stephanus Gobarus, who was as great an heretic as himself, did, that the doctors were not agreed upon the point; some of them maintaining, "[213]that the soul of every one that departed out of this life received very great profit by the prayers and oblations and alms that were performed for him;" and others, "on the contrary side, that it was not so;" and that it was a foolish part of him to confound the private opinion of some with the common faith of the universal Church. That he reproved this particular error, which seemeth to have gotten head in his time, as being most plausible to the multitude, and very pleasing unto the looser sort of Christians, therein he did well; but that thereupon he condemned the general practice of the Church, which had no dependence upon that erroneous conceit, therein he did like unto himself, headily and perversely. For the Church, in her commemorations and prayers for the dead, had no relation at all unto those that had led their lives lewdly and dissolutely, as appeareth plainly, both by the [214]author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and by divers other evidences before

[213] "Οτι παντὸς τεθνεῶτος ψυχὴ ὠφελεῖται μέγιστα διὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελουμένων εὐχῶν, καὶ προσφορῶν, καὶ ἐλεημοσυνῶν· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ὅτι οὐχ οὕτω. Gobar. in Photii Bibliotheca, Vol. CCXXXII.

[214] Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο κοινόν ἐστι τοῖς ἱεροῖς τε καὶ ἀνιέροις. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7, init. Et postea: Διὸ τοῖς ἀνιέροις οὐκ ἐπεύχεται ταῦτα κεκοιμημένοις.

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alleged; but unto those that did end their lives in such a godly manner as gave pregnant hope unto the living that their souls were at rest with God: and to such as these alone did it wish the accomplishment of that which remained of their redemption; to wit, their public justification and solemn acquittal at the last day, and their perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul, in the kingdom of heaven for ever after. Not that the event of these things was conceived to be any ways doubtful, (for we have been told that things may be prayed for, the event whereof is known to be most certain;) but because the commemoration thereof was thought to serve for special use, not only in regard of the manifestation of the affection of the living toward the dead, (he that prayed, as Dionysius noteth, "[215]desiring other men's gifts as if they were his own graces,") but also in respect of the consolation and instruction which the living might receive thereby, as Epiphanius, in his answer to Aerius, doth more particularly declare.

The objection of Aerius was this: the commemorations and prayers used in the Church bring no profit to the dead; therefore as an unprofitable thing they are to be rejected. To this doth Epiphanius thus frame his answer: "[216]As for the reciting of the names of those that are deceased, what can be better than this? what more commodious and more admirable? that such as are present do believe that they who are departed do live, and are not extinguished, but are still being and living with the Lord; and that this most pious preaching might be declared, that they who pray for their brethren have hope of them, as being in a peregrination." Which is as much in effect as if he had denied Aerius's consequence, and answered him, that although the dead were not profited by this action, yet it did not therefore follow that it should be condemned as altogether unprofitable, because it had a singular use otherwise;

[215] Ἐπὶ τὸ θεομίμητον ἀγαθοειδῶς ἐκτυπούμενος, καὶ τὰς ἑτέρων δωρεὰς ὡς οἰκείας ἐξαιτῶν χάριτας. Id. ibid.

[216] Περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων, τί ἂν εἴη τούτου προυργιαίτερον; τί τούτου καιριώτερον καὶ θαυμασιώτερον; πιστεύειν μὲν τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι οἱ ἀπελθόντες ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν ἀνυπαρξίᾳ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσι παρα τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα διηγήσοιτο, ὡς ἐλπίς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν εὐχομένοις ὡς ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τυγχανόντων. Epiphan. Hæres. LXXV.

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namely, to testify the faith and the hope of the living concerning the dead: the faith, in "[217]declaring them to be alive," (for so doth Dionysius also expound the Church's intention in her public nomination of the dead,) "and as divinity teacheth, not mortified, but translated from death unto a most divine life;" the hope, in that they signified hereby that they accounted their brethren to have departed from them no otherwise than as if they had been in a journey, with expectation to meet them afterward; and by this means made a difference betwixt themselves and [218]*others which had no hope.* Then doth Epiphanius proceed further in answering the same objection, after this manner: "[219]The prayer also which is made for them doth profit, although it do not cut off all their sins; yet forasmuch as whilst we are in the world we oftentimes slip both unwillingly and with our will, it serveth to signify that which is more perfect. For we make a memorial both for the just and for sinners: for sinners, entreating the mercy of God; for the just, (both the fathers and patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, bishops also and anchorites, and the whole order,) that we may sever our Lord Jesus Christ from the rank of all other men by the honour that we do unto him, and that we may yield worship unto him." Which, as far as I apprehend him, is no more than if he had thus replied unto Aerius: Although the prayer that is made for the dead do not cut off all their sins, which is the only thing that thou goest about to prove, yet doth it profit notwithstanding for another purpose; namely, to signify the supereminent perfection of our Saviour Christ above

[217] Τοὺς δὲ ὡς ζῶντας ἀνακηρύττουσα, καὶ ὡς ἡ Θεολογία φησὶν, οὐ νεκρωθέντας, ἀλλ' εἰς θειοτάτην ζωὴν ἐκ θανάτου μεταφοιτήσαντας. Dion. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7. Οἱ γὰρ θεῷ πεπιστευκότες, ἐὰν καὶ κοιμηθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ νεκροί. Clem. Constitut. Apost. lib. vi. cap. 29.

[218] 1 Thess. iv. 13.

[219] Ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γινομένη εὐχὴ, εἰ καὶ τὰ ὅλα τῶν αἰτιαμάτων μὴ ἀποκόπτοι. ἀλλ' οὖν γε διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἐν κόσμῳ ἡμᾶς ὄντας σφάλλεσθαι ἀκουσίως τε καὶ ἑκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ ἐντελέστερον σημανθῇ. καὶ γὰρ [ὑπὲρ] δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν· ὑπὲρ μὲν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐλέους θεοῦ θεόμενοι· (f. δεόμενοι·) ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων καὶ πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀφορίσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμῆς, καὶ σέβας αὐτῷ ἀποδῶμεν. Epiphan. Hæres. LXXV.

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the rest of the sons of men, who are subject to manifold slips and falls as long as they live in this world.

For as well the righteous with their involuntary slips, as sinners with their voluntary falls, do come within the compass of these commemorations; wherein prayers are made both for [220]*sinners* that repent, and for righteous persons that have no such need of repentance: for sinners, that being by their repentance recovered out of the snare of the devil, they may find mercy of the Lord at the last day, and be freed from the fire prepared for the devil and his angels; for the righteous, that they may be recompensed in the resurrection of the just, and received into the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. Which kind of prayer being made for the best men that ever lived, even the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs themselves, Christ only excepted, sheweth, that the profit which the Church intended should be reaped therefrom, was not so much the taking away the sins of the parties that were prayed for, as the honouring of their Lord above them; it being hereby declared, "[221]that our Lord is not to be compared unto any man, though a man live in righteousness a thousand times and more. For how should that be possible, considering that the one is God, the other man?" as the praying to the one, and for the other, doth discover; "and the one is in heaven, the other in earth, by reason of the remains of the body yet resting in the earth," until the day of the resurrection, unto which all these prayers had special reference. This do I conceive to be the right meaning of Epiphanius's answer, as suiting best both with the general intention of the Church, which he taketh upon him to vindicate from the misconstruction of Aerius, and with the application thereof unto his objection, and with the known doctrine of Epiphanius, delivered by him elsewhere in these terms: "[222]After death there is no help to be gotten, either

[220] Luke xv. 7.

[221] Ἐν ἐννοίᾳ ὄντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξισούμενος ὁ κύριος τινὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν τε μύρια καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὑπάρχῃ ἕκαστος ἀνθρώπων. πῶς γὰρ οἷός τε εἴη τοῦτο; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι Θεὸς, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς λείψανα. Epiphan. cont. Aër. Hæres. LXXV.

[222] Οὔτε μὲν πορισμὸς εὐσεβείας οὔτε μετανοίας μετὰ θάνατον. οὐ γὰρ Λάζαρος ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον ἐκεῖ,

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by godliness or by repentance. For Lazarus doth not go there unto the rich man, nor the rich man unto Lazarus; neither doth Abraham send any of his spoils, that the poor may be afterward made rich thereby; neither doth the rich man obtain that which he asketh, although he entreat merciful Abraham with instant supplication. For the garners are sealed up, and the time is fulfilled, and the combat is finished, and the lists are voided, and the garlands are given, and such as have fought are at rest, and such as have not obtained are gone forth, and such as have not fought cannot now be present in time, and such as have been overthrown in the lists are cast out, and all things are clearly finished, after that we are once departed from hence."

And for the general intention of the Church, beside what already hath been at large declared of the times past, let us a little compare the ancient practice of praying for the dead maintained by Epiphanius, with the footsteps which remain thereof in the Euchologue used by the Grecians at this very day. For *first*, that the parties prayed for are not supposed to be in any place of torment, appeareth by that speech which they apply to the party deceased, even in the midst of the prayers which they make for the forgiveness of his sins and the resting of his soul: "[223] Blessed is the way wherein thou art going to day, brother; for to thee is prepared a place of rest." And by the prayer following: "[224] He is from hence departed breathless, thither where there is the reward of his works, thither where there is the joy of all the saints, with whom rest thou this deceased person, O God, of thy mercy and loving kindness." *Secondly*, that they make these prayers as well for the righteous as for sinners, this orison, among others, doth demonstrate:

οὔτε ὁ πλούσιος πρὸς τὸν Λάζαρον, οὔτε Ἀβραὰμ ἀποστέλλει σκύλων τὸν πένητα πλουτῆσαι ὕστερον, οὔτε ὁ πλούσιος ὧν αἰτεῖται, καίπερ μετὰ ἱκεσίας τὸν ἐλεήμονα Ἀβραὰμ παρακαλέσας. ἐσφράγισται γὰρ τὰ ταμιεῖα, καὶ πεπλήρωται ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτελέσθη, καὶ ἐκενώθη τὸ σκάμμα, καὶ οἱ στέφανοι ἐδόθησαν, καὶ ἀγωνισάμενοι ἀνεπάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξῆκαν, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐκέτι εὐποροῦσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ σκάμματι ἡττηθέντες ἐξεβλήθησαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα σαφῶς τετελείωται μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημίαν. Id. contra Cathar. Hæres. LIX.

[223] Μακαρία ἡ ὁδὸς ἣν πορεύῃ σήμερον, ἄδελφε, ὅτι ἡτοιμάσθη σοι τόπος ἀναπαύσεως. Euchol. Græc. edit. Venet. ann. 1600, fol. 118. et 125.

[224] Ἄπνους ἐξῆλθε, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνθένδε, ἐκεῖ ὅπου ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἔργων ὑπάρχει, ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἡ χαρὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· μεθ' ὧν ἀνάπαυσον τὸν κεκοιμημένον ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Ibid. fol. 126.

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"[225] The faithful which have left this life holily, and removed to thee their Lord, receive benignly, giving them rest out of thy tender mercy." *Thirdly*, that in these prayers they aim at those ends expressed by Epiphanius; as well the testifying their belief of the peregrination of their brethren and their living with the Lord, as the putting a difference betwixt Christ our Saviour and all other men how blessed soever, (in respect the one is God, the other but men; the one after his glorious resurrection remaineth now immortal in heaven, the other continue yet in the state of dissolution, with their bodies resting in the earth in expectation of the resurrection; the purity and perfection of the one is most absolute, the manifold failings of the very best of the other such that they stand in need of mercy and pardon;) this prayer following may witness:

"[226] Receive, O Lord, our prayers and supplications, and give rest unto all our fathers, and mothers, and brethren, and sisters, and children, and all our other kindred and alliance; and unto all souls that rest before us in hope of the everlasting resurrection. And place their spirits and their bodies in the book of life, in the bosoms of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the region of the living, in the kingdom of heaven, in the paradise of delight, by thy bright angels bringing all into thy holy mansions. Raise also our bodies

[225] Ἱερῶς τοὺς τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντας πιστοὺς, καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν δεσπότην μεταχωρήσαντας, δέξαι προσηνῶς, ἀναπαύων ὡς εὔσπλαγχνος. Ibid. fol. 116. b.

[226] Δέξαι, δέσποτα, δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας ἡμετέρας, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον πάντας τοὺς πατέρας ἑκάστου καὶ μητέρας, ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ τέκνα, καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο ὁμογενὲς καὶ ὁμόφυλον, καὶ πάσας τὰς προαναπαυσαμένας ψυχὰς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως αἰωνίου. καὶ κατάταξον τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, ἐν χώραις ζώντων, εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, διὰ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἀγγέλων σου εἰσάγων ἅπαντας εἰς τὰς ἁγίας σου μονάς. συνέγειρον καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ὥρισας, κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας σου καὶ ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίας. οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν, Κύριε, τοῖς δούλοις σου θάνατος, ἐκδημούντων ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐνδημούντων, ἀλλὰ μετάστασις λυπηροτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ χρηστότερα καὶ θυμηδέστερα, καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ χαρά. Εἰ δὲ καί τι ἡμάρτομεν εἰς σὲ, ἵλεως γενοῦ ἡμῖν τε καὶ αὐτοῖς· διότι οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐδ' ἂν μία ἡμέρα ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, εἰ μὴ μόνος σὺ ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς φανεὶς ἀναμάρτητος, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ πάντες ἐλπίζομεν ἐλέους τυχεῖν καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τε καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, τὰ πρόδηλα, τὰ λανθάνοντα, τὰ ἐν πράξει, τὰ ἐν διανοίᾳ, τὰ ἐν λόγῳ, τὰ ἐν πάσαις ἡμῶν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ τοῖς κινήμασι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν προλαβοῦσιν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν δώρησαι. ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς περιόντας εὐλόγησον, τέλος ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν παρεχόμενος ἡμῖν τε καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου. Ibid. fol. 176. b.

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together with theirs in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy holy and true promises. It is not a death then, O Lord, unto thy servants, when we flit from the body and go home to thee our God, but a translation from a sorrowful state unto a better and more delightful, and a refreshment and joy. And if we have sinned in any thing against thee, be gracious both unto us and unto them. Forasmuch as no man is clean from pollution before thee, no, though his life were but of one day, thou alone excepted who didst appear upon earth without sin, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom we all hope to obtain mercy and pardon of our sins. Therefore, as a good and merciful God, release and forgive both us and them: pardon our offences as well voluntary as involuntary, of knowledge and of ignorance, both manifest and hidden, in deed, in thought, in word, in all our conversations and motions. And to those that are gone before us grant freedom and release, and us that remain bless, granting a good and a peaceable end both to us and to all thy people." Whereunto this other short prayer also for one that is deceased may be added: "[227]None, no, not one man hath been without sin but thou alone, O Immortal. Therefore, as a God full of compassion, place thy servant in light with the quires of thine angels; by thy tender mercy passing over his iniquities, and granting to him the resurrection."

Lastly, that these prayers have principal relation to the judgment of the great day, and do respect the escaping of the unquenchable fire of Gehenna, not the temporal flames of any imaginary purgatory, is plain, both by these kinds of prosopopœias, which they attribute to the deceased: "[228]Supplicate with tears unto Christ, who is to judge my poor soul, that he would deliver me from that fire which is unquenchable." "[229]I beseech all my acquaintance and my friends, make mention of me in the day of judgment, that

[227] Οὐδεὶς ἀναμάρτητος, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονεν, εἰ μὴ σὺ μόνε ἀθάνατε. διὸ τὸν δοῦλόν σου, ὡς Θεὸς οἰκτίρμων, ἐν φωτὶ κατάταξον σὺν ταῖς χοροστασίαις ἀγγέλων σου, τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ σου ὑπερβαίνων ἀνομήματα, καὶ παρέχων αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Ibid. fol. 121. b.

[228] Τὸν ἔχοντα κρίναι τὴν ταπεινήν μου ψυχὴν, σὺν δάκρυσι Χριστὸν ἱκετεύσατε, ὅπως μὲ πυρὸς ἐξελῆται τοῦ ἀσβέστου. Ibid. fol. 134. b.

[229] Ἱκετεύω πάντας τοὺς γνωστοὺς καὶ προσφιλεῖς μου, μνείαν ποιεῖτέ μου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἵνα εὕρω ἔλεος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκείνου τοῦ φοβεροῦ. Ibid.

I may find mercy at that dreadful tribunal." "[230]Bemired with sins and naked of good deeds, I that am worms' meat cry in spirit, Cast not me, wretch, away from thy face; place me not on thy left hand, who with thy hands didst fashion me; but give rest unto him whom thou hast taken away by thy command, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake." And by these prayers, which are accordingly tendered for him by the living: "[231]When in unspeakable glory thou dost come dreadfully to judge the whole world, vouchsafe, O Redeemer, that this thy faithful servant, whom thou hast taken from the earth, may in the clouds meet thee cheerfully." "[232]They who have been dead from the beginning, with terrible and fearful trembling standing at thy tribunal, await thy just censure, O Saviour, and receive God's righteous judgment. At that time, O Lord and Saviour, spare thy servant, who in faith is gone unto thee, and vouchsafe unto him thine everlasting joy and bliss." "[233]None shall fly there the dreadful tribunal of thy judgment. All kings and princes with servants stand together, and hear the dreadful voice of the Judge condemning the people which have sinned into hell, from which, O Christ, deliver thy servant." "[234]At that time, O Christ, spare him whom thou hast translated hence." "[235]O Lord our only King, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, thine heavenly kingdom to thy servant, whom thou hast now translated hence, and then preserve him uncondemned when every mortal wight shall stand before thee the Judge to receive their judgment."

[230] Βεβορβορωμένος ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, καὶ γεγυμνωμένος κατορθωμάτων, κραυγάζω τῷ πνεύματι, ἡ βορὰ τῶν σκωλήκων. μή με τὴν τάλαιναν ἀποῤῥίψῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ προσώπου, μή με ἐξ εὐωνύμων στήσῃς ὁ χερσί σου με πλάσας. ἀλλ' ἀνάπαυσον ὃν προσελάβου τῇ προστάξει σου, Κύριε, διὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος. Ibid. fol. 138. b.

[231] Ἀφράστῳ τῇ δόξῃ σου ὅταν ἔλθῃς φοβερῶς κρῖναι τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα, ἐν νεφέλαις εὐδόκησον λυτρωτὸν φαιδρῶς ὑπαντῆσαί σοι, ὃν ἐκ γῆς προσελάβου πιστὸν δοῦλόν σου. Ibid. fol. 116. a.

[232] Τρόμῳ τῷ φρικτῷ καὶ φοβερῷ βήματι τῷ σῷ παρεστῶτες, οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος νεκροὶ ψῆφον ἀναμένουσι τὴν σὴν δικαίαν, Σωτὴρ, καὶ τὴν θείαν ἐκδέχονται δικαιοκρισίαν. Τότε φεῖσαι τοῦ δούλου σου, πίστει τοῦ πρός σε μεταστάντος, καὶ τῆς ἀϊδίου τρυφῆς σου καὶ μακαριότητος ἀξίωσον. Ibid. fol. 122. a.

[233] Οὐδεὶς ἐκφεύξεται ἐκεῖ τὸ φοβερὸν τῆς κρίσεως σου βῆμα. βασιλεῖς, δυνασταὶ ἅπαντες σὺν τοῖς δούλοις ἅμα παρίστανται, καὶ φωνῆς κριτοῦ φοβερᾶς, τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας λαοὺς εἰς κρίσιν γεέννης, ἐξ ἧς, Χριστὲ, ῥῦσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου. Ibid. fol. 130. b.

[234] Τότε φεῖσαι, Λόγε, τοῦ ἔνθα μεταστάντος. Ibid. fol. 133. a.

[235] Κύριε μόνε βασιλεῦ, βασιλείας οὐρανίου ἀξίωσον ὃν νῦν μετέστησας πιστόν σου δοῦλον, παρακαλοῦμέν σε, καὶ ἀκατάκριτον αὐτὸν τότε διατήρησον, ἡνίκα ἅπας βροτὸς παραστῇ σοι τῷ κριτῇ μέλλων κρίνεσθαι. Ibid. fol. 138. a.

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We are to consider, then, that the prayers and oblations, for rejecting whereof Aerius was reproved, were not such as are used in the Church of Rome at this day, but such as were used by the ancient Church at that time, and for the most part retained by the Greek Church at this present. And therefore as we, in condemning of the one, have nothing to do with Aerius or his cause, so the Romanists, who dislike the other as much as ever Aerius did, must be content to let us alone, and take the charge of Aerianism home unto themselves. Popish prayers and oblations for the dead, we know, do wholly depend upon the belief of purgatory: if those of the ancient Church did so too, how cometh it to pass that Epiphanius doth not directly answer Aerius, as a Papist would do now, that they brought singular profit to the dead by delivering their tormented souls out of the flames of purgatory; but forgetting as much as once to make mention of purgatory, (the sole foundation of these suffrages for the dead, in our adversary's judgment,) doth trouble himself and his cause with bringing in such far-fetched reasons as these: That they who performed this duty did intend to signify thereby that their brethren departed were not perished, but remained still alive with the Lord; and to put a difference betwixt the high perfection of our Saviour Christ and the general frailty of the best of all his servants? Take away popish purgatory on the other side, (which in the days of Aerius and Epiphanius needed not to be taken away, because it was not as yet hatched,) and all the reasons produced by Epiphanius will not withhold our Romanists from absolutely subscribing to the opinion of Aerius; this being a case with them resolved, that "[236]if purgatory be not admitted after death, prayer for the dead must be unprofitable." But though Thomas Aquinas and his abettors determined so, we must not therefore think that Epiphanius was of the same mind, who lived in a time wherein prayers were usually made for them that never were dreamed to have been in purgatory, and yieldeth those reasons of that usage, which overthrow the former consequence of Thomas every whit as much as the supposition of Aerius.

[236] Ad hoc etiam est universalis ecclesiæ consuetudo, quæ pro defunctis orat; quæ quidem oratio inutilis esset, si purgatorium post mortem non ponatur. Thom. contra Gentiles, lib. xiv. cap. 91.

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For Aerius and Thomas both agree in this, that prayer for the dead would be altogether unprofitable if the dead themselves received no special benefit thereby. This doth Epiphanius, defending the ancient use of these prayers in the Church, shew to be untrue, by producing other profits that redound from thence unto the living; partly by the public signification of their faith, hope, and charity toward the deceased; partly by the honour that they did unto the Lord Jesus, in exempting him from the common condition of the rest of mankind. And to make it appear that these things were mainly intended by the Church in her memorials for the dead, and not the cutting off of the sins which they carried with them out of this life, or the releasing of them out of any torment, he allegeth, as we have heard, that not only the meaner sort of Christians, but also the best of them without exception, even the prophets and apostles and martyrs themselves, were comprehended therein. From whence, by our adversary's good leave, we will make bold to frame this syllogism:

They who reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the Church in the days of Aerius, are in that point flat Aerians.

But the Romanists do reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the Church in the days of Aerius.

Therefore the Romanists are in this point flat Aerians.

The assumption, or second part of this argument, (for the first, we think, nobody will deny,) is thus proved:

They who are of the judgment that prayers and oblations should not be made for such as are believed to be in bliss, do reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the ancient Church.

But the Romanists are of this judgment.

Therefore they reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the ancient Church.

The truth of the first of these propositions doth appear by the testimony of Epiphanius, compared with those many other evidences whereby we have formerly proved, that it was the custom of the ancient Church to make prayers and oblations for them of whose resting in peace and bliss there was no doubt at all conceived. The verity of the second

is manifested by the confession of the Romanists themselves, who reckon this for one of their "[237]Catholic Verities," that suffrages should not be offered for the dead that reign with Christ; and, therefore, that an ancient "[238]form of praying for the apostles, martyrs, and the rest of the saints, is by disuse deservedly abolished," saith Alphonsus Mendoza. Nay, [239]to offer sacrifices and prayers to God for those that are in bliss, is "plainly absurd and impious," in the judgment of the Jesuit Azorius; who was not aware that thereby he did outstrip Aerius in condemning the practice of the ancient Church, as far as the censuring it only to be "unprofitable" (for τί ὠφεληθήσεται ὁ τεθνεώς; *what shall the dead be profited thereby?* was the furthest that Aerius durst to go) cometh short of rejecting it as "absurd and impious." And therefore our adversaries may do well to purge themselves first from the blot of Aerianism, which sticketh so fast unto them, before they be so ready to cast the aspersion thereof upon others.

In the meantime, the reader who desireth to be rightly informed in the judgment of antiquity touching this point, is to remember that these two questions must necessarily be distinguished in this enquiry: Whether prayers and oblations were to be made for the dead? and, Whether the dead did receive any peculiar profit thereby? In the latter of these he shall find great difference among the doctors; in the former very little, or none at all. For "[240]howsoever all did not agree about the state of the souls," saith Cassander, an indifferent Papist, "which might receive profit by these things, yet all did judge this duty, as a testimony of their love toward the dead, and a profession of their faith touching the soul's immortality and the future resurrection, to be

[237] Fran. Suarez, Tom. IV. in part. III. Thom. Disp. XLVIII. sect. 4, num. 10.

[238] Illa formula precandi pro apostolis, martyribus, &c. merito per desuetudinem exolevit. Alphons. Mendoz. Controvers. Theologic. Quæst. Scholastic. VI. sect. 7.

[239] Græci sacrificia et preces offerunt Deo pro mortuis; non beatis certe, neque damnatis ad inferos, quod plane esset absurdum et impium. Jo. Azor. Institut. Moral. Tom. I. lib. viii. cap. 20.

[240] Quamvis de statu illo animarum, quibus hæc prodessent, non satis constaret, nec inter omnes conveniret; omnes tamen hoc officium, ut testimonium caritatis erga defunctos, et ut professionem fidei de immortalitate animarum et futura resurrectione, Deo gratum et ecclesiæ utile esse judicarunt. Cassand. Consultat. ad Ferdinand. I. et Maximilian. II. Art. 24.

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acceptable unto God and profitable to the Church." Therefore for condemning the general practice of the Church herein, which aimed at those good ends before expressed, Aerius was condemned; but for denying that the dead received profit thereby, either for the pardon of the sins which before were unremitted, or for the cutting off or mitigation of any torments that they did endure in the other world, the Church did never condemn him; for that was no new thing invented by him. Divers worthy men, before and after him, declared themselves to be of the same mind, and were never for all that charged with the least suspicion of heresy. "[241]The narration of Lazarus and the rich man," saith the author of the Questions and Answers in the works of Justin Martyr, "presenteth this doctrine unto us, that after the departure of the soul out of the body men cannot by any providence or care obtain any profit." "[242]Then," saith Gregory Nazianzen, "in vain shall any one go about to relieve those that lament. Here men may have a remedy, but afterwards there is nothing but bonds," or, "all things are fast bound." For, "[243]after death the punishment of sin is remediless," saith Theodoret; and, "[244]the dead," saith Diodorus Tarsensis, "have no hope of any succour from man;" and therefore St Jerome doth conclude, [245]that "while we are in this present world we may be able to help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we shall come before the judgment-seat of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can entreat for any one, but every one must bear his own burden."

Other doctors were of another judgment, That the dead received special profit by the prayers and oblations of the

[241] Ἔστι δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου διήγημα ὑποτύπωσις λόγου διδασκαλίαν ἔχοντος, τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον τῆς ψυχῆς, κατὰ πρόνοιάν τινα ἢ σπουδὴν, ὠφελείας τινὸς τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Justin. Resp. ad Orthod. Quæst. LX.

[242] Τῆμος ὀδυρομένοισιν ἐτώσια τίς κεν ἀμύναι. Ἐνθάδ' ἄκος μερόπεσσι, τὰ δ' ὕστατα δέσμια πάντα. Greg. Nazianz. in Carm. de Rebus suis.

[243] Post mortem pœna peccati est immedicabilis. Theodoret. Quæst. in lib. ii. Reg. cap. 18, 19.

[244] Οἱ νεκροὶ ἐλπίζουσιν οὐκέτι βοήθειαν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐδεμίαν. Diodor. Caten. Græc. in Psalm. LXXXVII. 5, MS. in publica Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliotheca.

[245] Obscure licet docemur, per hanc sententiolam, novum dogma quod latitat: dum in præsenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus sive consiliis invicem posse nos coadjuvari; cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, non Job, non Daniel, nec Noe rogare posse pro quoquam, sed unumquemque portare onus suum. Hieronym. lib. iii. Commentar. in Galat. cap. 6.

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living, either for the remission of their sins or the easing of their punishment. But whether this were restrained to smaller offences only, or such as lived and died in great sins might be made partakers of the same benefit; and whether these men's torments might be lessened only thereby, or in tract of time quite extinguished, they did not agree upon. Stephanus Gobarus, whom before I alleged, made a collection of the different sentences of the Fathers, [246] whereof some contained the received doctrine of the Church, others the unallowable opinions of certain of the ancient that varied therefrom. Of this latter kind he maketh this sentence to be one: "[247] That such sinners as be delivered unto punishment are purged therein from their sins, and after their purging are freed from their punishment; albeit, not all who are delivered unto punishment be thus purged and freed, but some only;" whereas "the true sentence of the Church was, that none at all was freed from punishment." If that were the true sentence of the Church, that none of those who suffered punishment in the other world were ever freed from the same, then the applying of prayers to the helping of men's souls out of any such punishments must be referred to the erroneous apprehension of some particular men, and not to the general intention of the ancient Church; from which in this point, as in many others beside, the latter Church of Rome hath swerved and quite gone astray. The ancient writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, handling this matter of praying for the dead professedly, [248] doth by way of objection move this doubt: "To what purpose should the Bishop entreat the divine Goodness to grant remission of sins unto the dead, and a like glorious inheritance with those that have followed God?" seeing by such prayers he can be brought to no other rest but that which is fitting for him, and answerable unto the life which he hath here

[246] Ὧν αἱ μὲν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φρόνημα, αἱ δὲ συνεκρότουν τὸ ἀπόβλητον. Phot. Bibliothec. Vol. CCXXXII.

[247] Ὅτι οἱ τῇ κολάσει παραδιδόμενοι τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καθαίρονται τῆς κακίας ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἀπολύονται τῆς κολάσεως. καί τοι οὐ πάντες παραδοθέντες τῇ κολάσει καθαίρονται καὶ ἀπολύονται, ἀλλὰ τινές. καὶ ὅτι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς τῆς ἐκκλησίας φρόνημα, οὐδεὶς ἀπολύεται τῆς κολάσεως. Ibid.

[248] Φαίης δ' ἂν ὅπως, ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρῆσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅτου ἕνεκα τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος ὁ ἱεράρχης δεῖται, τῶν ἡμαρτημένων αἰτῶν τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ τὴν ἄφεσιν, καὶ τὴν τοῖς θεοειδέσιν ὁμοταγῆ καὶ φανοτάτην ἀποκλήρωσιν. Dionys. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 7.

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led. If our Romish divinity had been then acknowledged by the Church, there had been no place left to such questions and doubts as these. The matter might easily have been answered, that though a man did die in a state of grace, yet was he not presently to be admitted unto the place of rest, but must first be reckoned withal, both for the committal of those smaller faults unto which, through human frailty, he was daily subject, and for the not performance of full penance and satisfaction for the greater sins, into which in this life he had fallen; and purgatory being the place wherein he must be cleansed from the one, and make up the just payment for the other, these prayers were directed unto God for the delivery of the poor soul, which was not now in case to help itself out of that place of torment.

But this author, taking upon him the person of St Paul's scholar, and professing to deliver herein "[249]that tradition which he had received from his divine Master," saith no such thing, but giveth in this for his answer: "The divine Bishop, as the Scriptures witness, is the interpreter of the divine judgments; for he is the angel of the Lord God Almighty. He hath learned, therefore, out of the oracles delivered by God, that a most glorious and divine life is by his just judgment worthily awarded to them that have lived holily, his divine goodness and kindness passing over those blots which by human frailty he had contracted; forasmuch as no man, as the Scriptures speak, is free from pollution. The Bishop, therefore, knowing these things to be promised by the true oracles, prayeth that they may accordingly come to pass, and those sacred rewards may be bestowed upon them that have lived holily." The Bishop at that time belike did not know so much as our popish Bishops do now, that God's servants must dearly smart in purgatory for the sins where-

[249] Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρημένης εὐχῆς ἣν ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπεύχεται τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ, τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐνθέων ἡμῶν καθηγεμόνων παράδοσιν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. Ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης ἐκφαντορικός ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησὶ, τῶν θεαρχικῶν δικαιωμάτων. ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐστί. μεμάθηκεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν θεοπαραδότων λογίων, ὅτι τοῖς ὁσίως βιώσασιν ἡ φανοτάτη καὶ θεία ζωὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων ζυγῶν ἀντιδίδοται, παρορώσης ἀγαθότητι τῆς θεαρχικῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὰς ἐγγενομένας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας κηλῖδας· ἐπείπερ οὐδεὶς, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησὶ, καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ ἱεράρχης εἶδεν ἐπηγγελμένα πρὸς τῶν ἀληθῶν λογίων. αἰτεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ δωρηθῆναι τοῖς ὁσίως βιώσασι τὰς ἱερὰς ἀντιδόσεις. Id. ibid.

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with they were overtaken through human infirmity: he believed that God of his merciful goodness would pass by those slips, and that such after-reckonings as these should give no stoppage to the present bestowing of those holy rewards upon the children of the promise. "[250]Therefore the divine Bishop," saith our author, "asketh those things which were promised by God, and are grateful to him, and without doubt will be granted; thereby as well manifesting his own good disposition unto God, who is a lover of the good, as declaring like an interpreter unto them that be present the gifts that shall befall to such as are holy."

He further also addeth, that "the Bishops have a separating power, as the interpreters of God's judgments," according to that commission of Christ, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose ye shall retain, they are retained:* and [251]*Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* Now, as in the use of the keys the schoolmen following St Jerome do account the minister to be the interpreter only of God's judgment, by declaring what is done by him in the binding or loosing of men's sins; so doth this author here give them power only to "[252]separate those that are already judged of God," and, by way of "[253]declaration and convoy, to bring in those that are beloved of God, and to exclude such as are ungodly." And if the power which the ministers have received by the foresaid commission do extend itself to any further real operation upon the living, Pope Gelasius will deny that it may be stretched in like manner unto the dead; because that Christ saith, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth.* "[254]He saith, *upon earth;* for he that dieth bound is nowhere said to be loosed." And, "[255]That which a man

[250] Οὐκοῦν ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης ἐξαιτεῖ τὰ θειωδῶς ἐπηγγελμένα, καὶ φίλα θεῷ, καὶ πάντως δωρηθησόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἕξεως ἐπιδεικνὺς τῷ φιλαγάθῳ θεῷ, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκφαντορικῶς ἐμφαίνων τὰ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἐσόμενα δῶρα. οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἀφοριστικὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἱεράρχαι δυνάμεις, ὡς ἐκφαντορικοὶ τῶν θείων δικαιωμάτων, &c. Id. ibid.

[251] Vide Euchology. Græc. fol. 151. b. et 152. a.

[252] Τοὺς κεκριμένους Θεῷ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφοριζόντων. Dionys. ut supra.

[253] Ἐκφαντορικῶς καὶ διαπορθμευτικῶς τούς τε θεοφιλεῖς προσιεμένου, καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἀποκληροῦντος. Id. ibid.

[254] Super terram, inquit; nam in hac ligatione defunctum nusquam dixit absolvi. Gelas. in Comment. ad Faustum.

[255] Quod manens in corpore non receperit, consequi exutus carne non poterit. Leo, Epist. LXXXIX. vel XCI. ad Theodor.

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remaining in his body hath not received, being unclothed of his flesh he cannot obtain," saith Leo.

Whether the dead received profit by the prayers of the living, was still a question in the Church. Maximus, in his Greek Scholies upon the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, wisheth us to "[256] mark, that even before" that writer's "time this doubt was questioned." Among the questions wherein Dulcitius desired to be resolved by St Augustine, we find this to be one: "[257] Whether the offering that is made for the dead did avail their souls any thing?" [258] Many "did say to this, that if herein any good were to be done after death, how much rather should the soul itself obtain ease for itself by its own confessing of her sins there, than that for the ease thereof an oblation should be procured by other men." The like also is noted by Cyril, or rather John, Bishop of Jerusalem, that he "[259] knew MANY who said thus: What profit doth the soul get that goeth out of this world, either with sins or not with sins, if you make mention of it in prayer?" And by Anastasius Sinaita, or Nicænus: "[260] Some do doubt, saying that the dead are not profited by the oblations that are made for them." And, long after them, by Petrus Cluniacensis, in his treatise against the followers of Peter Bruse, in France: "[261] That the good deeds of the living may profit the dead, both these heretics do deny, and some Catholics also do seem to doubt." Nay, in the West, not the profit only, but the lawfulness also of these doings for the dead was called in question; as partly may be collected by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz's consulting with Pope Gregory, about 730 years after the birth

[256] Καὶ σημείωσαι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐζητήθη τὸ ἄπορον τοῦτο. Maxim. Schol. in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7.

[257] Utrum oblatio quæ fit pro quiescentibus, aliquid eorum conferat animabus? Augustin. ad Dulcit. Quæst. II.

[258] Ad quod multi dicunt, Quod si aliquis beneficii in hoc locus possit esse post mortem, quanto magis sibi anima ferret ipsa refrigeria, sua per se illic confitendo peccata, quam in eorum refrigerium ab aliis oblatio procuratur. Ibid.

[259] Οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς τοῦτο λέγοντας, Τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ μεθ' ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλασσομένη τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ οὐ μεθ' ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύητε; Cyrill. Cateches. v. Mystagogic.

[260] Ἀμφιβάλλουσι τινὲς λέγοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ὠφελοῦνται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων συνάξεων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Anastas. in p. 540, edit. Græco-Lat.

[261] Quod bona vivorum mortuis prodesse valeant, et hi hæretici negant, et quidam etiam Catholici dubitare videntur. Petr. Cluniac. Epist. contra Petrobrusianos.

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of our Saviour, "[262] Whether it were lawful to offer oblations for the dead," (which he should have no reason to do, if no question had been made thereof among the Germans); and is plainly delivered by Hugo Etherianus, about 1170 years after Christ, in these words: "[263] I know that many are deformed with vain opinions, thinking that the dead are not to be prayed for, because that neither Christ nor the Apostles that succeeded him have intimated these things in the Scriptures. But they are ignorant that there be many things, and those exceeding necessary, frequented by the holy Church, the tradition whereof is not had in the Scriptures; and yet they pertain nevertheless to the worship of God, and obtain great strength." Whereby it may appear that this practice wanted not opposition even then, when in the Papacy it was advanced unto its greatest height. And now it is high time that I should pass from this article unto the next following.

OF LIMBUS PATRUM, AND CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL.

HERE doth our Challenger undertake to prove against us, not only "that there is a Limbus Patrum," but "that our Saviour" also "descended into hell, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament; because, before his passion, none ever entered into heaven." That there was such a thing as Limbus Patrum, I have heard it said; but what it is now, the doctors vary, yet agree all in this, that Limbus it may well be, but Limbus Patrum sure it is not. "[1] Whether it were distinct from that place in which

[262] Pro obeuntibus quoque consuluisse dignosceris, si liceat oblationes offerre. Gregor. II. vel III. Epist. ad Bonifac. in Tomis Conciliorum.

[263] Scio plerosque vanis opinionibus deformari, putantes non esse orandum pro mortuis; eo quod neque Christus neque apostoli ejus successores hæc scriptis intimaverint. Nesciunt quidem illi plura esse, ac persumme necessaria, quæ sancta ecclesia frequentat, quorum traditio ex scripturis non habetur; nihilo tamen minus ad cultum Dei pertinent, et vigorem maximum obtinent. Hug. Etherian. de Animar. Regress. ab Infer. cap. 13.

[1] An ab eo loco distinctus fuerit, in quo nunc infantes sine baptismo de vita decedentes recipi creduntur, theologi dubitant; nec est quicquam de re dubia temere pronunciandum. Jo. Mald. Commentar. in Luc. xvi. 22.

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the infants that depart out of this life without baptism are now believed to be received, the divines do doubt; neither is there any thing to be rashly pronounced of so doubtful a matter," saith Maldonat the Jesuit. The Dominican Friars, that wrote against the Grecians at Constantinople, in the year 1252, resolve, that "[2]into this Limbus the holy Fathers before the coming of Christ did descend; but now the children that depart without baptism are detained there:" so that in their judgment that which was the Limbus of fathers is now become the Limbus of children. The more common opinion is, that these be two distinct places, and that the one is appointed for unbaptized infants, but the other "[3]now remaineth void," and so "[4]shall remain, that it may bear witness as well of the justice as of the mercy of God." If you demand, how it came to be thus void and emptied of the old inhabitants, the answer is here given, "That our Saviour descended into hell" purposely "to deliver" from hence "the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament." But "[5]hell is one thing, I ween," saith Tertullian, and "Abraham's bosom," where the Fathers of the Old Testament rested, "another;" "[6]neither is it to be believed that the bosom of Abraham, being the habitation of a secret kind of rest, was any part of hell," saith St Augustine. To say, then, that our Saviour descended into hell to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament out of Limbus Patrum, would by this construction prove as strange a tale as if it had been reported, that Cæsar made a voyage into Britain to set his friends at liberty in Greece.

Yea, but "before Christ's passion none ever entered into heaven," saith our Challenger. The proposition that

[2] In quem (Limbum) ante adventum Christi sancti patres descendebant: nunc vero pueri, qui absque baptismo decedunt, sine pœna sensibili detinentur. Tractat. contra Græc. in Tomo auctorum a P. Steuartio edit. p. 565.

[3] Nunc vacuus remanet. Bellar. de Purg. lib. ii. cap. 6.

[4] Manet autem, manebitque, licet vacuus, hic infernus; ut testimonium perhibeat tum justitiæ tum misericordiæ Dei. Hen. Vicus, de Descensu Christi ad Infer. sect. 41. Vide Abulens. Paradox. v. cap. 188.

[5] Aliud enim inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abrahæ sinus. Tertull. advers. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 34.

[6] Non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est. Augustin. Epist. 99. ad Evodium.

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Cardinal Bellarmine taketh upon him to prove, where he handleth this controversy, is, "[7]that the souls of the godly were not in heaven before the ascension of Christ." Our Jesuit, it seemeth, considered here with himself, that Christ had promised unto the penitent thief upon the cross, that not before his ascension only, but also before his resurrection, even [8]*that day* he should be with him in *paradise;* that is to say, in the kingdom of heaven; as the [9]Cardinal himself doth prove, both by the authority of [10]St Paul making *paradise* and the *third heaven* to be the selfsame thing, and by the testimony of the ancient expositors of the place. This, belike, stuck somewhat in our Jesuit's stomach, who being loth to interpret this of his Limbus Patrum, as [11]others of that side had done, and to maintain that paradise, instead of the third heaven, should signify the third or the fourth hell, thought it best to shift the matter handsomely away by taking upon him to defend, that not before Christ's ascension, lest that of the thief should cross him, but before his passion none ever entered into heaven; but if none before our Saviour's passion did ever enter into heaven, whither shall we say that Elias did enter? The Scripture assureth us that he *went up into heaven,* 2 Kings ii. 11; and of this Mattathias put his sons in mind upon his death-bed, that [12]*Elias being zealous and fervent for the law, was taken up into heaven.* Elias and Moses both, before the passion of Christ, are described to be [13]*in glory:* [14]Lazarus is carried by the angels into a place of comfort, and not of imprisonment: in a word, all the Fathers [15]accounted themselves to be strangers and pilgrims in this earth, seeking for a better country, that is, an heavenly, as well as [16]we do; and therefore having ended their pilgrimage, they arrived at the country they

[7] Quod animæ piorum non fuerint in cœlo ante Christi ascensionem. Bellarm. de Christ. lib. iv. cap. 11.

[8] Luke xxiii. 43.

[9] Vera ergo expositio est Theophylacti, Ambrosii, Bedæ, et aliorum, qui per paradisum intelligunt regnum cœlorum. Bellarm. de Sanct. Beatit. lib. i. cap. 3.

[10] 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

[11] Henr. Vic. de Descens. ad Infer. sect. 41. p. 129. Vide Thom. in part. III. Summ. Quæst. LII. Art. 4. ad 3. et Lyranum in Luc. xxiii. 43.

[12] Ἠλίας ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον νόμου ἀνελήφθη ἕως εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. 1 Maccab. ii. 58.

[13] Luke ix. 31.

[14] Luke xvi. 22, 25.

[15] Hebr. xi. 13, 14, 16.

[16] Hebr. xiii. 14.

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sought for, as well as we; they [17]believed to be saved through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well as we; they [18]lived by that faith, as well as we; they [19]died in Christ, as well as we; they received [20]remission of sins, imputation of righteousness, and the blessedness arising therefrom, as well as we; and the mediation of our Saviour being of that present efficacy that it took away sin and brought in righteousness from the very beginning of the world, it had virtue sufficient to free men from the penalty of loss as well as from the penalty of sense, and to bring them unto him in whose [21]*presence is fulness of joy*, as to deliver them from the [22]*place of torment*, where [23]*there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

The first that ever assigned a resting place in hell to the Fathers of the Old Testament, was, as far as we can find, Marcion the heretic, [24]who "determined that both kind of rewards, whether of torment or of refreshing, was appointed in hell for them that did obey the law and the prophets." Wherein he was gainsaid by such as wrote against him, not only for making that the place of their eternal rest, but also for lodging them there at all, and imagining that Abraham's bosom was any part of hell. This appeareth plainly by the disputation, set out among the works of Origen, betwixt Marcus the Marcionite and Adamantius the defender of the Catholic cause; who, touching the [25]parabolical history of the rich man and Lazarus in the sixteenth of St Luke, are brought in reasoning after this manner: "[26]*Marcus.* He saith that Abraham is in

[17] Acts xv. 11.

[18] Habak. ii. 4; Rom. i. 16, 17.

[19] 1 Thess. iv. 16.

[20] Rom. iv. 6—9; Gal. iii. 8, 9.

[21] Psalm xvi. 11. [22] Luke xvi. 28.

[23] Matt. viii. 11, 12.

[24] Sed Marcion aliorsum cogit, scilicet utramque mercedem Creatoris, sive tormenti, sive refrigerii, apud inferos determinet eis positam qui legi et prophetis obedierint; Christi vero et Dei sui cœlestem definiat sinum et portum. Tertul. lib. iv. cont. Marcion. cap. 34. Vide etiam lib. iii. cap. 24.

[25] In D. Bezæ Græco-Latino evangeliorum venerandæ vetustatis exemplari, (quod olim in S. Irenæi Cœnobio Lugdunensi, hodie in publica Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliotheca asservatur) historiæ huic præmittitur ista præfatio: Εἶπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν παραβολήν. *Dixit autem aliam parabolam.* Cui similis etiam in Missali Romano (feria 5 post Dominicam 2 Quadragesimæ) legebatur, *Dixit Jesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc.* Verum in Missali reformato duæ postremæ voces sublatæ nuper sunt.

[26] Μάρκος. Ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. —Ἀδαμάντιος. Ἀνάγνωθι ὅτι ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ λέγει τὸν Ἀβραάμ.—Μαρκ. Ἀπὸ τοῦ συνομιλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν πλούσιον, δείκνυνται

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hell, and not in the kingdom of heaven.—*Adamantius.* Read whether he saith that Abraham was in hell.—*Marc.* In that the rich man and he talked one to the other, it appeareth that they were together.—*Adamant.* That they talked one with another, thou hearest; but the great gulf spoken of, that thou hearest not. For the middle space between heaven and earth he calleth a gulf.—*Marc.* Can a man therefore see from earth unto heaven? it is impossible. Can any man lifting up his eyes behold from the earth, or from hell rather see into heaven? If not, it is plain that a valley only was set betwixt them.—*Adamant.* Bodily eyes use to see those things only that are near, but spiritual eyes reach far. And it is manifest, that they who have here put off their body do see one another with the eyes of their soul. For mark how the Gospel doth say that he lifted up his eyes. Toward heaven one useth to lift them up, and not toward the earth." In like manner doth [27]Tertullian also retort the same place of Scripture against Marcion, and prove that it maketh a plain difference between hell and the bosom of Abraham. For it affirmeth, saith he, "both that a great deep is interposed betwixt those regions, and that it suffereth no passage from either side. Neither could the rich man have lifted up his eyes, and that afar off, unless it had been unto places above him, and very far above him, by reason of the mighty distance betwixt that height and that depth." Thus far Tertullian; who, though he come short of Adamantius, in [28]making

ὁμοῦ ὄντες.—Ἀδαμαντ. Τὸ ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἤκουσας, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον χάσμα μέγα οὐκ ἤκουσας· τὸ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ μέσον χάσμα λέγει.—Μαρκ. Δύναται οὖν τὶς ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὁρᾷν; ἀδύνατον. ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν δύναταί τις ἀπὸ γῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾅδου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁρᾷν; εἰ μὴ δῆλον ὅτι φάραγξ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.—Ἀδαμαντ. Οἱ σωματικοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὰ ἔγγιστα μόνον πεφύκασιν ὁρᾷν· οἱ δὲ ψυχικοὶ εἰς μῆκος ἀποτείνονται. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἐντεῦθεν ἀποθέμενοι, τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ὁρῶσιν ἀλλήλους. Πρόσχες γὰρ πῶς λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πέφυκεν ἐπαίρειν, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν γῆν. Orig. Dial. II. cont. Marcion.

[27] Respondebimus, et hac ipsa scriptura revincente oculos ejus, quæ ab infernis discernit Abrahæ sinum pauperi: aliud enim inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abrahæ sinus. Nam et magnum ait intercedere regiones istas profundum, et transitum utrinque prohibere. Sed nec allevasset dives oculos, et quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, et de altitudinis longinquo per immensam illam distantiam sublimitatis et profunditatis. Tert. advers. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 34.

[28] Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbi-

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Abraham's bosom not to be any part of heaven, although no member at all of hell, yet doth he concur with him in this, that it is a place of bliss, and a common receptacle wherein the souls of all the faithful, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, do still remain in expectation of the general resurrection; which quite marreth the Limbus Patrum of our Romanists, and the journey which they fancy our Saviour to have taken for the fetching of the Fathers from thence.

With these two doth St Augustine also join in his 99th epistle to Euodius; concerning whose judgment herein, I will not say the deceitful, but the exceeding partial dealing of Cardinal Bellarmine can very hardly be excused: "[29]Although Augustine," saith he, "in his 99th epistle do seem to doubt whether the bosom of Abraham, where the souls of the Fathers were in times past, should be in hell or somewhere else, yet in the 20th book of the City of God, the 15th chapter, he affirmeth that it was in hell, as all the rest of the Fathers have always taught." If St Augustine in that epistle were of the mind, as he was indeed, that Abraham's bosom was no part of hell, he was not the first inventor of that doctrine; others taught it before him, and opposed Marcion for teaching otherwise. Σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω, alone he went not, two there were at least, as we have seen, that walked along with him in that same way. But for that which he is said to have doubted of in one place, and to have affirmed in another, if the indifferent reader will be pleased but to view both the places, he shall easily discern that the Cardinal looked not into these things with a single eye. In his 99th epistle, [30]from that speech of Abraham, *Between you and us there is a great gulf fixed*, he maketh this inference: "In these words it appeareth sufficiently, as I think, that the bosom of so great happiness

turam animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. Id. ibid.

[29] Augustinus, etsi in Epist. XCIX. ambigere videtur, an sinus Abraham, ubi erant animæ Patrum olim, in inferno esset, an alibi; tamen lib. XX. de Civit. Dei, cap. 15, affirmat in inferno fuisse; ut ceteri omnes patres semper docuerunt. Bellarmin. de Christ. lib. iv. cap. 11, in fine.

[30] Quanquam in his ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, *Inter vos et nos chaos magnum firmatum est;* satis, ut opinor, appareat non esse quandam partem et quasi membrum inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis sinum. August. Epist. XCIX.

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is not any part and member of hell." These seem unto the Cardinal to be the words of a doubtful man; with what words then, when he is better resolved, doth he affirm the matter? With these forsooth: "[31]If it do seem no absurdity to believe, that the old saints which held the faith of Christ to come were in places most remote from the torments of the wicked, but yet in hell, until the blood of Christ, and his descent into those places, did deliver them, truly from henceforth the good and faithful, who are redeemed with that price already shed, know not hell at all." If *satis ut opinor apparet*, "it appeareth sufficiently, as I think," must import doubting, and *si non absurde credi videtur*, "if it do seem no absurdity to believe," affirming; I know not, I must confess, what to make of men's speeches.

The truth is, St Augustine, in handling this question, discovereth himself to be neither of the Jesuit's temper nor belief. He esteemed not this to be such an article of faith, that they who agreed not therein must needs be held to be of different religions: as he doth modestly propound the reasons which induced him to think that Abraham's bosom was no member of hell, so doth he not lightly reject the opinion of those that thought otherwise, but leaveth it still as a disputable point. "[32]Whether that bosom of Abraham where the wicked rich man, when he was in the torments of hell, did behold the poor man resting, were either to be accounted by the name of paradise, or esteemed to appertain unto hell, I cannot readily affirm," saith he in one place; and in another: "[33]Whether Abraham were then at any certain place in hell, we cannot certainly define." And in his 12th book *de Genesi ad Literam*: "[34]I have

[31] Si enim non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam sanctos qui venturi Christi tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud inferos fuisse, donec eos inde sanguis Christi et ad ea loca descensus erueret; profecto deinceps boni fideles, effuso illo pretio jam redempti, prorsus inferos nesciunt, donec etiam receptis corporibus bona recipiant quæ merentur. Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. xx. cap. 15.

[32] Utrum sinus ille Abrahæ ubi dives impius, cum in tormentis esset inferni, requiescentem pauperem vidit, vel paradisi censendus vocabulo, vel ad inferos pertinere existimandus sit, non facile dixerim. Id. Epist. LVII.

[33] Etenim apud inferos utrum in locis quibusdam fuisset jam Abraham, non satis possumus definire. Id. in Psalm. LXXXV.

[34] Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro, nec mihi occurrit inferos alicubi in bono posuisse scripturam duntaxat canonicam. Non autem in bono accipiendum sinum Abrahæ, et illam re-

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not hitherto found, and I do yet enquire, neither do I remember that the canonical Scripture doth any where put hell in the good part. Now that the bosom of Abraham, and that rest unto which the godly poor man was carried by the angels, should not be taken in the good part, I know not whether any good man can endure to hear; and therefore how we may believe that it is in hell, I do not see." Where it may further also be observed, that St Augustine doth here assign no other place to this godly poor man, than he doth unto the souls of all the faithful that have departed since the coming of our Saviour Christ; the question with him being alike of them both, whether the place of their rest be designed by the name of hell or paradise. Therefore he saith, "I [35]confess I have not yet found that it is called hell where the souls of just men do rest." And again: "[36]How much more after this life may that bosom of Abraham be called paradise, where now there is no temptation, where there is so great rest after all the griefs of this life? For neither is there wanting there a proper kind of light, and of its own kind, and doubtless great, which that rich man out of the torments and darkness of hell, even from so remote a place, where a great gulf was placed in the midst, did so behold, that he might there take notice of the poor man whom sometime he had despised." And elsewhere expounding that place in the 16th of St Luke, "[37]The bosom of Abraham," saith he, "is the rest of the blessed poor, whose is the kingdom of heaven, in which after this life they are received."

Bede in his commentaries upon the same place, and Strabus in the ordinary gloss, do directly follow St Augustine in this exposition; and the Greek interpreter of St Luke,

quiem, quo ab angelis pius pauper ablatus est, nescio utrum quisquam possit audire; et ideo quo modo eum apud inferos credamus esse, non video. Id. de Gen. ad Lit. lib. xii. cap. 33.

[35] Quanquam et illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, inferos appellatos, ubi justorum animæ requiescunt. Id. ibid.

[36] Quanto magis ergo post hanc vitam etiam sinus ille Abrahæ paradisus dici potest, ubi jam nulla tentatio, ubi tanta requies post omnes dolores vitæ hujus? Neque enim et lux ibi non est propria quædam et sui generis et profecto magna; quam dives ille de tormentis et tenebris inferorum, tam utique de longinquo, cum magnum chaos esset in medio, sic tamen vidit, ut ibi illum quondam contemptum pauperem agnosceret. Id. ibid. cap. 34.

[37] Sinus Abrahæ requies est beatorum pauperum, quorum est regnum cœlorum, in quo post hanc vitam recipiuntur. Id. Quæst. Evangel. lib. ii. cap. 38.

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who wrongly beareth the name of Titus Bostrensis and Chrysostom, for proof thereof produceth the testimony of [38]Dionysius Areopagita, "affirming, that by the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, those blessed resting-places are designed which do receive the just unto their never-fading and most blessed perfection." The words that he hath relation unto be these, in the seventh chapter of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: "[39]The bosoms of the blessed patriarchs and of all the rest of the saints are, as I think, the most divine and blessed resting-places, which do receive all such as are like unto God into that never-fading and most blessed perfection that is therein." Hitherto appertain those passages in St Ambrose: "[40]Come into the bosom of Jacob; that as poor Lazarus did in the bosom of Abraham, so thou also mayest rest in the tranquillity of the Patriarch Jacob. For the bosom of the Patriarchs is a certain retiring-place of everlasting rest." "[41]We shall go where holy Abraham openeth his bosom to receive the poor, as he did receive Lazarus; in which bosom they do rest who in this world have endured grievous and sharp things." "[42]Into paradise is an ascent, into hell a descent. Let them descend," saith he, "quick into hell. And therefore poor Lazarus was by the angels lifted up into Abraham's bosom." "[43]Behold that poor man abounding with all good things, whom the blessed rest of the holy Patriarch did compass about." "[44]Lazarus, lying in Abraham's bosom, enjoyed everlasting life."

[38] Κόλπους δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ὁ Διονούσιος Ἀρεοπαγίτης τὰς μακαρίας λήξεις φησὶ τὰς ὑποδεχομένας τοὺς δικαίους εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀγήρω καὶ μακαριωτάτην τελείωσιν. Tit. Bostr. in fin. cap. 16 Lucæ.

[39] Κόλποι δέ εἰσιν, ὡς οἶμαι, τῶν μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων, αἱ θειόταται καὶ μακάρισται λήξεις, αἱ τοὺς θεοειδεῖς ὑποδεχόμεναι πάντας εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀγήρω καὶ μακαριωτάτην τελείωσιν. Dionys. Eccles. Hier. cap. 7.

[40] Veni in gremium Jacob; ut sicut Lazarus pauper in Abrahæ sinu, ita etiam tu in Jacob patriarchæ tranquillitate requiescas. Sinus enim patriarcharum recessus quidam est quietis æternæ. Ambros. Orat. de Obitu Valentiniani Imp.

[41] Ibimus ubi sinum suum Abraham sanctus expandit, ut suscipiat pauperes, sicut suscepit et Lazarum; in quo sinu requiescunt qui in hoc seculo gravia atque aspera pertulerunt. Id. de Bono Mortis, cap. 12.

[42] In paradisum ascenditur, in infernum descenditur. Descendant, inquit, in infernum viventes. Ideoque Lazarus pauper per angelos in Abrahæ sinum est elevatus. Id. in Psalm. XLVIII.

[43] Vide illum pauperem bonis omnibus abundantem, quem sancti patriarchæ requies beata circumdabat. Id. ibid.

[44] Lazarus, in Abrahæ sinu recumbens, vitam carpebat æternam. Id. in Psalm. CXVIII. Serm. III.

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St Chrysostom, or whosoever else was the author of that homily touching the rich man and Lazarus, upon those words of the text, that the rich man *lifting up his eyes beheld Lazarus in Abraham's bosom*, moveth this question: "[45]Why Lazarus did not see the rich man," as well as the rich man is said to see Lazarus? and giveth this answer thereunto, "because [46]he that is in the light doth not see him that standeth in the dark; but he that is in the dark beholdeth him that is in the light;" taking it for granted that Abraham's bosom was a place of light, and not of darkness. He that wrote the homily upon the sentence of that Psalm, *What man is he that would have life, and desireth to see good days?* who is commonly also, though not rightly, accounted to be Chrysostom, goeth further, and saith, that the rich man "[47]lifted up his eyes unto heaven out of the place of torments, and cried unto Father Abraham:" yea, he expressly affirmeth there that "[48]the blessed poor man did go unto heaven, and the rich man covered with purple did remain in hell." Which agreeth well with that undoubted saying of St Chrysostom himself: "[49]Lazarus, who was worthy of heaven and the kingdom that is there, being full of sores, was exposed to the tongues of dogs, and strove with perpetual hunger." And with that which he writeth elsewhere; that "[50]after famine and sores and lying in the porch, he enjoyed that refreshing which is impossible to be expressed by speech," even "[51]unspeakable good things." Whereunto may be added that collection of his out of the words of our Saviour, *Many shall come*

[45] Διὰ τί γὰρ μὴ Λάζαρος εἶδε τὸν πλούσιον; ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὑπάρχων τὸν ἐν τῷ σκότει ἑστῶτα οὐ βλέπει, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ σκότει τὸν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὄντα ὁρᾷ. Chrysost. Homil. in Divit. et Lazar. Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 730.

[46] E tenebris autem quæ sunt in luce tuemur: Quod contra facere in tenebris e luce nequimus. Lucret. de Rer. Nat. lib. iv.

[47] Erexit oculos in cœlum de loco tormentorum, et clamavit ad patrem Abraham. Homil. in illud, Psalm. xxxiii. *Quis est homo*. Opera Chrysost. Tom. I.

[48] Beatus pauper migravit ad cœlum, et dives purpura tectus mansit in inferno. Ibid.

[49] Καὶ Λάζαρος μὲν, ὁ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄξιος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ἡλκωμένος ταῖς τῶν κυνῶν προέκειτο γλώτταις, λιμῷ μαχόμενος διηνεκεῖ. Chrysost. lib. i. de Provident. ad Stagir. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 96.

[50] Μετὰ τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὰ ἕλκη καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι κατάκλισιν, τῆς ἀποῤῥήτου ἐκείνης ἀνέσεως καὶ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ἑρμηνευθῆναι δυναμένης μετεῖχε. Id. in illud, *Intrate per angust. Port.* Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 179.

[51] Τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντα. Id. p. 180.

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from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, Matth. viii. 11, that this kingdom is [52]designed here by a new term of the "bosom of Abraham," and the "[53]consummation of all good" called by the name of the "bosoms of the Patriarchs."

St Basil, in his Sermon of Fasting, placeth Lazarus in paradise: "[54]Dost not thou see Lazarus," saith he, "how he entered by fasting into paradise?" And the ancient compiler of the Latin sermon translated from thence, frameth this exhortation accordingly: "[55]Let us therefore use this way, whereby we may return unto paradise. Thither is Lazarus gone before us." Asterius, Bishop of Amasea, placeth him in "[56]a sweet and joyous state;" Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, in "[57]unexpected delights;" Salvianus, "in bliss" and "everlasting wealth." "[58]The poor man," saith he, "bought bliss with beggary; the rich man, punishment with wealth. The poor man, when he had just nothing, bought everlasting riches with penury." Gregory Nazianzen saith, he "[59]was enriched with refreshment in the bosoms of Abraham," that are so much to be "[60]desired." Prudentius, in his poetical vein, describeth him to be there "hedged about with flowers," as being in the garden of "paradise," even in the same paradise wherein "pure souls" do now rest, since the ascension of Christ; for thus he writeth:

[52] Τῷ τοὺς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰπεῖν. Id. in Matth. Homil. XXVI. edit. Græc. XXVII. Latin.

[53] Ὁ γὰρ τοὺς πατριάρχας θαυμάζων, καὶ λῆξιν ἀγαθῶν τοὺς ἐκείνων κόλπους καλῶν, &c. Ibid.

[54] Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν Λάζαρον, πῶς διὰ νηστείας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον; Basil. Homil. I. de Jejunio.

[55] Utamur ergo et nos hac via, qua rediri ad paradisum potest, &c. Illuc præcessit Lazarus. Serm. de Jejunio, Zenoni Veronensi perperam attributus.

[56] Τῷ δ' ἐκεῖ μοχθήσαντι καὶ πατηθέντι καὶ πικρίας ἀνασχομένῳ τῆς ἐνσάρκου ζωῆς, γλυκεῖά τις καὶ εὐφραίνουσα ἡ ἐνθάδε ἀπενεμήθη κατάστασις. Asterius, in Homil. de Divit. et Lazaro.

[57] Ὁ μὲν Λάζαρος ἦν ἐν ἀδοκήτοις τρυφαῖς· ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἀσυνήθως, ἐν φλογὶ καὶ μάστιξι. Cyril. Alexandr. Homil. Paschal. II.

[58] Pauper beatitudinem emit mendicitate; dives supplicium facultate. Pauper cum penitus nil haberet, emit æternas divitias egestate. Salv. Missal. lib. iii. ad Eccles. Cathol. advers. Avaritiam. Prior etiam sententia habetur apud auctorem Serm. CCXXVII. de Tempore, Tom. X. Oper. Augustini.

[59] Λάζαρος σώζεται, καὶ πλουτεῖ τὴν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ ἀνάπαυσιν. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. XVI. de Pauper. Amore, p. 262, edit. Græco-Lat.

[60] Τῶν ὀρεκτῶν Ἀβραὰμ κόλπων. Id. Orat. XLIV. in Pentecost. p. 714.

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[61] Sed dum resolubile corpus
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas;
Quanam regione jubebis
Animam requiescere puram?
Gremio senis abdita sancti
Recubabit, ubi est Eleazer;
Quem floribus undique septum
Dives procul adspicit ardens.
Sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor,
Quibus atra e morte triumphans,
Tua per vestigia mandas
Socium crucis ire latronem.

Of Abraham, the Jew Philo writeth, that "[62] having left this mortality, he was adjoined to God's people, enjoying immortality, and made equal to the angels;" even as our Saviour speaketh of *the children of the resurrection*, Luke xx. 36. So where Job saith, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither*, the Greek schools expound it thus: "Thither, [63] namely, unto God, unto that blessed end and rest;" "[64] unto the place that is free from sorrow." Which the author of the Commentaries upon Job, ascribed to Origen, expresseth thus at large: "[65] Thither will I go, saith he, where are the tabernacles of the righteous, where the glories of the saints are, where is the rest of the faithful, where is the consolation of the godly, where is the inheritance of the merciful, where is the bliss of the undefiled, where is the joy and consolation of such as love the truth. Thither will I go, where is light and life, where is glory and jocundness, where is joy and exultation, whence grief and heaviness

[61] Prudent. Cathemerinῶn, Hymn. x.

[62] Ἀβραὰμ ἐκλιπὼν τὰ θνητὰ, προστίθεται τῷ Θεοῦ λαῷ, καρπούμενος ἀφθαρσίαν, ἴσος ἀγγέλοις γεγονώς. Philo in lib. de Sacrific. Abelis et Cain, non procul ab initio.

[63] Nimirum ad Deum; ad illum, inquam, beatum finem et requietem. Catena Græc. in Job. cap. i. a P. Comitolo conversa.

[64] Εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν πένθους ἐλεύθερον. Caten. MS. D. Augustini Lindselli.

[65] Illo, inquit, ibo, ubi sunt tabernacula justorum, ubi sunt sanctorum gloriæ, ubi est fidelium requies, ubi est piorum consolatio, ubi est misericordium hæreditas, ubi est immaculatorum beatitudo, ubi est veracium lætitia et consolatio. Illuc ibo, ubi est lux et vita, ubi est gloria et jucunditas, ubi est lætitia et exultatio, vel unde aufugit dolor, tristitia et gemitus, ubi obliviscuntur priores tribulationes has quæ sunt in corpore super terram. Illuc ibo, ubi est tribulationum depositio, ubi est remuneratio laborum, ubi Abrahæ sinus, ubi Isaac proprietas, ubi Israel familiaritas, ubi sanctorum animæ, ubi angelorum chori, ubi archangelorum voces, ubi Spiritus Sancti illuminatio, ubi Christi regnum, ubi æterni Dei Patris infecta gloria atque beatus conspectus. Orig. in Job. lib. i.

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and groaning fly away, where they forget the former tribulations that they sustained in their body upon the earth. Thither will I go, where there is a laying aside of tribulations, where there is a recompence of labours, where is the bosom of Abraham, where the propriety of Isaac, where the familiarity of Israel, where be the souls of the saints, where the quire of angels, where the voices of archangels, where the illumination of the Holy Ghost, where the kingdom of Christ, where the endless glory and blessed sight of the eternal God the Father." What difference, I pray you now, is there betwixt this Limbus Patrum and heaven itself?

Of Abraham's bosom Gregory Nyssen writeth after this manner: "[66]As by a certain abuse of speech we call a bay of the sea an arm or bosom, so it seemeth to me that the word doth signify the exhibition of those unmeasurable good things by the name of a bosom; into which good bosom or bay all men that sail by a virtuous course through this present life, when they loose from hence, put in their souls, as it were into a haven free from danger of waves and tempests." And in another place: "[67]If one hearing of a bosom, as it were a certain large bay of the sea, should conceive the fulness of good things to be meant thereby, where the Patriarch is named, and that Lazarus is therein, he should not think amiss." True it is indeed that divers of the doctors, who make Abraham's bosom to be a place of glory, do yet distinguish it from heaven; but it is to be considered withal, that they hold the same opinion indifferently of the place whereunto the souls of all godly men are received, as well under the state of the New as of the Old Testament. For they did not hold, as our Romanists do now, that Christ by his descension emptied Limbus, and removed the bosom of Abraham from hell into heaven; their Limbus is now as full of Fathers as ever it was, and is

[66] Ὥσπερ οὖν τὴν ποιὰν τοῦ πελάγους περιγραφὴν ἐκ καταχρήσεως τινὸς ὀνομάζομεν κόλπον, οὕτω δοκεῖ τῶν ἀμετρήτων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἔνδειξιν ὁ λόγος τῷ του κόλπου διασημαίνειν ὀνόματι, ᾧ πάντες οἱ δι' ἀρετῆς τὸν παρόντα διαπλέοντες βίον, ὅταν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαίρωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκαταιγίστῳ λιμένι τῷ ἀγαθῷ κόλπῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνορμίζονται. Greg. Nyssen. Dialog. de Anima et Resurrect. Tom. II. Oper. p. 651.

[67] Κόλπον γὰρ ἀκούσας, οἷον τινὰ εὐρύχωρον πελάγους περιοχὴν, τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρωμα, ὡς ἐπωνομάσθη ὁ Πατριάρχης, νοήσας τὶς, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Λάζαρος γίνεται. Id. Tract. II. de Psalmor. Inscript. cap. 6; Tom. I. Oper. p. 304.

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the common receptacle wherein they suppose all good souls to remain until the general resurrection, before which time they admit neither the Fathers nor us unto the possession of the kingdom of heaven. "[68]For Abraham," saith Gregory Nyssen, "and the other Patriarchs, although they had a desire to see those good things, and never left seeking that heavenly country, as the Apostle saith; yet are they notwithstanding that even yet in expectancy of this favour, *God having provided some better thing for us*, according to the saying of St Paul, *that they without us should not be made perfect*." So Tertullian: "[69]It appeareth to every wise man that hath ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some local determination, which is called Abraham's bosom, to receive the souls of his sons, even of the Gentiles; he being the father of many nations, that were to be accounted of Abraham's family, and of the same faith wherewith Abraham believed God, under no yoke of the law, nor in the sign of circumcision. That region therefore do I call the bosom of Abraham, although not heavenly, yet higher than hell, which shall give rest in the mean season to the souls of the righteous, until the consummation of things do finish the resurrection of all with the fulness of reward." And we have heard St Hilary say before, that "[70]all the faithful, when they are gone out of the body, shall be reserved by the Lord's custody for that entry into the heavenly kingdom, being in the meantime placed in the bosom of Abraham, whither the wicked are hindered from coming by

[68] Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατριάρχαι, τοῦ μὲν ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκαν ἐπιζητοῦντες τὴν ἐπουράνιον πατρίδα, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν τῷ ἐλπίζειν ἔτι τὴν χάριν εἰσὶ, τοῦ Θεοῦ κρεῖττόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν προβλεψαμένου, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνὴν, ἵνα μὴ, φησὶ, χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσι. Id. de Hominis Opificio, cap. 22.

[69] Unde apparet sapienti cuique qui aliquando Elysios audierit, esse aliquam localem determinationem, quæ sinus dicta sit Abrahæ, ad recipiendas animas filiorum ejus etiam ex nationibus, patris scilicet multarum nationum in Abrahæ censum deputandarum, et eadem fide qua et Abraham Deo credidit, nullo sub jugo legis, nec in signo circumcisionis. Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. Tertullian. lib. iv. contra Marcion. cap. 34.

[70] Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœlestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur; in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quo adire impios interjectum chaos inhibet, quousque introeundi rursum in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. Hil. in Psal. cxx.

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the gulf interposed betwixt them, until the time of entering into the kingdom of heaven do come." And again: "[71]The rich and the poor man in the Gospel do serve us for witnesses; one of whom the angels did place in the seats of the blessed and in Abraham's bosom, the other the region of punishment did presently receive." "[72]For the day of judgment is the everlasting retribution either of bliss or pain; but the time of death hath every one under his laws, while either Abraham or punishment reserveth every one unto judgment."

The difference betwixt the doctors in their judgment concerning the bosom of Abraham, and the resting of the ancient Fathers therein, we find noted in part in those expositions upon the Gospel which go under the name of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons: "[73]In that the rich man," say they, "did in hell behold Abraham, this by some is thought to be the reason, because all the saints before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ are said to have descended into hell, although into a place of refreshment. Others think that the place wherein Abraham was did lie apart from those places of hell, situated in places above, for which the Lord should say of that rich man, that *lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off*." The former of these opinions is delivered by some of the doctors doubtfully, by others more resolutely. Primasius setteth it down with St Augustine's qualification: "[74]It seemeth that without absurdity it may be believed." The author of the imperfect work upon Matthew saith, that "[75]peradventure the just did ascend into

[71] Testes nobis evangelicus dives et pauper; quorum unum angeli in sedibus beatorum et in Abrahæ sinu locaverunt, alium statim pœnæ regio suscepit. Id. in Psal. ii.

[72] Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel pœnæ. Tempus vero mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraham reservat aut pœna. Id. ibid.

[73] In hoc quod apud infernum Abrahamum vidit, hæc subesse a quibusdam ratio putatur, quod omnes sancti ante adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi etiam ad inferna, licet refrigerii locum, descendisse dicuntur. Alii opinantur locum illum in quo Abraham erat, ab illis inferni locis seorsim in superioribus fuisse constitutum, propter quod dicat Dominus de illo Divite, quod elevans oculos suos, cum esset in tormentis, vidit Abraham de longe. Theophil. Antioch. Allegor. in Johan. lib. iv. Eucher. Ludg. de Quæstionib. Novi Testam. in Luca.

[74] Si non absurde credi videtur. Primasius, lib. v. in Apocalyps. cap. xx. secutus Augustinum, lib. xx. de Civit. Dei, cap. 15.

[75] Vis autem manifeste scire, quoniam ante Christum cœli si aperiebantur, iterum

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heaven" before the coming of Christ; yet that he doth "think that no soul before Christ did ascend into heaven since Adam sinned and the heavens were shut against him, but all were detained in hell." And, "[76]as I do think," saith the Greek expositor of Zacharias's Hymn likewise, "even our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the whole quire of the holy prophets and just men, did enjoy the coming of Christ." Of which coming to visit the Fathers in hell, [77]St Jerome, [78]Ruffinus, [79]Venantius Fortunatus, [80]Gregory, [81]Julianus Toletanus, and [82]Eusebius Emissenus, as he is commonly called, interpret that question propounded by the Baptist unto our Saviour, [83]*Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?* which exposition is by [84]St Chrysostom justly rejected as utterly impertinent and ridiculous. Anastasius Sinaita affirmeth very boldly, that "[85]all the souls, as well of the just as the unjust, were under the hand of the devil until Christ, descending into hell, said unto those that were in bonds, Come forth; and to those that were in durance, Be at liberty." "For [86]he did not only," saith he in another place, "dissolve the corruption of the bodies in the grave, but also delivered the captivity of the souls out of hell, wherein they were by tyranny detained; and peradventure

claudebantur. Nam justi quidem forsitan ascendebant in cœlum; peccatores autem nequaquam. Ideo autem dixi *forsitan*, ne quibusdam placeat etiam ante Christi adventum justorum animas ascendere potuisse in cœlum. Alioqui nullam animam ante Christum arbitror ascendisse in cœlum, ex quo peccavit Adam, et clausi sunt ei cœli; sed omnes in inferno detentas. Opus imperf. in Matt. Homil. IV. inter Opera Chrysostomi.

[76] Ut enim arbitror, etiam patres nostri Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et totus chorus sanctorum vatum et justorum, Christi adventu perfruiti sunt. Catena Græca in Cantica utriusque Testamenti, ab Ant. Carafa convers. Tom. I. Operum Theodoreti, p. 729, edit. Colon. 1573.

[77] Hieron. Epist. CLI. ad Algas. Quæst. I. et lib. ii. Commentar. in Matt. cap. xi.

[78] Ruffin. in Exposit. Symboli.

[79] Ven. Fortunat. in Exposit. Symboli.

[80] Gregor. lib. i. in Ezekiel. Homil. I. et in Evang. Homil. VI.

[81] Julian. Toletan. lib. ii. contra Judæos.

[82] Euseb. Homil. in Evangel. Dominic. III. Adventus.

[83] Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19, 20.

[84] Chrysost. in Matt. xi. Hom. XXXVI. edit. Græc. vel XXXVII. Latin.

[85] Ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ διαβόλου ὑπῆρχον πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἕως οὗ κατελθὼν ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπε τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς, Ἐξέλθετε, καὶ τοῖς κατεχομένοις, Ἐλευθερώθητε. Anastas. Sinait. (*al.* Nicæn.) Quæst. CXII.

[86] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φθορὰν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ διέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ᾅδου ἀπέλυσεν, ἔνθα κατείχοντο τυραννούμεναι, ἢ τάχα οὐ τυραννούμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀντικατεχόμεναι πολλῶν ὀφλημάτων· ἅπερ καταθεὶς, ὁ διὰ τὸ λυτρώσασθαι καταβὰς ἀνήγαγε πολλὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. Anastas. Sinait. de Rect. Dogmatib. Orat. V.

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not by tyranny neither, but for many debts, which being paid, he that descended for their delivery brought back with him a great captivity." And thus was "[87]hell spoiled, and Adam delivered from his griefs." Which is agreeable to that which we read in the works of Athanasius, that "[88]the soul of Adam was detained in the condemnation of death, and cried continually unto the Lord; such as had pleased God, and were justified in the law of nature, being detained together with Adam, and lamenting and crying out with him:" and that the devil, "[89]beholding himself spoiled, did bemoan himself, and beholding those that sometime were weeping under him, now singing in the Lord, did rend himself."

Others are more favourable to the souls of the Fathers, though they place them in hell; for they hold them to have been there in a state of bliss, and not of misery. Thus the author of the Latin homily concerning the rich man and Lazarus, which is commonly fathered upon Chrysostom, notwithstanding he affirmeth that [90]Abraham was in hell, and that before the coming of Christ none ever entered into paradise; yet doth he acknowledge in the meantime that Lazarus did remain there in a kind of paradise. For "[91]the bosom of Abraham," saith he, "was the poor man's paradise." And again: "[92]Some man may say unto me, Is there a paradise in hell? I say this, that the bosom of Abraham is the truth of paradise; yea, and I confess it to be a most holy paradise." So Tertullian, in the fourth book of his verses against

[87] Ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ᾅδης ἐσκυλεύθη, ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Ἀδὰμ τῶν ὀδυνῶν ἀπηλλάγη. Id. in Hexamer. lib. vii.

[88] Τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ψυχῆς ἐν καταδίκῃ θανάτου κατεχομένης, καὶ βοώσης πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην διαπαντὸς, (sive διηνεκῶς,) καὶ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ δικαιωθέντων ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ νόμῳ, συγκατεχομένων τῷ Ἀδὰμ, συμπενθούντων τε καὶ συμβοώντων. Athan. de Salutar. Advent. Christi, advers. Apollinar.

[89] Καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν σκυλευόμενον, κατέκοπτεν ἑαυτόν· ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ποτὲ κλαίοντας ὑπ' αὐτὸν νῦν ψάλλοντας ἐν Κυρίῳ, διέῤῥησσεν ἑαυτόν. Auctor Serm. in Passion. et Crucem Domini, inter Opera Athanas.

[90] Simulque considerandum, quod Abraham apud inferos erat; necdum enim Christus resurrexerat, qui illum in paradisum duceret. Antequam Christus moriretur, nemo in paradisum conscenderat, nisi latro. Rhomphæa illa flammea et vertigo illa claudebat paradisum. Non poterat aliquis intrare in paradisum, quem Christus clauserat: latro primus cum Christo intravit. Homil. in Luc. xvi. de Divite, Tom. II. Oper. Chrysostom. Latin.

[91] Paradisus pauperis sinus erat Abrahæ. Ibid.

[92] Dicat mihi aliquis, In inferno est paradisus? Ego hoc dico, quia sinus Abrahæ paradisi veritas est; sed et sanctissimum paradisum fateor. Ibid.

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Marcion, placeth Abraham's bosom under the earth, but in an open and lightsome seat, far removed from the fire and from the darkness of hell:

> " Sub corpore terræ
> In parte ignota quidam locus exstat apertus,
> Luce [93]sua fretus; Abrahæ sinus iste vocatur,
> Altior a tenebris, longe semotus ab igne,
> Sub terra tamen."

Yea, he maketh it to be one house with that which is eternal in the heaven, distinguished only from it as the outer and the inner Temple, or the *Sanctum* and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, were in the time of the law, by the veil that hung between; which veil being rent at the Passion of Christ, he saith these two were made one everlasting house:

> "Tempore divisa et spatio, et ratione ligata
> Una domus, quamvis velo partita videtur.
> Atque adeo passo Domino velamine rupto,
> Cœlestes patuere plagæ cælataque sancta;
> Atque duplex quondam, facta est domus una perennis."

Yet elsewhere he maketh up the partition again, maintaining very stiffly, that the gates of "[94]heaven" remain still shut against all men until the end of the world come, and the day of the last judgment. Only "[95]paradise" he leaveth open for martyrs, as that other author of the Latin homily [96]seemeth also to do; but the souls of the rest of the faithful he [97]seques-

[93] Confer locum ex Augustino, de Genesi ad Liter. lib. xii. cap. 34, supra citatum, p. 244.

[94] Nulli patet cœlum terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausa. Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna cœlorum. Tertull. de Anima, cap. 55.

[95] Quomodo perpetua fortissima martyr sub die passionis in revelatione paradisi solos illic commartyres suos vidit; nisi quia nullis rhomphæa paradisi janitrix cedit, nisi qui in Christo decesserint? Tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est. Ibid. Vide etiam lib. de Resurrect. Carnis, cap. 43.

[96] Si persecutio venerit, imitemur latronem; si pax fuerit, imitemur Lazarum. Si martyrium fecerimus, statim intrabimus paradisum; si paupertatis pœnam sustinuerimus, statim in sinum Abrahæ. Habet et sanguis, habet et pax loca sua, habet et paupertas martyrium suum, et egestas bene tolerata facit martyrium; sed egestas propter Christum, non propter necessitatem. Homil. de Divite, inter Opera Chrysost.

[97] Habes etiam de paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini. Tertul. de Anima, cap. 55. Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos? inquis. Velis ac nolis, et supplicia jam illic et refrigeria habes, pauperem et divitem, &c. Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foveri in inferis, interim sub exspectatione utriusque judicii in quadam usurpatione et candida ejus? Ibid. cap. ult.

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tereth into hell, there to remain [98]in Abraham's bosom until the time of the general resurrection. And to this part of hell doth he imagine Christ to have descended, not with purpose to fetch the souls of the Fathers from thence, (which is the only errand that our Romanists conceive he had thither,) but *ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret*, "that he might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of his presence."

St Jerome saith, that "[99]our Lord Jesus Christ descended into the furnace of hell, wherein the souls both of sinners and of just men were held shut, that without any burning or hurt unto himself he might free from the bonds of death those that were held shut up" in that place; and that he "[100]called upon the name of the Lord out of the lowermost lake, when by the power of his divinity he descended into hell; and having destroyed the bars of Tartarus," or the dungeon of hell, "bringing from thence such of his as he found there, ascended Conqueror up again." He saith further, that "[101]hell is the place of punishments and tortures, in which the rich man that was clothed in purple is seen; unto which also the Lord did descend, that he might let forth those that were bound out of prison." Lastly: "[102]The Son of God," saith he, following Origen, as it

[98] Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum scripturas et sepultus secundum easdem, hic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus; nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cœlorum, quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret; habes et regionem inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas; servi super Dominum, et discipuli super magistrum, aspernati si forte in Abrahæ sinu exspectandæ resurrectionis solatium carpere. Ibid. cap. 55.

[99] Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad fornacem descendit inferni, in quo clausæ et peccatorum et justorum animæ tenebantur, ut absque exustione et noxa sui eos, qui tenebantur inclusi, mortis vinculis liberaret. Hieronym. lib. i. in Daniel. cap. iii.

[100] Invocavit ergo Redemptor noster nomen Domini de lacu novissimo, cum in virtute divinitatis descendit ad inferos, et destructis claustris Tartari, suos quos ibi reperit eruens, victor ad superos ascendit. Id. lib. ii. in Lamentat. Jerem. cap. iii.

[101] Infernus locus suppliciorum atque cruciatuum est, in quo videtur dives purpuratus; ad quem descendit et Dominus, ut vinctos de carcere dimitteret. Id. lib. vi. in Esai. cap. xiv.

[102] Descendit ergo in inferiora terræ, et ascendit super omnes cœlos Filius Dei, ut non tantum legem prophetasque compleret, sed et alias quasdam occultas dispensationes, quas solus ipse novit cum Patre. Neque enim scire possumus quomodo et angelis, et his qui in inferno erant, sanguis Christi profuerit; et tamen quin profuerit nescire non possumus. Id. lib. ii. in Ephes. cap. iv.

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seemeth, too unadvisedly here, "descended into the lowermost parts of the earth, and ascended above all heavens, that he might not only fulfil the law and the prophets, but certain other hidden dispensations also, which he alone doth know with the Father. For we cannot understand how the blood of Christ did profit both the angels and those that were in hell; and yet that it did profit them we cannot be ignorant." Thus far St Jerome touching Christ's descent into the lowermost hell, which Thomas and the other schoolmen will not admit that he ever came unto.

Yet this must they of force grant, if they will stand to the authority of the Fathers: "[103] It remained," saith Fulgentius, "for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed by God without sin should thither descend, whither man separated from God should have fallen by the desert of sin; that is, unto hell, where the soul of the sinner was wont to be tormented, and to the grave, where the flesh of the sinner was accustomed to be corrupted; yet so, that neither the flesh of Christ should be corrupted in the grave, nor his soul be tormented with the pains of hell: because the soul free from sin was not to be subjected to such punishment; neither ought corruption to taint the flesh without sin." [104] And this he saith was done for this end, "that by the flesh of the just dying temporally, everlasting life might be given to our flesh; and by the soul of the just descending into hell, the pains of hell might be loosed."

It is the saying of St Ambrose, that "[105] Christ being void of sin when he descended into the lowermost parts of Tartarus, breaking the bars and gates of hell, called back unto life out of the jaws of the devil the souls that were

[103] Restabat tamen ad plenum nostræ redemptionis effectum, ut illuc usque homo sine peccato a Deo susceptus descenderet, quousque homo separatus a Deo peccati merito cecidisset; id est, ad infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, et ad sepulchrum, ubi consueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi; sic tamen, ut nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumperetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur: quoniam anima immunis a peccato non erat subdenda supplicio; et carnem sine peccato non debuit vitiare corruptio. Fulgent. ad Trasimund. lib. iii. cap. 30.

[104] Hoc autem ideo factum est, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem justi donaretur vita æterna carni, et per descendentem ad infernum animam justi dolores solverentur inferni. Ibid.

[105] Expers peccati Christus, cum ad Tartari ima descendens, seras inferni januasque confringens, vinctas peccato animas, mortis dominatione destructa, e diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam. Ambros. de Mysterio Paschæ, cap. 4.

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bound with sin, having destroyed the dominion of death:" and of Eusebius Emissenus, or Gallicanus, or whoever was the author of the sixth Paschal Homily attributed to him, that "[106]the Son of man, laying aside his body, pierced the lowest and hidden seats of Tartarus; but where he was thought to have been detained among the dead, there binding death did he loose the bonds of the dead." "Presently, [107]therefore," saith Cæsarius, (in his third Paschal Homily, which is the same with the first of those that go under the name of the former Eusebius), "the everlasting night of hell at Christ's descending shined bright, the gnashing of the mourners ceased, the burthens of the chains were loosed, the bursted bands of the damned fell from them. The tormenters astonished in mind were amazed, the whole impious shop trembled together, when they beheld Christ suddenly in their dwellings." So Arnaldus Bonævallensis in his book *de Cardinalibus Operibus Christi*, commonly attributed to St Cyprian, noteth, that at that time "[108]there was a cessation from infernal torments;" which by [109]Arator is thus more amply expressed in verse:

—— pavidis resplenduit umbris
Pallida regna petens, propria quem luce coruscum
Non potuit fuscare chaos. Fugere dolores,
Infernus tunc esse timet, nullumque coërcens
In se pœna redit, nova tortor ad otia languet;
Tartara mœsta gemunt, quia vincula cuncta quiescunt.
Mors ibi quid faceret, quo vitæ portitor ibat?

St Augustine doth thus deliver his opinion touching this matter: "[110]That Christ's soul came unto those places wherein sinners are punished, that he might loose them from

[106] Deposito quidem corpore imas atque abditas Tartari sedes Filius hominis penetravit; sed ubi retentus esse inter mortuos putabatur, ibi vincula mortuorum ligata morte laxavit. Euseb. Homil. VI. de Pascha.

[107] Confestim igitur æterna nox inferorum Christo descendente resplenduit, siluit stridor lugentium ille, soluta sunt onera catenarum, dirupta ceciderunt vincula damnatorum. Attonitæ mentis obstupuere tortores; omnis simul impia officina contremuit, cum Christum repente in suis sedibus vidit. Ibid. Homil. I. Cæsarius Arelatens. de Pasch. Homil. III.

[108] Ab infernalibus tormentis cessatum est. Arnald. Abb. Bonævallis. Tract. de Unctione Chrismatis, in fine.

[109] Arator. Historiæ Apostolicæ lib. i.

[110] Christi animam venisse usque ad ea loca in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solveret a tormentis, quos esse solvendos occulta nobis sua justitia judicabat, non immerito creditur. August. de Genesi ad Literam, lib. xii. cap. 33.

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torments whom by his hidden justice he judged fit to be loosed, is not without cause believed." "[111] Neither did our Saviour, being dead for us, scorn to visit those parts, that he might loose from thence such as he could not be ignorant, according to his divine and secret justice, were to be loosed." [112] But whether he loosed "all that he found in those pains, or some whom he thought worthy of that benefit, I yet enquire. For that he was in hell, and bestowed this benefit upon some that did lie in the pains thereof, I do not doubt." Thus did St Augustine write unto Euodius, who enquired of him, whether "[113] our Saviour loosed all from thence, and emptied hell?" which was in those days a great question, and gave occasion to that speech of Gregory Nazianzen: "[114] If he descend into hell, go thou down with him," namely, in contemplation and meditation; "learn the mysteries of Christ's doings there, what the dispensation, and what the reason was of his double descent," to wit, from heaven unto earth, and from earth unto hell; "whether at his appearing he simply saved all, or there also such only as did believe." What Clemens Alexandrinus's opinion was herein every one knoweth, that "[115] our Lord descended for no other cause into hell but to preach the Gospel;" and that [116] such as lived a good life before the time of the Gospel, whether Jews or Grecians, "although they were in hell and in durance, yet hearing the voice of

[111] Nec ipsam tamen rerum partem noster salvator mortuus pro nobis visitare contempsit, ut inde solveret quos esse solvendos secundum divinam secretamque justitiam ignorare non potuit. Ibid. cap. 34.

[112] Sed quia evidentia testimonia et infernum commemorant et dolores; nulla causa occurrit, cur illo credatur venisse salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret: sed utrum omnes quos in eis invenit, an quosdam quos illo beneficio dignos judicavit, adhuc requiro. Fuisse tamen eum apud inferos, et in eorum doloribus constitutis hoc beneficium præstitisse, non dubito. Id. Epist. XCIX. ad Euodium.

[113] Si omnes inde solvit salvator, et sicut requirens scripsisti, exinanivit inferna. *Item:* Si, ut quærendo dicis, exinaniti sunt inferi. Ibid.

[114] Ἂν εἰς ᾄδου κατίῃ, συγκάτελθε. γνῶθι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια, τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τῆς διπλῆς καταβάσεως, τίς ὁ λόγος· ἁπλῶς σώζει πάντας ἐπιφανεὶς, ἢ κἀκεῖ τοὺς πιστεύσαντας; Greg. Nazianz. Orat. XLII. Quæst. II. in Pasch.

[115] Εἰ γ' οὖν ὁ Κύριος δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἰς ᾄδου κατῆλθεν, ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ὥσπερ κατῆλθεν, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi.

[116] Δῆλόν που καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὸς νόμου γενομένους διὰ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς (leg. φύσεως) ἰδιότητα ὀρθῶς βεβιωκότας, εἰ καὶ ἐν ᾄδου ἔτυχον ὄντες καὶ ἐν φρουρᾷ, ἐπακούσαντας τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου φωνῆς, εἴτε καὶ τῆς αὐθεντικῆς εἴτε καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνεργούσης, ᾗ τάχος ἐπιστραφῆναί τε καὶ πιστεῦσαι. Ibid.

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our Lord, either from himself immediately, or by the working of his Apostles, were presently converted and did believe." In a word, that [117]in hell things were so ordered "that even there all the souls having heard this preaching, might either shew their repentance, or acknowledge their punishment to be just because they did not believe." Hereupon, when Celsus the philosopher made this objection concerning our Saviour, "[118]Surely you will not say of him, that when he could not persuade those that were here, he went unto hell to persuade those that were there," Origen, the scholar of Clemens, sticketh not to return unto him this answer: "[119]Whether he will or no, we say this, that both being in the body he did persuade not a few, but so many that for the multitude of those that were persuaded by him he was laid in wait for; and after his soul was separated from his body, he had conference with souls departed from their bodies, converting of them unto himself such as would, or such as he discerned to be more fit for reasons best known unto himself."

The like effect of Christ's preaching in hell is delivered by [120]Anastasius Sinaita, [121]Jobius or Jovius, [122]Damascen, [123]Œcumenius, [124]Michael Glycas, and his transcriber [125]Theodorus Metochites. The author of the commentary upon St Paul's Epistles, attributed to Ambrose, saith, "that [126]having triumphed over the devil he descended into the

[117] Οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν ᾅδου ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία; ἵνα κἀκεῖ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ, ἀκούσασαι τοῦ κηρύγματος, τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐνδείξωνται, ἢ τὴν κόλασιν δικαίαν εἶναι, δι' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, ὁμολογήσωσι. Ibid.

[118] Οὐ δήπου φήσετε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μὴ πείσας τοὺς ὧδε ὄντας, ἐστέλλετο εἰς ᾅδου πείσων τοὺς ἐκεῖ. Cels.

[119] Κἂν μὴ βούληται, τοῦτο φαμὲν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν σώματι ὢν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ τοσούτους, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πειθομένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι αὐτόν· καὶ γυμνῇ σώματος γενόμενος ψυχῇ, ταῖς γυμναῖς σωμάτων ὡμίλει ψυχαῖς, ἐπιστρέφων κἀκείνων τὰς βουλομένας πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἢ ἃς ἑώρα δι' οὓς ᾔδει αὐτὸς λόγους ἐπιτηδειοτέρας. Origen. lib. ii. contra Celsum.

[120] Anastas. Sinait. vel Nicæn. Quæst. CXI.

[121] Jobius de Verbo Incarnato, lib. ix. cap. 38. in Photii Bibliotheca, Volum. CCXXII.

[122] Johan. Damascen. de Orthodoxa fide, lib. iii. cap. ult. et in Serm. de Defunct.

[123] Œcumen. in 1 Petr. iii.

[124] Mich. Glyc. part. III. Annalium.

[125] Theodor. Metochit. in Historia Romana, a Meursio nuper edita; quæ ex Glyca tota est desumpta.

[126] Triumphato diabolo descendit in cor terræ, ut ostentio ejus prædicatio esset mortuorum, ut et quotquot cupidi ejus essent liberarentur. Ambros. in Ephes. cap. 4.

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heart of the earth, that the shewing of him might be the preaching of the dead, and that as many as were desirous of him might be delivered." Procopius saith, that "[127]he preached to the spirits that were in hell, restrained in the prison-house, releasing them all from the bonds of necessity." Wherein he followeth St Cyril of Alexandria, writing upon the same place, "[128]that Christ went to preach to the spirits in hell, and appeared to them that were detained in the prison-house, and freed them all from bonds, and necessity, and pain, and punishment." The same St Cyril in his Paschal Homilies affirmeth more directly, that our Saviour, "[129]entering into the lowermost dens of hell, and preaching to the spirits that were there," "[130]emptied that unsatiable den of death," "[131]spoiled hell of spirits;" and having thus [132]spoiled "all hell, left the devil there solitary and alone." [133]For when "Christ descended into hell," saith Andronicus, "not only the souls of the saints were delivered from thence, but all those that before did serve in the error of the devil and the worship of idols, being enriched with the knowledge of God, obtained salvation; for which also they gave thanks, praising God." Whereupon the author of one of the sermons upon the ascension, fathered upon St Chrysostom, bringeth in the devil complaining that the son of Mary, "[134]having taken away from him all those that were with him from the very beginning, had left him desolate." And in another sermon, held to be his indeed, our Saviour is

[127] Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾅδου, καθειργμένοις ἐν οἴκῳ φυλακῆς, ἐκήρυξε πνεύμασιν, δεσμῶν ἀνάγκης πάντας ἀνείς. Procop. in Esai. cap. XLII.

[128] Quod spiritibus in inferno prædicatum abierit, et detentis in domo custodiæ apparuerit Christus, et omnes vinculis liberaverit, et necessitate et pœna et supplicio. Cyrill. Alexand. fin. lib. iii. in Esai. cap. XLII.

[129] Καθικόμενος ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τοῦ ᾅδου μυχοῖς, καὶ διακηρύξας τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πνεύμασι. Id. Homil. Paschal. XX.

[130] Τὸν ἄπληστον τοῦ θανάτου κενώσας μυχόν. Id. Homil. XI.

[131] Σεσύλητο τῶν πνευμάτων ὁ ᾅδης. Id. Hom. VI.

[132] Ὅλον γὰρ εὐθὺς σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ τὰς ἀφύκτους τοῖς τῶν κεκοιμημένων πνεύμασιν ἀναπετάσας πύλας, ἔρημόν τε καὶ ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖσε τὸν διάβολον, ἀνέστη τριήμερος. Id. Hom. VII.

[133] Nam Christo ad inferos descendente, non sanctorum animæ tantum liberatæ sunt inde; sed omnes adeo prius in diaboli errore et simulachrorum cultu servitutem servientes, aucti agnitione Dei, salutem sunt consecuti: quare et gratias agebant, Deum laudantes. Andronic. Dialog. contra Judæos, cap. 60.

[134] Omnibus, qui jam inde ab initio apud me fuerant, tanquam accipiter celeriter advolans abreptis desertum me reliquit. Chrysost. in Ascens. Domini, Serm. VIII. a Ger. Vossio edit.

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said to "[135]have made the whole prison of hell desolate." Whereas the undoubted Chrysostom, writing upon the eleventh of St Matthew, doth at large confute this fond opinion, censuring the maintainers thereof as the "[136]bringers in of old wives' conceits and Jewish fables." Yea, [137]Philastrius, and [138]St Augustine out of him, doth brand such for heretics; whose testimony also is urged by St Gregory against George and Theodore, two of the clergy of Constantinople, who held in his time, as many others did before and after them, that "[139]our omnipotent Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ descending into hell, did save all those who there confessed him to be God, and did deliver them from the pains that were due unto them." And when Clement our countryman, about 150 years after, did renew that old error in Germany, that "[140]the Son of God descending into hell, delivered from thence all such as that infernal prison did detain, believers and unbelievers, praisers of God and worshippers of idols," the [141]Roman Synod held by Pope Zachary condemned him and his followers for it.

But to leave Clemens Scotus, and to return unto Clemens Alexandrinus, at whom Philastrius may seem to have aimed especially, it is confessed by our adversaries that he fell

[135] Ἐπέστη τῷ ᾅδῃ, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποίησεν ἅπασαν. Id. in nomen Cœmeterii et in Crucem, Serm. LXXXI. Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 565.

[136] Μὴ δὴ τοιαῦτα λοιπὸν εἰσάγωμεν δόγματα γραώδη καὶ μύθους Ἰουδαϊκούς. Chrysost. in Matth. Homil. XXXVI. edit. Græc. vel XXXVII. Latin.

[137] Alii sunt hæretici, qui dicunt dominum in infernum descendisse, et omnibus post mortem etiam ibidem renunciasse, (se nunciasse, *corrigendum est ex Gregorio*,) ut confitentes ibidem salvarentur. Philastr. Brixiens. de Hæresib. cap. 74. ubi respicere videtur ad illa Clementis Alexandrini verba, libro vi. Stromat. σωθήσονται πάντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες, κἂν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὄντες τύχωσιν, ἐξομολογησάμενοι ἤδη ἐκεῖ.

[138] Alia (hæresis) descendente ad inferos Christo credidisse incredulos, et omnes inde existimat liberatos. Augustin. de Hæresib. cap. 79.

[139] Omnipotentem dominum salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum ad inferos descendentem omnes, qui illic confiterentur eum Deum, salvasse atque a pœnis debitis liberasse. Vide Greg. lib. vi. Epist. XV. et in Evangel. Hom. XXII.

[140] Qui contra fidem sanctorum contendit, dicens, quod Christus Filius Dei descendens ad inferos omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit inde liberasset, credulos et incredulos, laudatores Dei simul et cultores idolorum. Bonifac. Moguntin. ad Zachariam P. Epist. CXXXV.

[141] Dominum Jesum Christum descendentem ad inferos, omnes pios et impios exinde prædicat abstraxisse: ab omni sit sacerdotali officio nudatus, et anathematis vinculo obligatus, pariterque Dei judicio condemnatus; vel omnis qui ejus sacrilegis consenserit prædicationibus. Synod. Romana sub Zacharia P. ann. 745, habita. Ibid. et Concilior. Tom. III.

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into this error, partly being [142]deceived with the superficial consideration of the words of St Peter touching *Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison*, 1 Pet. iii. 19, [143]partly being deluded with the authority of Hermes, the supposed scholar of St Paul, by whose [144]dreams he was persuaded to believe, that not only Christ himself, but his Apostles also, did descend into hell, to preach there unto the dead, and to baptize them. But touching the words of St Peter is the main doubt, whether they are to be referred unto Christ's preaching by the ministry of Noah unto the world of the ungodly, or unto his own immediate preaching to the spirits in hell after his death upon the cross. For seeing it was *the Spirit of Christ* which spake in the Prophets, as [145]St Peter sheweth in this same Epistle, and among them was *Noah*, [146]*a preacher of righteousness*, as he declareth in the next, even as in St Paul Christ is said to have [147]*come and preached* to the Ephesians, namely, by his Spirit in the mouth of his Apostles; so likewise in St Peter may he be said to have *gone and preached* to the old world [148]by his Spirit in the mouth of his Prophets, and of Noah in particular, when God having said that his [149]*Spirit should not always strive with man, because he was flesh*, did in his long-suffering wait the expiration of the time which he then did set for his amendment, even an hundred and twenty years. For which exposition the Æthiopian translation maketh something; where the Spirit

[142] Deceptus fuit superficie verborum Petri, quem non animadvertit longe distinctius loqui atque prima facie videatur. Henric. Vicus, de Descens. Christi ad inferos, sect. 43.

[143] Delusus auctoritate Hermetis, putat Christum evangelium prædicasse damnatis, et eorum aliquos liberasse, qui ex gentilibus sancte vixerant. Alphons. Mendoz. in Controv. Theologic. Quæst. I. positiv. sect. 4. secutus Andradium, lib. ii. Defens. Fidei Tridentinæ.

[144] Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι, οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κοιμηθέντες, τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἐκήρυξαν τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. Κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ζῶντες κατέβησαν, καὶ πάλιν ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν, καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ συνήρμοσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνῳκοδομήθησαν, ὅτι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἁγνείᾳ, μόνην δὲ τὴν σφραγῖδα ταύτην οὐκ ἔσχον. Hermes in Pastore, lib. iii. similitud. ix. Citatur a Clemente Alexandrino, lib. ii. Stromat.

[145] 1 Pet. i. 11.

[146] 2 Pet. ii. 5.

[147] Ephes. ii. 17.

[148] Nehem. ix. 30; Zach. vii. 12; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2.

[149] Gen. vi. 3.

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by which Christ is said to have been quickened and to have preached, is by the interpreter termed መንፈስ:ቅዱስ *Manephas Kodus*, that is, "the Holy Spirit." The addition of which epithet we may observe also to be used by St Paul in the mention of the resurrection, and by St Luke in the matter of the preaching of our Saviour Christ: for of the one we read, Rom. i. 4, that he was *declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness*, or, the most holy Spirit, *by the resurrection from the dead;* and of the other, Acts i. 2, that he *gave commandments to the Apostles by the holy Spirit*.

Thus doth St Jerome relate that "[150]a most prudent man," for so he termeth him, did understand this place: "[151]he preached to the spirits put in prison, when the patience of God did wait in the days of Noah bringing in the flood upon the wicked." As if this preaching were then performed, when the patience of God did expect the conversion of those wicked men in the days of Noah. St Augustine more directly wisheth us to "[152]consider lest haply all that which the Apostle Peter speaketh of the spirits shut up in prison, which believed not in the days of Noah, pertain nothing at all unto hell, but rather to those times which he compareth as a pattern with our times." For "Christ," saith he, "[153]before ever he came in the flesh to die for us, which once he did, came often before in the Spirit to such as he pleased, admonishing them by visions in the Spirit as he pleased; by which Spirit he was also quickened, when in his passion he was mortified in the flesh." Venerable Bede, and Walafridus Strabus in the ordinary gloss after him, set down their minds herein yet more resolutely: "[154]He who in our times coming in the

[150] Vir prudentissimus. Hieronym. lib. xv. in Esai. cap. LIV.

[151] Prædicavit spiritibus in carcere constitutis, quando Dei patientia exspectabat in diebus Noe, diluvium impiis inferens. Ibid.

[152] Considera tamen ne forte totum illud, quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora transtulit. August. Epist. XCIX.

[153] Quoniam priusquam veniret in carne pro nobis moriturus, quod semel fecit, sæpe antea veniebat in spiritu ad quos volebat, visis eos admonens sicut volebat utique in spiritu; quo spiritu et vivificatus est, cum in passione esset carne mortificatus. Ibid.

[154] Qui nostris temporibus in carne veniens iter vitæ mundo prædicavit, ipse

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flesh, preached the way of life unto the world, even he himself also before the flood, coming in the Spirit, preached unto them which then were unbelievers and lived carnally. For by his holy Spirit he was in Noah and the rest of the holy men which were at that time, and by their good conversation preached to the wicked men of that age, that they might be converted to a better course of life." The same exposition is followed by Anselmus Laudunensis in the interlineary gloss, [155]Thomas Aquinas in his Summæ, and divers others in their commentaries upon this place. Yea, since the Council of Trent, and in a book written in defence of the faith of Trent, Doctor Andradius professeth that he thinketh this to be the plain meaning of the place: "[156]In which Spirit he himself long since coming, that we may not imagine that he now first undertook the care of his Church, did preach unto those spirits which now in prison do suffer the deserved punishment of their infidelity; forasmuch as they would not believe Noah giving them good counsel, and building the ark by God's appointment, notwithstanding the patience of God did wait for them very long, to wit, a hundred years or more." Which accordeth fully with that interpretation of St Peter's words which is delivered by the learned of our side: *In which Spirit he had gone and preached to them* that now are *spirits in prison*, because they *disobeyed when the time was, when the patience of God once waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing*. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20.

But there were divers apocryphal Scriptures and traditions afoot in the ancient Church, which did so possess men's minds with the conceit of Christ's preaching in hell, that they never sought for any further meaning in St Peter's words. As that sentence especially, which was fathered

etiam ante diluvium eis qui tunc increduli erant et carnaliter vivebant, spiritu veniens prædicavit. Ipse enim per spiritum sanctum erat in Noe, ceterisque qui tunc fuere sanctis; et per eorum bonam conversationem pravis illius ævi hominibus, ut ad meliora converterentur, prædicavit. Bed. in 1 Pet. iii. et Gloss. Ordinar. ibid.

[155] Thom. part. III. Sum. Quæst. LII. Artic. 2 ad 3.

[156] In quo spiritu jam olim ipse veniens, ne nunc primum ecclesiæ curam eum suscepisse arbitraremur, prædicavit spiritibus illis qui nunc in carcere meritas jam infidelitatis suæ pœnas luunt; quippe qui Noe recta monenti, et arcam Dei jussu construenti, fidem habere nunquam voluerunt, quamvis Dei illos patientia diutissime, hoc est, centum aut eo amplius annos exspectaret. Andrad. Defens. Tridentinæ Fidei, lib. ii.

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upon the Prophet Isaiah or Jeremy, and from whence, if [157]Cardinal Bellarmine's wisdom may be heard, "it is credible that St Peter took his words," namely, "[158]The Lord the Holy One of Israel remembered his dead" which "slept in the earth of their graves, and descended to them to preach unto them his salvation." And that blind tradition which Anastasius Sinaita doth thus lay down immediately after his citation of St Peter's text: "[159]It is now related among the old traditions, that a certain scholar using many opprobrious speeches against Plato the philosopher, Plato appeared unto him in his sleep, and said, Man, forbear to use opprobrious speeches against me; for thereby thou hurtest thyself. That I was a sinful man I do not deny; but when Christ descended into hell, in very deed none did believe in him before myself." Nicetas Serronius reciteth this out of the Histories of the Fathers; "[160]which whether it be to be believed or no, I leave," saith he, "to be judged by the hearers." As if any great matter of judgment should be requisite for the discerning of this to be, as Bellarmine doth censure it, "[161]a fable," or, as Dionysius Carthusianus before him, "[162]an apocryphal dream." The like stuff is that also which was vented heretofore unto the world in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; to say nothing of that sentence which is read in the old Latin edition of the book of Ecclesiasticus: [163]*I will pierce all the lowermost parts of the earth,*

[157] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Christo, cap. 13.

[158] 'Εμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ ἅγιος 'Ισραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. Citatur a Justino Martyre in Dialogo cum Tryphone; et Irenæo, lib. iii. cap. 23, lib. iv. cap. 39, et lib. v. cap. 31.

[159] Καὶ νῦν φέρεται εἰς ἀρχαίας παραδόσεις, ὅτι τις σχολαστικὸς πολλὰ κατηράσατο τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον. Φαίνεται οὖν αὐτῷ καθ' ὕπνους ὁ Πλάτων, λέγων, Ἄνθρωπε, παῦσαι τοῦ καταρᾶσθαί με, σεαυτὸν γὰρ βλάπτεις. ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτωλὸς γέγονα, οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι· πλὴν κατελθόντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ, ὄντως οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευσε πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς αὐτόν. Anast. Sin. vel Nicæn. Quæst. CXI.

[160] Hoc de Platone commemoratur: quod credendum sit necne, auditoribus judicandum relinquo. Nicet. Commentar. in Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. II. de Pascha.

[161] Quare inter fabulas numeranda est illa narratio, quam in historiis Patrum circumferri dicit Nicetas, &c. Hæc quidem fabula est. Bellarm. lib. iv. de Christo, cap. 16.

[162] Istud inter apocryphorum computandum est somnium. Dionys. Carthusian. in 1 Pet. iii.

[163] Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terræ, et inspiciam omnes dormientes, et

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and behold all that are asleep, and enlighten all them that hope in the Lord. Which, although it be not now to be found in the Greek original, and hath perhaps another meaning than that to which it is applied, yet is it made, by the author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, one of the chief inducements which led him to think that our Saviour descended into hell to visit there the souls of the righteous.

The tradition that of all others deserveth greatest consideration, is the article of the Creed touching Christ's descent into hell, which [164] Genebrard affirmeth to have been so hateful to the Arians, that, as Ambrose reporteth upon the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, they struck it quite out of the very Creed of the Apostles. But neither is there the least footstep of any such matter to be seen in St Ambrose; and it sufficiently appeareth otherwise, that the Arians did not only add this article unto their creeds, but also set it forth and amplified it with many words, so far off were they from being guilty of suppressing it. For as the Fathers of the first general Council, held in the year of our Lord 325, at Nice in Bithynia, did publish a creed against the Arians; so the Arians on the other side, in the year 359, set out a creed of their own making, in a Synod purposely kept by them at Nice in Thracia, [165] that by the ambiguity of the Council's name the simpler sort might be more easily induced to mistake this Nicene for that other catholic Nicene Creed. And whereas the true Nicene Fathers had in their Creed omitted the article of the descent into hell, (which, as we shall afterwards hear out of Ruffinus, was not to be had in the symbols of the Eastern churches,) these bastard fatherlings in their Nicene Creed did not only insert this clause, "[166] He descended to the places under the earth," but added also for further amplification, "Whom hell

illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino. *Vel ut ab auctore Operis imperfecti in Matth.* (*inter Opera Chrysostomi*) *Homilia* IV. *citatur:* Descendam ad inferiores partes terræ, et visitabo omnes dormientes, et illuminabo sperantes in Deum. Ecclesiastic. xxiv. 45.

[164] Ambrosius in quintum caput ad Romanos auctor est Arianos huic articulo ita fuisse adversatos, ut eum de Symbolo Apostolorum expungerent. Gilbert. Genebrard. lib. iii. de Trinitate, in Symboli Athanasiani expositione.

[165] Sozomen. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 18; Nicet. Thesaur. lib. v. cap. 17.

[166] Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα· ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ᾅδης ἐτρόμαξε. Theodoret. Histor. lib. ii. cap. 21.

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itself trembled at." The like did they, with the words a little altered, in another [167]creed set out in a Conventicle gathered at Constantinople; and in a third creed likewise, framed by them at Sirmium, and confirmed the same year in their great Council at Ariminum, they put it in with a more large augmentation, after this manner: "[168]He descended to the places under the earth, and disposed things there, whom the keepers of hell-gates seeing, shook for fear." If, therefore, any fault were committed in the omission of this article, it should touch the orthodox Fathers of Nice and Constantinople rather, whom the [169]Latins, disputing with the Grecians in the Council of Ferrara, do directly charge with subtracting this article from the Apostles' Creed, although they free them from blame in so doing, "because they that took it away," say they, "did not deny it, nor fight against the truth."

But first they should have shewed that the Fathers of Nice and Constantinople did find this article of Christ's descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed, before they excused them from taking it away from thence. For the Creed of the Council of Constantinople, which commonly goeth under the name of the Nicene Creed, being much larger than our common Creed, and itself also (no less than the other) being heretofore both [170]accounted and [171]named the Apostles' Creed, it is not to be thought that it would leave out any article which was then commonly believed to have been any parcel of the Creed received from the Apostles. Add hereunto the ingenuous confession of Busæus the Jesuit, in his positions touching Christ's descent into hell: "[172]St Cyprian, or Ruffinus rather, in his Exposition of the

[167] Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια διεληλυθότα, ὅντινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾅδης ἔπτηξε. Athanas. in Epist. de Synodis Arimini et Seleuciæ; Socrat. Histor. lib. ii. cap. 41, edit. Græc. vel 32 Latin.

[168] Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν. Athanas. ibid.; Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 37, edit. Græc. vel 29 Latin. The speech is taken from Job xxxviii. 17, in the Septuagint.

[169] Constat ex hoc, nihil esse de Symbolo Apostolorum subtrahendum. Subtractum tamen est illud, Descendit ad inferos. Verum qui detraxerunt, id non negabant, neque cum veritate pugnabant. Johan. Foroliviensis Episc. in Session. x. Concil. Ferrar.

[170] Epiphan. in Ἀγκυρωτ. p. 518. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.

[171] In Missa Latina antiqua, edit. Argentin. ann. 1557, p. 41, post recitatum Symbolum Constantinopolit. subjicitur: Finito Symbolo Apostolorum dicat sacerdos, Dominus vobiscum.

[172] Beatus Cyprianus, vel potius Ruffinus, in Expositione Symboli, negat hunc

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Creed, denieth that this article is read in the Creed of the Church of Rome or the churches of the East; and some of the most ancient Fathers, while either they gather up the sum of the Christian faith, or expound the Creed of the Apostles, have omitted this point of doctrine. But at what time it was inserted in the Creed, it cannot certainly be determined." The first particular Church that is known to have inserted this article into her Creed is that of Aquileia, which added also the attributes of "[173]invisible and impassible" unto "God the Father Almighty" in the beginning of the Creed, as appeareth by Ruffinus, who [174]framed his Exposition of the Creed according to the order used in that Church. But whether any other Church in the world for 500 years after Christ did follow the Aquileians in putting the one of these additions to the apostolical Creed more than the other, can hardly, I suppose, be shewed by any approved testimony of antiquity.

Cardinal Bellarmine noteth that "[175]St Agustine, in his book *de Fide et Symbolo*, and in his four books *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, maketh no mention of this part, when he doth expound the whole Creed five several times." Nay, Petrus Chrysologus, who was Archbishop of Ravenna 450 years after Christ, doth [176]six several times go over the Exposition of the Creed, and yet never meddleth with this article. The like also may be observed in [177]Maximus Taurinensis's Exposition of the Creed. For as for the two [178]Latin expositions thereof that go under the name of St Chrysostom, (the latter whereof hath it, the former hath it not,) and the others that are found in the tenth tome of St Augustine's works among the Sermons *de Tempore*, ([179]four

articulum legi in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo et Orientis ecclesiis; et vetustissimi patres quidam, dum vel summam fidei Christianæ vel symbolum apostolicum exponunt, hoc dogma prætermiserunt. Quando autem insertum sit symbolo, certe constitui non potest. Johan. Busæus, de Descensu Christi ad Inferos, Thes. XXXIII.

[173] [*Omnipotentem.*] His additur, Invisibilem et impassibilem. Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos hæreseos causa Sabellii. Ruffin. in Exposit. Symbol.

[174] Nos tamen illum ordinem sequimur, quem in Aquileiensi ecclesia per lavacri gratiam suscepimus. Id. ibid.

[175] Augustinus, in libro de Fide et Symbolo, et quatuor libris de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, non meminit hujus partis, cum totum symbolum quinquies exponat. Bellarm. de Christo, lib. iv. cap. 6.

[176] Petr. Chrysolog. Serm. LVII—LXII.

[177] Maxim. Homil. de Traditione Symboli.

[178] Tom. v. Oper. Chrysost. Latin.

[179] Serm. de Tempore, CXV. CXXXI. CLXXXI. CXCV.

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of which do repeat it, and [180]two do omit it,) because the authors of them, together with the time wherein they were written, be altogether unknown, they can bring us little light in this enquiry. Only for the Greek symbol this is certain, that as it is not found in the recital which Marcellus Ancyranus maketh thereof in his [181]Epistle to Julius, Bishop of Rome, so is it likewise wanting in the Greek Creed written in Saxon characters, which is to be seen at the end of King Æthelstane's Psalter in Sir Robert Cotton's rare Treasury. And after it came to be admitted more generally into the Latin, as it was there at first [182]*Descendit ad inferna*, and at last *Descendit ad inferos;* so, with a like diversity, do I find the same added to the Greek also, κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα being put to express the one, and κατελθόντα εἰς ᾅδου to answer the other: the latter whereof is to be seen in our common printed copies; the former in a manuscript of Bene't College library in Cambridge, where the symbol of the Apostles, together with the whole Psalter, is set down in Greek and Latin, but the Greek written in Latin letters.

Neither is there by this which hath been said any whit more derogated from the credit of this article, than there is from others whose authority is acknowledged to be undoubted and beyond all exception, as namely, that of our Saviour's *death* and *the communion of saints:* the one whereof as sufficiently implied in the article of the *crucifixion* as a consequent, or the *burial* as a necessary antecedent thereof, the other as virtually contained in the article of the *Church*, we find omitted not in the Constantinopolitan symbol alone, and in the ancient apostolical Creeds expounded by Ruffinus, Maximus, and Chrysologus, but also in those that are extant in [183]Venantius Fortunatus, 580, and in [184]Etherius and Beatus, 785 years after Christ: as in the two Greek ones likewise, that of Marcellus, and the other written in the time of the English Saxons. In all which likewise may be noted, that the title of *Maker of heaven and earth*

[180] Serm. CXIX. et CXXIII.

[181] Epiphan. Hæres. LXXII. p. 356, edit. Græc.

[182] Vide Veterem Ordinem Romanum, et Innocentium III. de Mysteriis Missæ, lib. ii. cap. 15.

[183] Fortunat. lib. xi. num. 1, in Exposit. Symbol.

[184] Etherius et Beatus, lib. i. contra Elipandum Toletan. p. 51, edit. Ingolstad.

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is not given to the Father in the beginning of the Creed, which out of the Creed of Constantinople we see is now every where added thereunto. Of which additions as there is now no question any where made, so [185] by the consent of both sides this of the *descent into hell* also is now numbered among the articles of the Apostles' Creed. For the [186] Scripture having expressly testified that the prophecy of the Psalmist, [187] *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, was verified in Christ, St Augustine's conclusion must necessarily be inferred thereupon: "[188] Who, therefore, but an infidel will deny that Christ was in hell?" Thus "[189] all agree that Christ did some manner of way descend into hell," saith Cardinal Bellarmine: "but the whole question is touching the exposition of this article." The common exposition which the Romish divines give thereof is this, that by hell is here understood [190] not that place wherein the wicked are tormented, but the bosom of Abraham, wherein the godly Fathers of the Old Testament rested, for whose delivery from thence they say our Saviour took his journey thither. But St Augustine, in that same place wherein he counteth it a point of infidelity to deny the going of Christ into hell, gainsayeth this exposition thereof, professing that he could find the name of hell nowhere given unto that place wherein the souls of the righteous did rest. "[191] Wherefore," saith he, "if the holy Scripture had said that Christ being dead did come unto the bosom of Abraham, not having named hell and the pains thereof, I marvel whether any would have

[185] Descensum ad inferos nunc, consentientibus sectariis, inter germanos symboli apostolici articulos numeramus. Jo. Busæus, de Descens. Thes. XXXIII.

[186] Acts ii. 27, 31. [187] Psalm xvi. 10.

[188] Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? Augustin. Epist. XCIX.

[189] Ac primum omnes conveniunt quod Christus aliquo modo ad inferos descenderit, &c. At quæstio tota est de explicatione hujus articuli. Bellarmin. de Christo, lib. iv. cap. 6.

[190] In iii. Sent. Dist. XXII. D. Thom. Bonavent. Richard. Gab. Palud. et Marsil. Quæst. XIII. et reliqui in hoc conveniunt, quod ad locum damnatorum non descendit. Fr. Suarez. Tom. II. in part. III. Thom. Disp. XLIII. sect. 4. Non descendit ad inferos reproborum ac in perpetuum damnatorum, quoniam ex eo nulla est redemptio: igitur ad eum locum descendit, qui vel sinus Abrahæ, vel communiter Limbus Patrum appellatur. Fr. Fevardent. Dialog. VI. contra Calvinian. p. 509. edit. Colon.

[191] Quapropter si in illum Abrahæ sinum Christum mortuum venisse sancta scriptura dixisset, non nominato inferno ejusque doloribus, miror si quisquam ad inferos eum descendisse asserere auderet. Sed quia evidentia testimonia et infernum commemorant et dolores, nulla causa occurrit cur illo credatur venisse Salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret. August. Epist. XCIX.

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been so bold as to have avouched that Christ descended into hell. But because evident testimonies do make mention both of hell and pains, I see no cause why our Saviour should be believed to have come thither, but that he should deliver men from the pains thereof." And "[192]therefore what benefit he brought unto those just men that were in the bosom of Abraham when he did descend into hell, I have not yet found." Thus far St Augustine.

For the better understanding of this we are to call unto mind that saying of [193]the philosophers, that "they who do not learn rightly to understand words, use to be deceived in the things themselves." It will not be amiss, therefore, to consider somewhat of the name of hell, that the [194]nature of the word being rightly understood, we may the better conceive the truth of the thing that is signified thereby; carrying always in remembrance that necessary rule delivered by Severus, Bishop of Antioch, in his exposition upon Job xxxviii. 28, that "[195]it is fit we should understand names according to the quality of the matters subject, and not regulate the truth according to the abuse of words." We are to know, then, first of our English word *hell*, that the original thereof is by divers men delivered diversely. Some derive it from the Hebrew word *sheol*, either subtracting the first letter or including it in the aspiration. For "[196]this letter *s*," saith Priscian, "hath such an affinity with the aspiration, that the Bœotians in some words were wont to write *h* for *s*, saying Muha for Musa." Others bring it from the Greek word ἕλος, which signifieth *a lake*; others from the English *hole*, as signifying *a pit-hole*; others from *hale*, as noting the place that haleth or draweth men unto it. Some say, that in the old Saxon or German *hell* signifieth

[192] Unde illis justis qui in sinu Abrahæ erant, cum ille in inferna descenderet, nondum quid contulisset inveni; a quibus eum secundum beatificam præsentiam suæ divinitatis nunquam video recessisse. Id. ibid.

[193] Ἄριστα λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τὸ τοὺς μὴ μανθάνοντας ὀρθῶς ἀκούειν ὀνομάτων κακῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι. Plutarch. in lib. de Iside et Osiride.

[194] Ὃς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰδῇ, εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα. Plat. in Crat.

[195] Πλὴν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα προσήκει νοεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων ποιότητα, καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὴν κατάχρησιν τῶν λέξεων τἀληθῆ κανονίζειν. Sever. in Catena Græca in Job. p. 491, edit. Venet.

[196] Adeo autem cognatio est huic literæ, id est *s*, cum aspiratione, quod pro ea in quibusdam dictionibus solebant Bœoti pro *s*, *h* scribere, *Muha* pro *Musa* dicentes. Priscian. lib. i.

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deep, whether it be high or low. But the derivation given by [197] Verstegan is the most probable, from being *helled* over, that is to say, hidden or covered. For in the old German tongue, from whence our English was extracted, [198] *hil* signifieth *to hide*, and *hiluh*, in Otfridus Wissenburgensis, is *hidden;* and in this country, with them that retain the ancient language which their forefathers brought with them out of England, *to hell the head* is as much as *to cover the head;* and he that covereth the house with tile or slate is from thence commonly called *a hellier*. So that in the original propriety of the word our *hell* doth exactly answer the Greek ᾅδης, which denoteth *τὸν ἀϊδῆ τόπον, the place which is unseen*, or *removed from the sight of man*.

We are in the second place, therefore, to observe, that the term of hell, beside the vulgar acceptation, wherein it signifieth that which (Luke xvi. 28) is called the *place of torment*, is, in the ecclesiastical use of the word, extended more largely to express the Greek word *hades* and the Latin *inferi*, and whatsoever is contained under them. Concerning which St Augustine giveth this note: "[199] The name of *hell* is variously put in the Scriptures, and in many meanings, according as the sense of the things which are entreated of doth require;" and Master Casaubon, who understood the property of the Greek and Latin words as well as any, this other: "[200] They who think that HADES is properly the seat of the damned be no less deceived than they who, when they read INFEROS in Latin writers, do interpret it of the same place." The less cause have we to wonder that hell in the Scripture should be made the place of all the dead in common, and not of the wicked only. As in Psalm LXXXIX. 47, 48, *Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast thou made all men in vain? what man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of* HELL? and Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19, HELL

[197] Rich. Versteg. Restitution of English Antiquities, chap. 7.

[198] Vide Goldasti Animadvers. in Winsbekii Paræneses, p. 400.

[199] Varie in scripturis et sub intellectu multiplici, sicut rerum de quibus agitur sensus exigit, nomen ponitur inferorum. August. Quæst. super Numer. cap. 29.

[200] Qui ᾅδην proprie sedem damnatorum esse existimant, non minus hallucinantur quam illi qui, cum legunt apud Latinos scriptores inferos, de eodem loco interpretantur. Casaub. in Gregor. Nyssen. Epist. ad Eustath. Ambros. et Basiliss. Not. 116.

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cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee, they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth: The LIVING, *the* LIVING, *he shall praise thee, as I do this day.* Where the opposition betwixt hell and the state of life in this world is to be observed. Now, as the common condition of the dead is considerable three manner of ways, either in respect of the body separated from the soul, or of the soul separated from the body, or of the whole man indefinitely considered in this state of separation, so do we find the word *hades* (which by the Latins is rendered *infernus* or *inferi*, and by the English *hell*) to be applied by the ancient Greek interpreters of the Old Testament to the common state and place of the body severed from the soul; by the heathen Greeks to the common state and place of the soul severed from the body; and by both of them to the common state of the dead, and the place proportionably correspondent to that state of dissolution. And so the doctors of the Church, speaking in the same language which they learned both from the sacred and the foreign writers, are accordingly found to take the word in these three several significations.

Touching the first, we are to note that both the Septuagint in the Old Testament, and the Apostles in the [201]New, do use the Greek word Ἅιδης, HADES, (and answerably thereunto the Latin interpreters the word *infernus* or *inferi*, and the English the word *hell*,) for that which in the Hebrew text is named שאול SHEOL. On the other side, where in the New Testament the word HADES is used, there the ancient Syriac translator doth put ܫܝܘܠ *shejul*, and the Æthiopian ሲኦል *siolo*, instead thereof. Now the Hebrew *sheol* (and so the Chaldee, Syriac, and Æthiopian words which draw their original from thence) doth properly denote the interior parts of the earth that lie hidden from our sight; namely, whatsoever tendeth downward from the surface of the earth unto the centre thereof. In which respect we see that the Scripture describeth *sheol* to be a deep place, and opposeth the depth thereof unto the height of heaven: Job xi. 8; Psalm cxxxix. 8; Amos ix. 2. Again, because the bodies that live upon the surface of the earth are corrupted within the bowels thereof, [202]*the dust returning*

[201] Acts ii. 27; 1 Cor. xv. 55. [202] Eccles. xii. 7; Job xxxiv. 15.

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to the earth as it was, therefore is the word commonly put for the state and the place wherein dead bodies do rest and are disposed for corruption. And in this respect we find that the Scripture doth oppose *sheol* not only unto heaven, but also unto this *land of the living* wherein we now breathe, (Isaiah xxxviii. 10, 11; Ezekiel xxxii. 27); the surface of the earth being the place appointed for the habitation of the living, the other parts ordained to be the chambers of death. Thus they *that are in the graves* (John v. 28) are said to *sleep in the dust of the earth* (Dan. xii. 2.) The Psalmist, in his prophecy of our Saviour's humiliation, termeth it *the dust of death*, (Psalm xxii. 15), which the Chaldee paraphrast expoundeth בית קבורתא *the house of the grave*, interpreting *sheol* after the selfsame manner in Psalm xxxi. 18, and LXXXIX. 49. In the Hebrew Dictionary printed with the Complutense Bible, anno 1515, the word שאול *sheol* is expounded *infernus sive inferus, aut fovea, vel sepulchrum;* "hell, the pit, or the grave." R. Mardochai Nathan, in his Hebrew Concordance, giveth no other interpretation of it but only קבר or *the grave*. R. Abraham Aben-Ezra, in his Commentary upon those words, Gen. xxxvii. 35, *I will go down into sheol unto my son mourning*, writeth thus: "[203]Here the translator of the erring persons" (he meaneth the Vulgar [204]Latin translation used by the Christians) "erreth in translating *sheol* hell or *gehenna;* for, behold, the signification of the word is קבר or *the grave*. For proof whereof he allegeth divers places of Scripture. Where by the way you may note, that in the last edition of the Masoretical and Rabbinical Bible, printed by Bombergius, both this and divers other passages elsewhere have been cut out by the Romish correctors; which I wish our Buxtorfius had understood, when he followed that mangled and corrupted copy in his late renewed edition of that great work. R. Salomo Jarchi, writing upon the same words, Gen. xxxvii. 35, saith that, "[205]according to the literal sense, the interpretation thereof is *the grave*, (in my mourning I will be buried, and I will not be comforted all my days), but

[203] ופה חעה מתרגם לסיעים שתרגם שאול גיהנם Aben-Ezra, in Gen. xxxvii.

[204] An לטיעים ibi positum pro לטינים id est, Latinorum?

[205] בפשוטו לשון קבר הוא באבלי אקבר ולא אתנחם כל ימי ובמדרשו גיהנם Salom. Jarchi, in Gen. xxxvii.

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after the Midrash, or allegorical interpretation, it is *gehenna*." In like manner, R. David Kimchi, expounding that place, Psalm ix. 17, ***The wicked shall turn into hell, and all the nations that forget God***, acknowledgeth that, by the Derash or [206]allegorical exposition, into *hell* is as much to say as into *gehenna*; but according to the literal meaning he expoundeth it לְקֶבֶר *into the grave*, intimating withal that the Prophet [207]useth here the term of turning or returning with reference to that sentence, Gen. iii. 19, ***Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return***.

Out of which observation of Kimchi we may further note, that the Hebrews, when they expound *sheol* to be the *grave*, do not mean so much thereby an artificial grave (to wit, a pit digged in the earth, or a tomb raised above ground) as a natural sepulchre, such as Mæcenas speaketh of in that verse,

> " [208]Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos."

And Seneca, in his Controversies: " [209]Nature hath given a burial unto all men: such as suffer shipwreck, the same wave doth bury that cast them away; the bodies of such as are crucified drop away from the crosses unto their burial; to such as are burnt alive their punishment is a funeral." For this is the difference that is made by authors betwixt burying and interring, that " [210]he is understood to be buried who is put away in any manner, but he to be interred who is covered with the earth." Hence different kinds of [211]burials are mentioned by them, according to the different usages of several nations, the name of a sepulchre being given by them as well to the [212]burning of the bodies of

[206] Elias in Tischbi, verb. 77.

[207] ואמר ישובו כמו ואל עפר תשוב Kimchi in Psal. ix.

[208] Senec. Epist. XCII.

[209] Omnibus natura sepulturam dedit: naufragos idem fluctus qui expulit, sepelit; suffixorum corpora crucibus in sepulturam suam defluunt; eos qui vivi uruntur pœna funerat. Idem. Annæus Seneca, lib. viii. Controvers. IV.

[210] Sepultus intelligitur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contectus. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 54.

[211] Διελόμενοι κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταφὰς, ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκαυσεν, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ὑάλῳ περιχρίει, ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατεσθίει, ταριχεύει δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος. Lucianus, de Luctu.

[212] Nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos. Cicer. Philippic. XIV. Ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψει, inquit uxor Asdrubalis, apud Appianum in Punicis. Vide et Ctesiam, in Photii Bibliotheca, col. 129, edit. Græco-Lat. Περὶ τοῦ θάψαντος τὸν πατέρα διὰ τοῦ πυρός.

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the dead, used of old among the more civil nations, as to the devouring of them by dogs, which was the barbarous custom of the [213]Hyrcanians. Therefore [214]Diogenes was wont to say, that if the dogs did tear him he should have an "Hyrcanian burial;" and those beasts which were kept for this use the [215]Bactrians did term in their language "sepulchral dogs," as Strabo relateth out of Onesicritus. So in the Scripture the Prophet Jonas calleth the belly of the whale, wherein he was devoured, [216]*the belly of sheol*, that is, of hell or the grave. For "[217]Jonas," saith Basil of Seleucia, "was carried in a living grave, and dwelt in a swimming prison; dwelling in the region of death, the common lodge of the dead and not of the living, while he dwelt in that belly which was the mother of death." And in the Prophecy of Jeremiah, King Jehoiakim is said to be [218]*buried*, (although *with the burial of an ass*,) when his carcase was *drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.*

[219]Capit omnia tellus
Quæ genuit: cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

The earth which begetteth all receiveth all, and he that wanteth a coffin hath the welkin for his winding-sheet. "[220]The earth is our great mother:"

[221]Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulchrum.

The common mother, out of whose womb as naked we came, so [222]*naked shall we return thither.* According to that in Psalm CXLVI. 4, *His spirit goeth forth, he returneth to* HIS *earth;* and Psalm civ. 29, *Thou takest away their breath, they die, and turn to* THEIR *dust.* And this is the *sheol* which Job waited for when he said, [223]*Sheol*, or

[213] Eamque optimam illi censent esse sepulturam. Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i.

[214] Ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, ὅτι ἂν μὲν κύνες αὐτὸν σπαράξωσιν, Ὑρκανία ἔσται ἡ τάφη. Stobæus.

[215] Τοὺς γὰρ ἀπειρηκότας διὰ νόσον ἢ γῆρας ζῶντας παραβάλλεσθαι τρεφομένοις κυσὶν ἐπίτηδες πρὸς τοῦτο, οὓς ἐνταφιστὰς καλοῦσι τῇ πατρῴᾳ γλώττῃ. Strabo, Geograph. lib. ii.

[216] Jonah ii. 2.

[217] Ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν ζῶντι τάφῳ φερόμενος, νηχόμενον οἰκῶν δεσμωτήριον, ἐγκινούμενον φάραγξι θανάτου χωρίον οἰκῶν, νεκρῶν πανδοχεῖον οὐ ζώντων, οἰκῶν γαστέρα θανάτου μητέρα. Basil. Seleuc. Orat. XII. quæ in Jonam est XII.

[218] Jer. xxii. 19.

[219] Lucan. lib. vii.

[220] Magna parens terra est. Ovid. Metamorph. I.

[221] Lucret. de Rer. Natur. lib. v.

[222] Job i. 21.

[223] Job xvii. 13, 14.

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the grave (for that is the hell which is meant here; as is confessed not by Lyranus only, but by the Jesuit Pineda also,) *is mine house; I have made my bed in the darkness. I have said to corruption, Thou art my father; to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister.*

This is that common sepulchre, *non factum sed natum*, "not made by the hand of man, but provided by nature itself;" betwixt which natural and artificial grave these differences may be observed. The artificial may be appropriated to this man or that man. *The Patriarch David is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day*, saith St Peter, Acts ii. 29; and, *Ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous*, saith our Saviour, Matth. xxiii. 29. But in the natural there is no such distinction. It cannot be said that this is such or such a man's *sheol;* it is considered as the common receptacle of all the dead, as we read in Job: [224] *I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living.* [225] For "to every man," as Olympiodorus writeth upon that place, "the earth itself is appointed as a house for his grave." [226] There *the prisoners rest together*, saith Job; *they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and great are there; and the servant free from his master.* Again, into a made grave a man may enter in alive and come out alive again, as [227] Peter and John did into the sepulchre of Christ; but *sheol* either findeth men dead when they come into it, which is the ordinary course, or if they come into it alive, which is [228] a new and unwonted thing, it bringeth death upon them; as we see it fell out in Korah and his complices, who are said to have *gone down alive into sheol*, when the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up: Numb. xvi. 30, 33. *Lastly*, as many living men do go into the grave made with hands, and yet in so doing they cannot be said to go into *sheol*, because they come from thence alive again; so some dead men also want the honour of such a grave, as it was the case of God's servants,

[224] Job xxx. 23.

[225] Cuilibet enim homini domus pro sepulchro ipsa terra est constituta. Olympiodor. Caten. Græc. in illud Job. xxx. 23, secundum LXX. οἰκία γὰρ παντὶ θνητῷ γῆ.

[226] Job iii. 18, 19.

[227] John xx. 6, 8.

[228] Num. xvi. 30.

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[229] whose bodies were kept from burial, and yet thereby are not kept from *sheol;* which is the way that all flesh must go to. For [230] *all go unto one place: all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.* We conclude, therefore, that when *sheol* is said to signify the *grave,* the term of *grave* must be taken in as large a sense as it is in that speech of our Saviour, John v. 28, *All that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.* And in Isaiah xxvi. 19, according to the Greek reading, *The dead shall rise, and they that are in the graves shall be raised up.* Upon which place Origen writeth thus: "[231] In this place, and in many others likewise, the graves of the dead are to be understood, according to the more certain meaning of the Scripture, not such only as we see are builded for the receiving of men's bodies, either cut out in stones or digged down in the earth, but every place wherein a man's body lieth, either entire or in any part; albeit it fell out that one body should be dispersed through many places, it being no absurdity at all that all those places in which any part of the body lieth should be called the sepulchres of that body. For if we do not thus understand the dead to be raised by the power of God out of their graves, they which are not committed to burial, nor laid in graves, but have ended their life either in shipwrecks or in some desert places, so as they could not be committed to burial, should not seem to be reckoned among them who are said should be raised up out of their graves; which would be a very great absurdity." Thus Origen.

[229] Psalm xcix. 2, 3; Rev. xi. 8, 9.

[230] Eccles. iii. 20, and vi. 6.

[231] Sepulchra autem mortuorum in hoc loco, similiter et in multis aliis, secundum certiorem scripturæ sensum accipienda sunt, non solum ea quæ ad depositionem humanorum corporum videntur esse constructa, vel in saxis excisa, aut in terra defossa, sed omnis locus in quocunque vel integrum humanum corpus vel ex parte aliqua jacet: etiam si accidat ut unum corpus per loca multa dispersum sit, absurdum non erit omnia ea loca, in quibus pars aliqua corporis jacet, sepulchra corporis ejus dici. Si enim non ita accipiamus resurgere de sepulchris suis mortuos divina virtute, qui nequaquam sunt sepulturæ mandati neque in sepulchris depositi, sed sive naufragiis sive in desertis aliquibus defuncti sunt locis, ita ut sepulturæ mandari non potuerint, non videbuntur annumerari inter eos, qui de sepulchris resuscitandi dicuntur: quod utique valde absurdum est. Origen. in Esai. lib. xxviii. citatus a Pamphilo, vel Eusebio potius, in Apologia pro Origene.

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Now you shall hear, if you please, what our Romish doctors do deliver touching this point. "[232]There be two opinions," saith Pererius upon Gen. xxxvii. 35, "concerning this question: the one of the Hebrews, and of many of the Christians in this our age, but especially of the heretics, affirming that the word *sheol* signifieth nothing else in the Scripture but the pit or the grave, and from thence reasoning falsely that our Lord did not descend into hell:" "[233]the other opinion is of undoubted and certain truth, that the Hebrew word *sheol*, and the Latin *infernus* answering to it, both in this place of Scripture and elsewhere, oftentimes doth signify not the pit or the grave, but the place of hell and the places under the earth, wherein the souls are after death." "[234]Wheresoever Jerome," saith Augustinus Steuchus upon the same place, "and the Septuagint have translated *hell*, it is in the Hebrew *sheol*, that is, the pit or the grave. For it doth not signify that place wherein antiquity hath thought that the souls of the wicked are received." The "Hebrew word properly signifieth the grave," saith Jansenius upon Proverbs xv. 12; the "grave properly," and hell only "metaphorically," saith Arius Montanus, in his answer unto Leo a Castro; "And, [235]in the Old Testament, the name of hell doth always almost import the grave," saith Alphonsus Mendoza. The Jesuit Pineda commendeth one [236]Cyprian, a Cistercian monk, as a man "famous for learning and piety," yet holdeth him

[232] Duæ super hac quæstione sunt sententiæ. Una est Hebræorum, et de Christianis multorum in hac ætate nostra, maxime vero hæreticorum, affirmantium vocem *sheol* non significare aliud in scriptura nisi fossam sive sepulchrum, et ex hoc falso argumentantium Dominum nostrum non descendisse ad infernum. Perer. in Genes. xxxvii. sect. 92.

[233] Altera est sententia exploratæ certæque veritatis; vocem Hebræam *sheol*, et Latinam ei respondentem *infernus*, et in hoc loco scripturæ et alibi sæpenumero significare non fossam vel sepulchrum, sed locum inferorum et subterranea loca, in quibus sunt animæ post mortem. Ibid. sect. 96.

[234] Hebraice, ubicunque Hieronymus ac Septuaginta *infernum* interpretati sunt, est *sheol*, hoc est, fossa sive sepulchrum. Neque enim significat eum locum ubi sceleratorum animas recipi antiquitas opinata est. Aug. Steuch. in Gen. cap. xxxvii.

[235] Fere semper inferni nomen sepulchrum sonat in Veteri Testamento. Alphons. Mendoz. Controvers. Theologic. Quæst. I. positiv. sect. 5.

[236] Illud non præteribo, parum considerate (ne graviore inuram nota) Cyprianum Cistersiensem (virum alioqui doctrina et pietate conspicuum) affirmasse *sheol*, id est, inferos vel infernum, in toto Veteri Testamento accipi pro sepulchro. Jo. Pined. in Job. cap. vii. vers. 9. num. 2.

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worthy to be censured for affirming that *sheol* or hell "is in all the Old Testament taken for the grave." Another croaking monk, Crocquet they call him, crieth out on the other side, that we shall [237]never be able to prove, by the "producing of as much as one place of Scripture," that *sheol* doth signify the grave. Cardinal Bellarmine is a little, and but a very little, more modest herein. The Hebrew *sheol*, he saith, "[238]is ordinarily taken for the place of souls under the earth, and either rarely or never for the grave;" but the Greek [239]word "*hades* always signifieth hell, never the grave." But Stapleton will stand to it stoutly, "[240]that neither *hades* nor *sheol* is in the Scriptures ever taken for the grave, but always for hell." [241]The word "*infernus*, *hades*, *sheol*," saith he, "is never taken for the grave. The grave is called in Greek *τάφος*, in Hebrew קבר Wherefore all the paraphrasts of the Hebrews also do expound that word *sheol* by the word *gehenna*, as Genebrard doth shew at large in his third book of the Trinity." Where yet he might have learned some more moderation from Genebrard himself, unto whom he referreth us, who thus layeth down his judgment of the matter in the place by him alleged: "[242]As they be in an error who contend that *sheol* doth never design the grave, so have they a shameless forehead who deny that it doth any where signify the region of the damned," or Gehenna.

It is an error therefore in Stapleton, by his own author's confession, to maintain, that *sheol* is never taken for the grave; and in so doing he doth but bewray his old wrangling

[237] Et ne vehementius sibi placeant ob suum illud *sheol;* nunquam efficient ut uno saltem scripturæ loco prolato præclaram illam interpretationem sepulchri confirment. Andr. Crocquet. Cateches. XIX.

[238] Ordinarie accipitur pro loco animarum subterraneo, et vel raro vel nunquam pro sepulchro. Bellarmin. lib. iv. de Christo, cap. 10.

[239] Vox ᾅδης significat semper infernum, nunquam sepulchrum. Ibid. cap. 12.

[240] Contra Bezam late ostendimus, nec ᾅδην nec שאל pro sepulchro unquam, sed pro inferno semper in scripturis accipi. Stapleton. Antidot. in 1 Cor. xv. 55, and Acts ii. 27.

[241] Ceterum pro sepulchro vox *infernus*, ᾅδης, שאל nunquam accipitur. Sepulchrum Græce *τάφος*, Hebraice קבר vocatur. Quare et omnes paraphrastæ Hebræorum illam vocem שאל explicant per vocem Gehennæ; ut late ostendit Genebrardus, lib. iii. de Trinitate. Ibid. in Acts ii. 27.

[242] Quemadmodum in errore versantur qui eam vocem nunquam sepulchrum designare contendunt, sic fronte sunt perfricta qui uspiam Gehennæ regionem negant significare. Genebrard. de Trinitat. lib. iii. in Symboli Athanasiani Expositione.

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disposition. But lest any other should take the "shameless forehead" from him, he faceth it down that "all the paraphrasts of the Hebrews" do interpret *sheol* by the word Gehenna. Whereas it is well known that the two paraphrasts that are of greatest antiquity and credit with the Hebrews, Onkelos the interpreter of Moses, and Jonathan ben Uzziel of the Prophets, never translate it so. Beside that of Onkelos, we have two other Chaldee paraphrases, which expound the harder places of Moses; the one called the Targum of Jerusalem, the other attributed unto Jonathan: in neither of these can we find that *sheol* is expounded by Gehenna; but in the latter of them we see it [243]twice expounded by בי קבורתא *the house of the grave.* In the Arabic interpretations of Moses, where [244]the translator out of the Greek hath الجحيم *al-giahimo, hell,* there [245]the translator out of the Hebrew putteth الثرى *al-tharay,* which signifieth earth or clay. [246]Jacobus Tawosius, in his Persian translation of the Pentateuch, for *sheol* doth always put [247]*gor,* that is, "the grave." The Chaldee paraphrase upon the Proverbs keepeth still the word שיול deflected a little from the Hebrew; the paraphrast upon Job useth that word [248]thrice; but [249]קבורתא and [250]קודתא (which signifieth *the grave*), instead thereof, five several times. In Ecclesiastes the word cometh but [251]once; and there the Chaldee paraphrast rendereth it בית קבורתא *the house of the grave.* R. Joseph Cœcus doth the like in his paraphrase upon Psalm xxxi. 17, and lxxxix. 48. In Psalm cxli. 7, he rendereth it by the simple קבורתא *the grave;* but in the 15th and 16th verses of the 49th Psalm by גהנם or Gehenna. And only there, and in Cantic. viii. 6, is *sheol* in the Chaldee paraphrases expounded by Gehenna: whereby if we shall understand the place, not of dead *bodies,* (as in that place of the Psalm the paraphrast maketh express mention of the [252]*bodies waxing old,* or consuming in Gehenna,) but of tormented souls, as the

[243] Gen. xxxvii. 35, and xliv. 29.

[244] Ibidem in Genesi, quam cum commentario Arabico MS. penes me habeo; et Deuteronom. xxxii. 22.

[245] Pentateuch. Arabic. ab Erpenio edit. ann. 1622.

[246] Pentateuch. Quadrilingue a Judæis Constantinopoli excusum.

[247] *Jer* apud Armenios et Turcas *terram* significat.

[248] Job xi. 8, and xxiv. 19, and xxvi. 6.

[249] Job xxi. 13.

[250] Job vii. 9, and xiv. 13, and xvii. 13, 16.

[251] Eccles. ix. 10.

[252] גופיהון יתבלין בגיהנם Psalm xlix. 15, Chald.

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[253]Rabbins more commonly do take it, yet do our Romanists get little advantage thereby, who would fain have the *sheol* into which our Saviour went be conceived to have been a place of rest, and not of torment; the bosom of Abraham, and not Gehenna, the seat of the damned.

As for the Greek word *hades*, it is used by Hippocrates to express the first matter of things, from which they have their beginning, and into which afterwards being dissolved they make their ending. For having said, that in nature nothing properly may be held to be newly made or to perish, he addeth this: "[254]But men do think that what doth grow from *hades* into light is newly made, and what is diminished from the light into *hades* is perished:" by *light* understanding nothing else but the visible structure and existence of things, and by *hades* that invisible and insensible thing which other philosophers commonly call ὕλην, [255]Chalcidius the Platonic translateth *sylvam*, the Aristotelians more fitly *materiam primam*. Whence also it is supposed by [256]Master Casaubon, that those passages were borrowed which we meet withal in the books that bear the name of Hermes Trismegistus. "[257]In the dissolution of a material body the body itself is brought to alteration, and the form which it had is made invisible;" "[258]and so there is a privation of the sense made, not a destruction of the bodies." "[259]I say then that the world is changed, inasmuch as every day a part thereof is made invisible, but never utterly dissolved." Wherewith we may compare likewise that place of Plutarch, in his book of Living Privately: Generation "[260]doth not make any of the things

[253] Elias in Tischbi, verb. גיהנם.

[254] Νομίζεται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ᾄδου εἰς φῶς αὐξηθὲν γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φαέος εἰς ᾄδην μειωθὲν ἀπολέσθαι. Hippocrat. de Diæta, sive Victus Ratione, lib. i.

[255] Chalcid. in Timæum Platonis.

[256] Casaub. in Baron. Exercit. I. cap. 10.

[257] Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ὑλικοῦ, παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὃ εἶχεν ἀφανὲς γίνεται. Herm. Pœmand. Serm. I.

[258] Καὶ οὕτω στέρησις γίνεται τῆς αἰσθήσεως, οὐκ ἀπώλεια τῶν σωμάτων. Id. Serm. VIII.

[259] Καὶ τὸν κόσμον φημὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι μέρος αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ, μηδέποτε δὲ λύεσθαι. Id. Serm. XI.

[260] Οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖ τῶν γενομένων ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ δείκνυσιν· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τοῦ ὄντος ἄρσις εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἄδηλον ἀπαγωγὴ τοῦ διαλυθέντος. Ὅθεν δὴ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καὶ παλαιοὺς θέσμους νομίζοντες, Δήλιον καὶ

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that be, but manifesteth them; neither is corruption a translation of a thing from being to not being, but rather a bringing of the thing that is dissolved unto that which is unseen. Whereupon men, according to the ancient traditions of their fathers, thinking the Sun to be Apollo, called him Delius and Pythius," namely, from manifesting of things; "and the ruler of the contrary destiny, whether he be a God or an angel, they named *hades*, by reason that we, when we are dissolved, do go unto an unseen and invisible place." By the Latins this *hades* is termed *dispiter* or *diespiter;* which name they gave unto this "[261]lower air that is joined to the earth, where all things have their beginning and ending; *quorum quod finis ortus, Orcus dictus*," saith Varro. "[262]All this earthly power and nature," saith Julius Firmicus, "they named Ditem Patrem, because this is the nature of the earth, that all things do both fall into it, and, taking their original from thence, do again proceed out of it." Whence the Earth is brought in using this speech unto God, in Hermes: "[263]I do receive the nature of all things; for I, according as thou hast commanded, do both bear all things and receive such as are deprived of life."

The use which we make of the testimony of Hippocrates, and those other authorities of the heathen, is to shew, that the Greek interpreters of the Old Testament did most aptly assume the word *hades* to express that common state and place of corruption which was signified by the Hebrew *sheol*. And therefore, in the last verse of the 17th of Job, where the Greek maketh mention of "descending into *hades*," [264]Comitolus the Jesuit noteth that St Ambrose rendereth it *in sepulchrum, into the grave;* which agreeth well

Πύθιον προσαγορεύουσι· τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας κύριον μοίρας, εἴτε Θεὸς, εἴτε δαίμων ἐστὶν, Ἅιδην ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀόρατον ἡμῶν, ὅταν διαλυθῶμεν, βαδιζόντων. Plutarch. in illud, *Λάθε βιώσας.*

[261] Idem hic Diespiter dicitur, infimus aër, qui est conjunctus terræ, ubi omnia oriuntur, ubi aboriuntur; quorum quod finis ortus, Orcus dictus. Varro, de Lingua Latin. lib. iv. cap. 10.

[262] Terrenam vim omnem atque naturam, Ditem patrem dicunt, quia hæc est natura terræ, ut et recidant in eam omnia, et rursus ex ea orta procedant. Jul. Ferm. Matern. de Errore Profan. Relig. ex Ciceron. lib. ii. de Natur. Deor.

[263] *Χωρῶ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ φύσιν πάντων· αὕτη γὰρ, ὡς σὺ προσέταξας, καὶ φέρω πάντα, καὶ τὰ φονευθέντα δέχομαι.* Herm. Minerva Mundi, apud Jo. Stobæum in Eclogis Physicis, p. 124.

[264] Paul. Capitol. Caten. Græc. in Job. xvii. ult.

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with that which Olympiodorus writeth upon the same chapter: "[265]Is it not a thing common unto all men to die? is not hell," or *hades*, "the house for all? do not all find there an end of their labours?" Yea, some do think that Homer himself doth take ᾅδης either for the earth or the grave in those verses of the eighth of his Iliads:—

Ἠ μιν ἑλὼν ῥίψω ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,
Τῆλε μάλ', ἧχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον·
Ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι, καὶ χάλκεος οὐδὸς,
Τόσσον ἔνερθ' ἀΐδεω, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ὑπὸ γαίης.

—— I'll cast him down as deep
As Tartarus, the brood of night, where Barathrum doth steep
Torment in his profoundest sinks; where is the floor of brass
And gates of iron: the place for depth as far doth hell surpass
As heaven for height exceeds the earth.

For Tartarus being commonly acknowledged to be a part of *hades*, and to be the very hell where the wicked spirits are tormented, they think the hell from whence Homer maketh it to be as far distant as the heaven is from the earth, can be referred to nothing so fitly as to the earth or the grave. It is taken also for a tomb in that place of Pindarus:

[266]——Ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δω-
μάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες ἀΐδαν
Βασιλέες ἱεροὶ
ἐντί.

Other sacred kings have gotten a tomb apart by themselves before the houses, or before the gates of the city. And therefore we see that Ἀΐδας is by Suidas, in his Lexicon, expressly interpreted ὁ τάφος, and by Hesychius *τύμβος, τάφος, a tomb*, or *a grave*. And in the Greek Dictionary set out by the Romanists themselves for the better understanding of the Bible, it is noted that [267]*hades* doth not

[265] Οὐ κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν; οὐχ ᾄδης ἅπασιν ὁ οἶκος; οὐκ ἐκεῖ πάντες τῶν ἐνθάδε καταλήγουσι τῶν πόνων; Olympiod. Caten. Græc. in Job. xvii.

[266] Pindar. Pyth. Od. v.

[267] Ἅιδης, Orcus, Tartarus, sepulchrum. Lexic. Græco-Lat. in sacro Apparatu Biblior. Regior. edit. Antuerp. ann. 1572.

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only signify that which we commonly call hell, but the sepulchre or grave also. Of which because Stapleton and Bellarmine do deny that any proof can be brought, these instances following may be considered.

In the book of Tobit, chap. iii. 10, *I shall bring my father's old age with sorrow* εἰς ᾅδου, *unto hell;* what can it import else, but that which is in other words expressed, chap. vi. 14, *I shall bring my father's life with sorrow* εἰς τὸν τάφον, *unto the grave?* In the 93rd and 113th Psalms, according to the Greek division, or the 94th and 115th, according to the Hebrew, where the Hebrew hath דומה the place of *silence*, meaning the grave, as our adversaries themselves do grant, there the Greek hath *hades* or hell. In Isaiah xiv. 19, where the vulgar Latin translateth out of the Hebrew, *Descenderunt ad fundamenta laci, quasi cadaver putridum,* "They descended unto the foundations of the lake or pit, as a rotten carcase;" instead of the Hebrew בור which signifieth the *lake* or *pit*, the Greek both there and in Isaiah xxxviii. 18, putteth in *hades* or *hell.* And on the other side, Ezek. xxxii. 21, where the Hebrew saith, *The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of sheol* or *hell*, there the Greek readeth εἰς βάθος λάκκου, or ἐν βάθει βόθρου, *in the depth of the lake* or *pit;* by *hell*, *lake*, and *pit*, nothing but the *grave* being understood, as appeareth by comparing this verse with the five that come after it. So in these places following, where in the Hebrew is *sheol*, in the Greek *hades*, in the Latin *infernus* or *inferi*, in the English *hell*, the place of dead bodies, and not of souls, is to be understood. Gen. XLIV. 29, *Ye shall bring down my grey hairs with sorrow unto hell*, and verse 31, *Thy servants shall bring down the grey hairs of our father with sorrow unto hell.* Where no lower hell can be conceited into which grey hairs may be brought, than the grave. So 1 Kings ii. 6, David giveth this charge unto Solomon concerning Joab: *Let not his hoar head go down to hell in peace;* and in the ninth verse concerning Shimei, *His hoar head bring thou down to hell with blood.* Psalm CXLI. 7, *Our bones are scattered at the mouth of hell.* Isaiah xiv. 11, *Thy pomp is brought down to hell; the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.* Psalm vi. 5, *In death there is no remembrance*

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of thee; in hell who shall give thee thanks? of which there can be no better paraphrase than that which is given in Psalm LXXXVIII. 11, 12, *Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave? or thy faithfulness in destruction? shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?*

Andradius, in his defence of the faith of the Council of Trent, speaking of the difference of reading which is found in the sermon of St Peter, Acts ii. 24, where God is said to have raised up our Saviour, *loosing the sorrows of death*, as the Greek books commonly read, or *the sorrows of hell*, as the Latin, saith, for reconciliation thereof, that "[268] there will be no disagreement betwixt the Latin and Greek copies, if we do mark that hell in this place is used for death and the grave, according to the Hebrews' manner of speaking, as in the 15th Psalm, which Peter presently after citeth, *Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell;* and Isaiah xxxviii. *For hell cannot confess unto thee.* For when he disputeth," saith he, "of the resurrection of Christ, he confirmeth by many and most evident testimonies of David, that Christ did suffer death for mankind in such sort, that he could not be overwhelmed with death, nor long lie hidden among the dead. And it seemeth to me, that by *the sorrows of hell* or *death* a death full of sorrow and miseries is signified, according to the Hebrews' manner of speaking, as in Matt. xxiv. *the abomination of desolation* is taken for an abominable desolation." Thus far Andradius, clearly forsaking herein his fellow-defenders of the Tridentine faith, who by the one text, of *loosing the sorrows of death*, would fain prove Christ's descending to free the souls that were tormented in purgatory; and by the other, of *not leaving his soul in hell*, his descending into Limbus to de-

[268] Nullum erit inter Latina Græcaque exemplaria dissidium, si animadvertamus infernum hoc loco pro morte atque sepulchro, Hebræorum dicendi more, usurpari, ut Psal. xv. quem mox Petrus citat, *Quoniam non dereliquisti animam meam in inferno;* et Esai. xxxviii. *Quia non infernus confitebitur tibi.* Nam cum de Christi resurrectione disserat, multis atque apertissimis Davidis testimoniis confirmat, ita pro humano genere mortem Christum obiisse, ut morte obrui et delitescere inter mortuos diu non posset. Videtur autem mihi per dolores inferni sive mortis mortem doloris atque miseriarum plenam, Hebræorum dicendi more, significari, sicut Matthæi cap. xxiv. abominatio desolationis accipitur pro desolatione abominanda. Andrad. Defens. Tridentin. Fid. lib. ii.

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liver the souls of the Fathers that were at rest in Abraham's bosom.

The former of these texts, Acts ii. 24, is thus expounded by Ribera the Jesuit: "[269] God raised him up, loosing and making void the sorrows of death, that is to say, that which death by so many sorrows had effected; namely, that the soul should be separated from the body." His fellow, Sà, interpreteth *the loosing of the sorrows of death* to be the "[270] delivering of him from the troubles of death; although sorrow," saith he, "may be the epithet of death, because it useth to be joined with death." The Apostle's speech hath manifest reference to the words of David, 2 Samuel xxii. 5, 6, and Psalm xviii. (*al.* xvii.) 4, 5, where in the former verse mention is made of חבלי מות *the sorrows of death*, in the latter of חבלי שאול which by the Septuagint is in the place of the Psalms translated ὠδῖνες ᾅδου, *the sorrows of hell*; in 2 Samuel xxii. 6, [271] ὠδῖνες θανάτου, *the sorrows of death*, according to the explication following in the end of the selfsame verse, *The sorrows of hell compassed me about, the snares of death prevented me*; and in Psalm cxvi. 3, *The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell found me*, or, *gat hold upon me.* Where Lyranus hath this note: "[272] In the Hebrew for *hell* is put *sheol*, which doth not signify only hell, but signifieth also the pit or the grave; and so it is taken here, by reason it followeth upon death." The like explicatory repetition is [273] noted also by the interpreters to have been used by the Prophet in that other text alleged out of Psalm xvi. 10, as in Psalm xxx. (*al.* xxix.) 3, Ἀνήγαγες ἐξ ᾅδου τὴν ψυχήν μου, ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων εἰς λάκκον, *Thou hast brought up my soul from hell, thou hast kept me safe* (or *alive*)

[269] Suscitavit illum Deus, solvens et irritans dolores mortis, hoc est, quod per tot dolores mors effecerat, ut scilicet anima separaretur a corpore. Fr. Ribera, in Hos. cap. xiii. num. 23.

[270] Quasi dicat, Ereptum a mortis molestiis; has enim dolores vocat, quanquam mortis epitheton possit esse dolor, quod morti conjungi soleat. Emman. Sà, Notat. in Act. ii. 24.

[271] In edit. Aldina et Vaticana; nam Complutensis habet σχοινία ᾅδου.

[272] In Hebræo pro inferno ponitur *sheol*, quod non solum significat infernum, sed etiam significat fossam sive sepulturam; et sic accipitur hic, eo quod sequitur ad mortem. Nic. de Lyra, in Psal. cxiv.

[273] כפל ענין במלות שונות R. David Kimchi, in Psal. xvi. 10. Hoc melius ex sua consuetudine explicans, exaggeransque, Nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Aug. Steuchus.

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from those that go down to the pit; and Job xxxiii. 22, Ἤγγισε δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾅδῃ, *His soul drew near unto death, and his life unto hell.* Whence that in the prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach is taken, Ecclesiastic. LI. Ἤγγισεν ἕως θανάτου ἡ ψυχή μου, καὶ ἡ ζωή μου ἦν σύνεγγυς ᾅδου κάτω, *My soul drew near unto death, and my life was near to hell beneath.* And therefore for *hell* doth Pagnin, in his translation of the 16th Psalm, put the *grave*, being therein also followed in the interlineary Bible [274] approved by the censure of the University of Louvaine; and in the notes upon the same, that go under the name of Vatablus, the word *soul* is, by comparing of this with Levit. xxi. 1, expounded to be the body. So doth Arias Montanus directly interpret this text of the Psalm: "[275] *Thou shalt not leave my soul in the grave*, that is to say, my body." And Isidorus Clarius, in his annotations upon the second of the Acts, saith that *my soul in hell* in that place is, according to the manner of speech used by the Hebrews, put for "[276] my body in the grave or tomb;" lest any man should think that Master Beza was the first deviser or principal author of this interpretation.

Yet him alone doth Cardinal Bellarmine single out here to try his manhood upon, but doth so miserably acquit himself in the encounter, that it may well be doubted whether he laboured therein more to cross Beza than to strive with himself in the wilful suppressing of the light of his own knowledge. For whereas Beza, in his notes upon Acts ii. 27, had shewed out of the first and second verses of the 21st chapter of Leviticus, and other places of Scripture, that the Hebrew word נפש which we translate *soul*, is put for a dead body; the Cardinal, to rid himself handsomely of this, which pinched him very shrewdly, telleth us in sober sadness, "[277] that there is a very great difference betwixt the Hebrew

[274] Censorum Lovaniensium judicio examinata, et Academiæ suffragio comprobata. Biblia interlin. edit. ann. 1572.

[275] *Non relinques animam meam in sepulchro*, (Psal. xvi. 10), id est, corpus meum. Ar. Montan. in Hebraicæ Linguæ Idiotismis, voc. *Anima*, in Sacr. Bibl. Apparat. edit. ann. 1572.

[276] Heb. pro Corpus meum in sepulchro vel tumulo. Isid. Clarius in Act. ii.

[277] Dico multum inter נפש et ψυχὴν interesse. Nam נפש est generalissima vox, et significat sine ullo tropo tam animam quam animal, imo etiam corpus; ut patet ex plurimis scripturæ locis, &c. Itaque in Levitico non ponitur pars pro

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נפש and the Greek ψυχή. For נפש" saith he, "is a most general word, and signifieth without any trope as well the soul as the living creature itself, yea, and the body itself also, as by very many places of Scripture it doth appear." And therefore in Leviticus, where that name is given unto dead bodies, "one part is not put for another, to wit, the soul for the body, but a word which doth usually signify the body itself; or the whole at leastwise is put for the part, namely, the living creature for the body thereof. But in the second of the Acts ψυχή is put, which signifieth the soul alone." Now, did not the Cardinal know, think you, in his own conscience, that as in the second of the Acts ψυχή is put where the original text of the Psalm there alleged hath נפש, so on the other side in those places of Leviticus, which he would fain make to be so different from this, where the original text readeth נפש, there the Greek also putteth ψυχή? Do we not there read, Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ μιανθήσονται, Levit. xxi. 1; and in the 11th verse, Ἐπὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυίᾳ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται, *He shall not go into any dead soul,* that is, to any dead body? The Cardinal himself bringeth in Num. xxiii. 10, and xxxi. 35, and Gen. xxxvii. 21, and Num. xix. 13, to prove that נפש doth signify either the whole man or his very body; and must not the word ψυχή, which the Greek Bible useth in all those places, of necessity also be expounded after the same manner? Take, for example, that last place, which is most pertinent to the purpose, Num. xix. 13, Πᾶς ὁ ἁπτόμενος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου, which the vulgar Latin rendereth, *Omnis qui tetigerit humanæ animæ morticinum,* and compare it with the 11th verse, Ὁ ἁπτόμενος τοῦ τεθνηκότος πάσης ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου, *He that toucheth any soul of a dead man* (that is, as the vulgar Latin rightly expoundeth the meaning of it, *Qui tetigerit cadaver hominis,* "He that toucheth the dead body of any man,") *shall be unclean seven days;* and we shall need no other proof, that the Greek word ψυχή being put for the Hebrew נפש may signify the dead body of a man, even as the Latin *anima* also doth in that place of the heathen

parte, id est, anima pro corpore, sed vocabulum quod ipsum corpus significare solet; aut certe ponitur totum pro parte, id est, vivens pro corpore. At Actor. ii. ponitur ψυχή, quæ animam solam significat. Bellarm. de Christ. lib. iv. cap. 12.

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poet, [278]*Animamque sepulchro Condimus*, "We buried his soul in the grave." The argument, therefore, drawn from the nature of the word ψυχὴ, doth no way hinder that in Acts ii. 27, *Thou wilt not leave my soul*, should be interpreted either, *Thou wilt not leave me*, (as in the 31st verse following, where the Greek text saith that *his soul was not left*, the old Latin hath, *He was not left*,) or, *Thou wilt not leave my body*, as the interpreters writing upon that place, Gen. XLVI. 26, *All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins*, do generally expound it either by a synecdoche, whereby the one part of the man is put for the whole person, (as we may see in the Commentaries upon Genesis attributed to Eucherius, lib. iii. cap. 31, Alcuinus in Genes. Interrog. 269, Anselmus Laudunensis in the interlineary gloss, Lyranus, and others,) or by a metonymy, whereby that which is contained is put for that which doth contain it; for illustration whereof St Augustine very aptly bringeth in this example: "[279]As we give the name of a church unto the material building wherein the people are contained, unto whom the name of the church doth properly appertain, by the name of the church, that is, of the people which are contained, signifying the place which doth contain them; so, because the souls are contained in the bodies, by the souls here named the bodies of the sons of Jacob may be understood. For so may that also be taken, where the law saith that he is defiled who *shall go into a dead soul*, (Levit. xxi. 11), that is, to the carcase of a dead man; that by the name of a dead soul the dead body may be understood, which did contain the soul; even as when the people are absent which be the church, yet the place nevertheless is still termed the church."

Yea, but "[280]the word *hades*," saith Bellarmine, "as we

[278] Virgil. Æneid. III.

[279] Sicut ergo appellamus ecclesiam basilicam, qua continetur populus, qui vere appellatur ecclesia, ut nomine ecclesiæ, id est, populi qui continetur, significemus locum qui continet; ita quod animæ corporibus continentur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas possunt. Sic enim melius accipitur etiam illud, quod lex inquinari dicit eum, qui intraverit super animam mortuam, hoc est, super defuncti cadaver; ut nomine animæ mortuæ mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat; quia et absente populo, id est ecclesia, locus tamen ille nihilominus ecclesia nuncupatur. August. Epist. CLVII. ad Optat.

[280] Vox ᾅδης, ut supra ostendimus, significat semper infernum, nunquam sepulchrum. At corpus Christi non fuit in inferno; ergo anima ibi fuit. Bellarmin. de Christo, lib. iv. cap. 12.

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have shewed, doth always signify hell, and never the grave. But the body of Christ was not in hell; therefore his soul was there." If he had said that the word *hades* did either rarely or never signify the grave, although he had not therein spoken truly, yet it might have argued a little more modesty in him, and that he had taken some care also that his latter conceits should hold some better correspondency with the former. For he might have remembered how, in the place unto which he doth refer us, he had said that [281]the seventy-two Seniors did every where in their translation put *hades* instead of *sheol*, which, as he there hath told us, "is ordinarily taken for the place of souls under the earth, and either rarely or never for the grave." But we have shewed, not only out of those dictionaries unto which the [282]Cardinal doth refer us, having forgotten first to look into them himself, but by allegation of divers particular instances likewise, unto none of which he hath made any answer, that *hades* in the translation of the seventy-two Seniors is not rarely, but very usually taken for the place of dead bodies. So for the use of the word *infernus* in the Latin translation, Lyranus noteth that it is "[283]taken in the Scripture" not for the place of the damned only, but also "for the pit wherein dead men's carcases were laid." And among the Jesuits, Gaspar Sanctius yieldeth for the general, that "[284]*infernus* or hell is frequently in the Scripture taken for burial;" and in particular Emmanuel Sà confesseth it to be so taken in Gen. XLii. 38, 1 Sam. ii. 6, Job vii. 9, and xxi. 13, Psalm xxix. 4, and LXXXVii. 4, and xciii. 17, and cxiii. 17, and cxiv. 3, and CXL. 7, (according to the Greek division), Prov. i. 12, and xxiii. 14, Ecclesiast. ix. 10, Cantic. viii. 6, Ecclesiastic. Li. 7, Isaiah xxviii. 15, and xxxviii. 10, Baruch ii. 17, Dan. iii. 88, (in the hymn of the three children), and 2 Maccab. vi. 23. In all which places, *hades* being used in the Greek, and *inferi* or *infernus* in the Latin, it is acknowledged by the [285]Jesuit that the

[281] Id. ibid. cap. 10.

[282] Consulantur omnia dictionaria. Ib. cap. 12.

[283] Accipitur infernus in scriptura dupliciter; uno modo pro fossa ubi ponuntur mortuorum cadavera, alio modo pro loco ubi descendunt animæ damnatorum ad purgandum, et generaliter illorum qui non admittuntur statim ad gloriam. Lyran. in Esai. v.

[284] Est in scriptura frequens infernum pro sepultura, atque adeo pro morte sumi. Gasp. Sanct. Comment. in Act. ii. sect. 56.

[285] Emm. Sà, Notat. in Scriptur.

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grave is meant, which by [286] Bede also is termed *infernus exterior*, the "exterior hell." So Alcuinus, moving the question how that speech of Jacob should be understood, Gen. xxxvii. 35, *I will go down to my son mourning into hell*, maketh answer, that "[287] these be the words of a troubled and grieving man amplifying his evils even from hence; or else," saith he, "by the name of hell he signified the grave, as if he should have said, I remain in sorrow until the earth do receive me, as the grave hath done him."

So Primasius, expounding the place, Hebrews xiii. 20, "[288] God the Father," saith he, "brought his Son from the dead, that is to say, from hell or from the grave, according to that which the Psalmist had foretold, *Thou wilt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.*" And Maximus Taurinensis saith, that "[289] Mary Magdalene received a reproof, because after the resurrection she sought our Lord in the grave; and not remembering his words, whereby he had said that the third day he would return from hell, she thought him still to be detained by the laws of hell." And therefore, saith he, while "[290] she did seek the Lord in the grave among the rest of the dead, she is reprehended, and it is said unto her, *Why seekest thou him that liveth among the dead?* that is to say, Why seekest thou him among them that are in the infernal parts, who is now known to have returned unto the supernal?" "[291] For he that seeketh for him either in the infernal places or in the graves, to him it is said, *Why seekest thou him that liveth among the dead?*" And to the same purpose he applieth those other words of our Saviour unto Mary, *Touch me*

[286] Bed. in Psal. XLVIII.

[287] Perturbati et dolentis verba sunt, mala sua etiam hinc exaggerantis: vel etiam inferni nomine sepulchrum significavit, quasi diceret, In luctu maneo donec me terra suscipiat, sicut illum sepulchrum. Alcuin. in Gen. Interrog. CCLVI.

[288] Deus ergo Pater eduxit Filium suum de mortuis, hoc est, de inferno vel de sepulchro, juxta quod Psalmista prædixerat, Non dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Primas. in Heb. xiii.

[289] Maria Magdalene non leviter fuit objurgata, cur post resurrectionem Dominum quæreret in sepulchro, et non reminiscens verborum ejus, quibus se ab inferis tertia die rediturum esse dixerat, putaret eum inferni legibus detineri. Maxim. Taurin. de Sepultur. Domini, Homil. IV.

[290] Unde et illa Maria Magdalene, quæ Dominum inter ceteros defunctos in sepulchro quærebat, arguitur, et dicitur illi, Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? hoc est, Quid quæris apud inferos, quem redisse jam constat ad superos? Id. de ead. Homil. III.

[291] Nam qui eum aut in infernis requirit aut tumulis, dicitur ei, Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? Ibid.

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not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father. As if he had said: "[292]Why dost thou desire to touch me, who, while thou seekest me among the graves, dost not as yet believe that I am ascended to my Father? who, while thou searchest for me among the infernals, dost distrust that I am returned to the celestials? while thou seekest me among the dead, dost not hope that I do live with my Father?" Where his *inferi* and *inferna* do plainly import no more but *tumulos* and *sepulchra.*

Hereupon Ruffinus, in his Exposition of the Creed, having given notice "[293]That in the symbol of the Church of Rome there is not added, *He descended into hell*, nor in the churches of the East neither," adjoineth presently, "Yet the force" or meaning "of the word seemeth to be the same, in that he is said to have been buried." Which some think to be the cause, why in all the ancient symbols that are known to have been written within the first 600 years after Christ, (that of Aquileia only excepted, which Ruffinus followed,) where the burial is expressed, there the descending into hell is omitted, as in that of Constantinople, for example, commonly called the Nicene Creed; and on the other side, where the descent into hell is mentioned, there the article of the burial is passed over, as in that of Athanasius. And to say the truth, the terms of burial and descending into hell, in the Scripture phrase, tend much to the expressing of the selfsame thing; but that the bare naming of the one doth lead us only to the consideration of the honour of burial, the addition of the other intimateth unto us that which is more dishonourable in it. Thus under the burial of our Saviour may be comprehended his ἐνταφιασμὸς and ταφὴ, his *funeration* and his *interring*, which are both of them set down in the end of the 19th chapter of the Gospel according to St John: the latter in the last two verses, where Joseph and Nicodemus are said to have *laid him in a new sepulchre, wherein was never*

[292] Quid me contingere cupis, quæ, me dum inter tumulos quæris, adhuc ad Patrem ascendisse non credis; quæ, dum me inter inferna scrutaris, ad cœlestia rediisse diffidis; dum inter mortuos quæris, vivere cum Deo Patre meo non speras? Id. de Sepultur. Dom. Homil. IV.

[293] Sciendum sane est, quod in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur additum, Descendit ad inferna; sed neque in Orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo. Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sepultus dicitur. Ruffin. in Exposit. Symbol.

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man yet laid; the former in the two verses going before, where it is recorded, that they *wound his body in linen clothes with spices*, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν, *as it is the manner of the Jews to bury.* For to the ἐνταφιασμὸς, or *funeration*, belongeth the embalming of the dead body, and all other offices that are performed unto it while it remains above ground. So Gen. L. 2, where the physicians are said to have *embalmed Israel*, the Greek translators render it, ἐνεταφίασαν οἱ ἐνταφιασταὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ. And when Mary poured the precious ointment upon our Saviour, himself interpreteth this to have been done for his [294]funeration or burial. "[295]For it was a custom in times past," saith Eusebius, commonly called Emissenus, "that the bodies of noblemen being to be buried, should first be anointed with precious ointments and buried with spices." And "[296]who knoweth not," saith Stapleton, "that a sepulchre is an honour to the dead, and not a disgrace?" But the mention of *sheol*, (which hath special relation, as hath been shewed, to the disposing of the dead body unto corruption), and so of *hades*, *infernus*, or hell, answering thereunto, carrieth us further to the consideration of that which the Apostle calleth the sowing of the body in corruption and dishonour, 1 Cor. xv. 42, 43. For which that place in St Augustine is worth the consideration: "[297]Did not the hells," or the grave, "give testimony unto Christ, when, loosing their power, they reserved Lazarus (whom they had received to dissolve) for four days together, that they might restore him safe again when they did hear the voice of their Lord commanding it?" Where you may observe an hell appointed for the dissolution of dead men's bodies, the descending into which, according to Ruffinus's note, differeth little or nothing from the descending into the grave.

[294] Matt. xxvi. 12; Mark xiv. 8; John xii. 7.

[295] Mos enim antiquitus fuit, ut nobilium corpora sepelienda unguentis pretiosis ungerentur, et cum aromatibus sepelirentur. Euseb. Emiss. Homil. Dominic. in Ramis Palmarum.

[296] Quis nescit sepulchrum mortuo honori esse, non dedecori, et quorundam sceleribus sepulchra negari? Stapleton, Antidot. in 1 Cor. xv. 55.

[297] Nonne inferna Christo testimonium perhibuerunt, quando jure suo perdito Lazarum, quem dissolvendum acceperant, integrum per quatriduum reservaverunt, ut incolumem redderent cum vocem Domini sui jubentis audirent? Orat. contra Judæos, Pagan. et Arian. cap. 17, Tom. VI. Oper. Augustin.

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In the 13th of the Acts St Paul preacheth unto the Jews, that God raised up his Son from the dead, [298] *not to return now any more unto corruption;* and yet presently addeth, that therein was verified that prophecy in the Psalm, [299] *Thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption;* implying thereby, that he descended in some sort for a time into corruption, although in that time he did not suffer corruption. And "[300] do not wonder," saith St Ambrose, "how he should descend into corruption whose flesh did not see corruption. He did descend indeed into the place of corruption, who pierced the hells; but being uncorrupted he shut out corruption." For as the word שחת, which the Prophet useth in the Psalm, doth signify as well the pit or place of corruption as the corruption itself, so also the word διαφθορὰ, whereby St Luke doth express the same, is used by the Greek interpreters of the Old Testament to signify not the corruption itself alone, but the very place of it likewise. As where we read in Psalm vii. 15, *He is fallen into the pit which he made;* and Psalm ix. 16, *The heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made;* and Proverbs xxvi. 27, *Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein:* Aquila in the first place, the Septuagint in the second, Aquila and Symmachus in the third, retain the Greek word διαφθορά. So that our Saviour descending into *sheol*, *hades*, or hell, may thus be understood to have *descended into corruption*, that is to say, into the pit or "place of corruption," as St Ambrose interpreteth it, although he were free in the meantime from the passion of corruption. And because שאול and שחת, ᾅδης and διαφθορὰ, *hell* and *corruption*, have reference to the selfsame thing, therefore doth the Arabic interpreter, [301] translated by Junius in Acts ii. 31, (or, as the Arabian divideth the book, Acts iv. 10), confound them together, and retain the same word in both the parts of the sentence, after this manner: "He was not left

[298] Μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν. Act. xiii. 34.

[299] Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. Ibid. vers. 35, ex Psal. xvi. 10.

[300] Ne mireris quomodo descenderit in corruptionem, cujus caro non vidit corruptionem. Descendit quidem in locum corruptionis, qui penetravit inferna; sed corruptionem incorruptus exclusit. Ambros. de Virginib. lib. iii.

[301] Ann. 1578, although in the Arabic Testament printed by Erpenius, ann. 1616, the terms be varied, الهاواص *al-hawiyato*, being put for *hell*, and فسلدا *phalada* for *corruption*.

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in perdition, neither did his flesh see perdition." Even as in the 29th Psalm (or the 30th, according to the division of the Hebrews,) the Arabic readeth [302]الجحيم *al-giahimo*, or hell, where the Greek hath *διαφθορὰν*, the Hebrew שחת and the Chaldee paraphrase בית קבורתא that is, *the house of the grave.*

Athanasius, in his book of the Incarnation of the Word, written against the Gentiles, observeth, that when God threatened our first parents that whatsoever day they did eat of the forbidden fruit they should "die the death," by "[303]dying the death" he signified, "that they should not only die, but also remain in the corruption of death;" and that our Saviour, coming to [304]free us from this corruption, "kept his own body uncorrupted, as a pledge and an evidence of the future resurrection of us all;" which hath wrought such a contempt of death in his disciples, that, as he addeth afterwards, we may "[305]see men which are by nature weak, leaping or dancing unto death, being not aghast at the corruption thereof, nor fearing the descents into hell." So the Grecians sing in their Liturgy at this day: "[306]The corruption-working palace of hell was dissolved when thou didst arise out of the grave, O Lord." And again, "[307]The stone is rolled away, the grave is emptied. Behold, corruption is trodden under by life. That which was mortal is saved by the flesh of God. Hell mourneth." For God, saith [308]Origen, "will neither leave

[302] Psalter Arabic. edit. Genuæ, ann. 1516, et Romæ, ann. 1619. Verum in duobus meis MSS. exemplaribus habetur hic الهلك *al-halaco*, quod *perditionem* vel *interitum* notat.

[303] Τὸ δὲ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾷ διαμένειν; Athan. de Incarnat. Verbi, Tom. I. Oper. Græco-Lat. p. 39.

[304] Τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαιον, πάντας πιστώσασθαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπάλειψιν, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀφθαρσίαν, ἧς πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον καὶ γνώρισμα τῆς ἐπὶ πάντας ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως τετήρηκεν ἄφθαρτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα. Ibid. p. 54.

[305] Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃ τις ἀνθρώπους ἀσθενεῖς ὄντας τῇ φύσει, προπηδῶντας εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ μὴ καταπτήσσοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν φθορὰν, μηδὲ τὰς ἐν ᾄδου καθόδους δειλιῶντας, &c. Ibid. p. 59.

[306] Κατελύθη καὶ τὸ τοῦ ᾄδου φθοροποιὸν βασίλειον, ἀναστάντος ἐκ τάφου σοῦ, Κύριε. Græci in Octoecho Anastasimo.

[307] Ὁ λίθος κεκύλισται, ὁ τάφος κεκένωται· ἴδετε τὴν φθορὰν τῇ ζωῇ πατηθεῖσαν, &c. τὸ θνητὸν σέσωσται σαρκὶ Θεοῦ· ὁ ᾄδης θρηνεῖ. Cumulas. in Græcorum Pentecostario.

[308] Neque nostras animas derelinquet in inferno, nec dabit nos in corruptione in perpetuum manere: sed qui illum post diem tertium revocavit ab inferis, et nos revocabit in tempore opportuno; et qui

our souls in hell, nor suffer us to remain for ever in corruption; but he that recalled Him after the third day from hell, will recall us also in fit time; and he who granted unto him that his flesh should not see corruption, will grant also unto us, not that our flesh shall not see corruption, but that in fit time it shall be freed from corruption."

It may here also further be observed, that although the Grecians do distinguish the funeration, whereof we speak, and the interring, by the different terms of ἐνταφιασμὸς and ταφὴ, yet the Latins do use the selfsame word of *sepulture* to denote the one as well as the other. And therefore in Gen. L. 2, where we read according to the Hebrew, that *Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father*, the ancient Latin translation made out of the Greek expressed it thus: *Dixit Joseph servis suis sepultoribus, ut sepelirent patrem ejus.* "Joseph gave order to his servants the buriers that they should bury his father." Upon which place St Augustine giveth this note: "[309]The Latin tongue doth not find how it should fitly express the Greek word ἐνταφιαστάς. For they are not they that bury, that is, commit to the earth the bodies of the dead; which is not in Greek ἐνεταφίασαν, but ἔθαψαν. Those ἐνταφιασταὶ therefore do that which is performed to the bodies that are to be interred, either by seasoning or drying or lapping or binding them; in which work the care of the Egyptians exceedeth all others. Where therefore it is said that they buried him, we ought to understand that they dressed him; and what is spoken of his forty days' burial is to be taken for this cure or dressing. For he was not buried but where he commanded himself to be buried:" namely, in the land of Canaan, not, where this was done, in the land of Egypt.

illi donavit ut non videat caro ejus corruptionem, nobis donabit, non quidem ut non videat caro nostra corruptionem, sed ut liberetur a corruptione tempore opportuno. Orig. Tract. XXXV. in Matth. cap. XXVII.

[309] Non invenit lingua Latina quemadmodum appellaret ἐνταφιαστάς. Non enim ipsi sepeliunt, id est, terræ mandant corpora mortuorum: quod non est Græce ἐνεταφίασαν, sed ἔθαψαν. Illi ergo ἐνταφιασταὶ id agunt quod exhibetur corporibus humandis, vel condiendo vel siccando vel involvendo et alligando; in quo opere maxime Ægyptiorum cura præcellit. Quod ergo dicit etiam *sepelierunt*, *curaverunt* intelligere debemus. Et quod dicit quadraginta dies sepulturæ, ipsius curationis accipiendæ sunt. Sepultus enim ille non est, nisi ubi se mandaverat sepeliri. Augustin. Locution. de Genesi, num. 203.

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And thus in the New Testament we still find this ἐνταφιασμὸς in the vulgar Latin rendered by the term of *sepulture*, and in our common English translations by the word of *burial*. As in the speech of our Saviour touching his anointment by Mary, Matth. xxvi. 12, *Ad sepeliendum me fecit, She did it for my burial;* Mark xiv. 8, *Prævenit ungere corpus meum in sepulturam, She is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying;* John xii. 7, *Sinite illam, ut in diem sepulturæ meæ servet illud*, which we translate, *Let her alone, against the day of my burying hath she kept this.* And in the history afterwards, John xix. 40, *Acceperunt ergo corpus Jesu, et ligaverunt illud linteis cum aromatibus, sicut mos est Judæis sepelire, Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.* Which rite of funeration being so carefully recorded by the evangelists, and by the old Latin interpreter expressly named his *sepulture*, and withal made a distinct act from his laying in the grave, their opinion wanteth not some probability, who think that in the Latin Creed (for that which we commonly call the Creed of the Apostles was proper to the Latin Church, and both for the brevity of the matter and the frame of the words diverse from the Eastern symbols), in the Latin Creed, I say, *sepultus*, or *buried*, might answer to the funeration, as in those texts cited out of the Gospel, and *Descendit ad inferna* or *inferos*, He descended into hell, to his laying in the grave. Which two distinct things [310]Ramus also noteth in the French tongue to be expressed by two distinct words, *ensevelir* and *enterrer*.

Neither is it any whit strange unto them that are conversant in the writings of the ancient doctors, to hear that our Saviour by his going to the grave descended into hell, spoiled hell, and brought away both his own body and the bodies of the saints from hell. We find the question moved by Gregory Nyssen, in his Sermon upon the Resurrection of Christ: "[311]How our Lord did dispose himself at the

[310] P. Ramus in Commentar. Relig. Christ. lib. i. cap. 14.

[311] Ζητεῖν γὰρ τοὺς φιλομαθεστέρους εἰκὸς, πῶς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τρισὶν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κύριος δίδωσιν, τῇ τε καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τῷ παραδείσῳ σὺν τῷ λῃστῇ, καὶ ταῖς πατρῴαις χερσί. Greg. Nyss. in Pascha, et Christi Resurrect. Tom. II. Oper. Græco-Lat. p. 823.

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same time three manner of ways, both *in the heart of the earth*, Matth. xii. 40, *and in paradise with the thief*, Luke xxiii. 43, *and in the hands of his Father*, Luke xxiii. 46." "[312]For neither will any man say," quoth he, "that paradise is in the places under the earth, or the places under the earth in paradise, that at the same time he might be in both; or that those" infernal "places are called the hand of the Father." Now for the last of these, he saith, the case is [313]plain, that being in paradise he must needs be in his "Father's hands" also; but the greatest doubt he maketh to be, "[314]how he should" at the same time be both in "*hades* and in paradise." For with him, the "heart of the earth," the places "under the earth," and *hades* or *hell*, are in this question one and the same thing. And his final resolution is, that in this hell Christ remained with his dead body, when with his soul he brought the thief into the possession of paradise: "[315]For by his body," saith he, "wherein he sustained not the corruption that followeth upon death, he destroyed him that had the power of death; but by his soul he led the thief into the entrance of paradise. And these two did work at the selfsame time, the Godhead accomplishing the good by them both; namely, by the incorruption of the body the dissolution of death, and by the placing of the soul in his proper seat the bringing back of men unto paradise again."

The like sentence do we meet withal in the same Father's Epistle unto Eustathia, Ambrosia, and Basilissa: "[316]His body he caused by dispensation to be separated

[312] Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ὑποχθονίοις εἴποι τις ἂν τὸν παράδεισον, οὔτε ἐν παραδείσῳ τὰ ὑποχθόνια, ὥστε κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι· ἢ χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς λέγεσθαι ταῦτα. Ibid.

[313] Δῆλον ὅτι ὁ ἐν παραδείσῳ γενόμενος ταῖς πατρῴαις πάντως ἐνδιαιτᾶται παλάμαις; Ibid. p. 825.

[314] Πῶς κατὰ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ καὶ ἐν παραδείσῳ ὁ Κύριος; Ibid. p. 824.

[315] Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου καταφθορὰν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, κατήργησε τὸν ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κράτος· διὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡδοποίησε τῷ λῃστῇ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον εἴσοδον. καὶ τὰ δύο κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἐνεργεῖται, δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῆς θεότητος τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατορθούσης· διὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφθαρσίας τὴν τοῦ θανάτου κατάλυσιν· διὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς, τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἑστίαν ἐπειγομένης, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπάνοδον. Ibid. p. 825.

[316] Τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διαζευχθῆναι κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐποίησεν· ἡ δὲ ἀμέριστος θεότης, ἅπαξ ἀνακραθεῖσα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνεσπάσθη· ἀλλὰ μετὰ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γίνεται ὁδοποιοῦσα διὰ τοῦ λῃστοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις

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from his soul; but the invisible Deity being once knit with that subject, was neither disjoined from the body nor the soul, but was with the soul in paradise, making way by the thief for an entrance unto mankind thither; and with the body in the heart of the earth, destroying him that had the power of death." Wherewith we may compare that place which we meet withal in the works of St Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea, wherein our Saviour is brought in speaking after this manner: "[317] I must descend into the very bottom of hell for the dead that are detained there. I must by the three days' death of my flesh overthrow the power of long-continuing death. I must light the lamp of my BODY unto them which sit in darkness and in the shadow of death." And that of St Chrysostom, who is accounted also to be the author of that other sermon attributed unto St Gregory: "[318] How were the brazen gates broken, and the iron bars burst? By his BODY. For then appeared first a body immortal and dissolving the tyranny of death itself; whereby was shewed that the force of death was taken away, not that the sins of those who died before his coming were dissolved." And that which we read in another place of his works: "[319] He spoiled hell descending into hell; he made it bitter when it tasted of his flesh: which Isaiah understanding beforehand, cried out, saying, *Hell was made bitter, meeting thee below.* (So the Septuagint render the

τὴν εἴσοδον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς ἀναιροῦσα τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου. Id. in Epist. ad Eustath. ibid. p. 1993.

[317] Δεῖ με κατελθεῖν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ ᾅδου πυθμένα, διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατεχομένους νεκρούς. δεῖ με τῇ τριημέρῳ τελευτῇ τῆς ἐμῆς σακρὸς καθελεῖν τοῦ πολυχρονίου θανάτου τὸ κράτος. δεῖ με τοῦ σώματός μου τὸν λύχνον ἀνάψαι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις. Gregor. Neocæs. Serm. in Theophania, p. 111. Oper. edit. Mogunt. et inter Oper. Chrysost. Tom. VII. edit. Savil. p. 660.

[318] Πῶς οὖν συνετρίβησαν πύλαι χαλκαῖ, καὶ μοχλοὶ σιδηροῖ συνεθλάσθησαν; διὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. τότε γὰρ πρῶτον ἐδείχθη σῶμα ἀθάνατον καὶ διαλύον αὐτοῦ θανάτου τὴν τυραννίδα. ἄλλως δὲ, τοῦτο δείκνυσι τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀνῃρημένην, οὐ τῶν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκότων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα λελυμένα. Chrysost. in Matth. cap. xi. Hom. XXXVI. edit. Græc. vel XXXVII. Latin.

[319] 'Εκόλασε τὸν ᾅδην ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην. ἐπίκρανεν αὐτὸν, γευσάμενος (γευσάμενον reponendum, ex MS. Constantinopolitano) τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν 'Ησαΐας ἐβόησεν· 'Ο ᾅδης, φησιν, ἐπικράνθη, συναντήσας σοι κάτω ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη· ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη· ἔλαβε σῶμα, καὶ Θεῷ περίετυχεν· ἔλαβε γῆν, καὶ συνήντησεν οὐρανῷ· ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπε, καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε. Orat. Catechetic. in S. Pascha, Tom. v. Oper. Chrysost. edit. Savil. p. 916, et in Græcorum Pentecostario: ubi pro prima voce ἐκόλασε rectius habetur ἐσκύλευσε.

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words, Isaiah xiv. 19.) It was made bitter, for it was destroyed; it was made bitter, for it was mocked; it received a BODY, and light upon God; it received earth, and met with heaven; it received that which it saw, and fell from that which it did not see."

Thus Cæsarius expounding the parable, Luke xiii. 21, wherein the kingdom of God is likened unto *leaven which a woman took and hid in three pecks of flour, till all was leavened*, saith, that "[320]the three pecks of flour are, *first*, the whole nature of mankind, *secondly*, death, and after that, *hades;* wherein the divine BODY being hidden by BURIAL, did leaven all unto resurrection and life." Whereupon he bringeth in our Saviour in another place speaking thus: "[321]I will therefore be buried for their sakes that be in *hades;* I will therefore as it were with a stone strike the gates thereof, bringing forth the prisoners in strength, as my servant David hath said." So St Basil asketh, "[322]How we do accomplish the descent into hell?" and answereth, that we do it in "imitating the BURIAL of Christ in baptism. For the bodies of those that be baptized are as it were buried in the water," saith he. St Hilary maketh mention of Christ's "[323]flesh quickened out of hell by himself." And Arator in like manner:

> [324]Infernum Dominus cum destructurus adiret,
> Detulit inde suam spoliato funere carnem.

"When the Lord went to hell to destroy it, he brought from THENCE his own flesh, spoiling the grave."

[325]Philo Carpathius addeth, that "in his grave he spoiled

[320] Ἀλεύρου δὲ σάτα τρία, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ πᾶσα βροτῶν φύσις, δεύτερον δὲ ὁ θάνατος, μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ᾅδης, ἐν ᾧ ἐγκρυφὲν διὰ ταφῆς τὸ θεῖον σῶμα ἔφυρε πάντα εἰς ἀνάστασιν καὶ ζωήν. Cæsarius, Dial. IV. Quæst. CXCVII.

[321] Τούτῳ ταφήσομαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ᾅδῃ τυγχάνοντας· τούτῳ οἱονεὶ πέτρᾳ πατάξω ἐκείνου πύλας, ἐξάγων πεπεδημένους ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ οἰκέτης μου. Id. Dialog. III. Quæst. CLXVI.

[322] Πῶς οὖν κατορθοῦμεν τὴν εἰς ᾅδην κάθοδον; μιμούμενοι τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. οἱονεὶ γὰρ ἐνθάπτεται τῷ ὕδατι τῶν βαπτιζομένων τὰ σώματα. Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 15.

[323] Et hæc vermis, vel non ex conceptu communium originum vivens, vel e profundis terræ vivus emergens, ad significationem assumptæ et vivificatæ per se etiam ex inferno carnis professus est. Hilar. de Trinitat. lib. xi.

[324] Arator. Histor. Apostolic. lib. i.

[325] Philo in Cantic. v. 2, Ἐγὼ καθεύδω, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου ἀγρυπνεῖ.] Ἐν τῷ τάφῳ σκυλεύουσα τὸν ᾅδη. inter fragmenta Eusebii in Cantic. a Meursio edita, p. 52.

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hell." Whereupon the Emperor Leo, in his oration upon the burial of our Saviour, wisheth us to [326]honour it by adorning ourselves with virtues, and not by putting him in the grave again: "For it behoved," saith he, "that this should be once done, to the end that hell might be spoiled; and it was done." And the Grecians retain the commemoration hereof in their Liturgies unto this day; as their Octoëchon Anastasimon and Pentecostarian do testify, wherein such hymns and prayers as these are frequent: "[327]Thou didst receive death in thy flesh, working thereby immortality for us, O Saviour; and didst dwell in the grave, that thou mightest free us from hell, raising us up together with thyself." "[328]When thou wast put in the tomb as a mortal man, the keepers of hell-gates shook for fear; for, having overthrown the strength of death, thou didst exhibit incorruption to all the dead by thy resurrection." "[329]Although thou didst descend into the grave as a mortal man, O Giver of Life, yet didst thou dissolve the strength of hell, O Christ, raising up the dead together with thyself, whom it had also swallowed; and didst exhibit the resurrection, as God, unto all that in faith and desire do magnify thee." "[330]Thou, who by thy three days' burial didst spoil death, and by thy life-bringing resurrection didst raise up corrupted man, O Christ our God, as a lover of mankind, to thee be glory." "[331]Thou who by thy three days' burial didst spoil hell, and by thy resurrection didst save man, have mercy upon me." "[332]By thy three days' burial the enemy was spoiled,

[326] Τιμήσωμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν θείαν ταφήν· τιμήσωμεν δὲ οὐκ ὀθόναις αὐτὸν περιστέλλοντες, οὐδὲ τάφῳ κατατιθέντες· ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σκυλευθῆναι τὸν ᾅδην ἔδει γενέσθαι, καὶ γέγονεν· ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περιβάλλοντες ἀρεταῖς. Leo Imp. Hom. I.

[327] Θάνατον κατεδέξω σαρκὶ, ἡμῖν ἀθανασίαν πραγματευσάμενος, σωτὴρ, καὶ ἐν τάφῳ ᾤκησας, ἵνα ἡμᾶς τοῦ ᾅδου ἐλευθερώσῃς, συναναστήσας ἑαυτῷ.

[328] Ἔφριξαν ᾅδου πυλωροὶ, ὅτε ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ὡς θνητὸς κατετέθης· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσας τὴν ἰσχὺν, τοῖς τεθνεῶσι πᾶσιν ἀφθαρσίαν παρέσχες τῇ ἀναστάσει σου.

[329] Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ κατῆλθες ὡς θνητὸς, ζωοδότα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ᾅδου τὴν ἰσχὺν διέλυσας, Χριστὲ, συνεγείρας νεκροὺς, οὓς καὶ συγκατέπιε· καὶ ἀνάστασιν πᾶσι παρέσχες ὡς Θεὸς, τοῖς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ σε μεγαλύνουσι.

[330] Τῇ τριημέρῳ ταφῇ σου σκυλεύσας τὸν θάνατον, καὶ φθαρέντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ ζωηφόρῳ ἐγέρσει σου ἀναστήσας, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς φιλάνθρωπος, δόξα σοι.

[331] Ὁ τριημέρῳ ταφῇ σου σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ τῇ ἐγέρσει σου σώσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐλέησόν με.

[332] Τριημέρῳ σου ταφῇ ἐσκυλεύθη ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ᾅδου δεσμῶν ἀπελύθησαν νεκροὶ, νενέκρωται ὁ θάνατος, ἐκενώθη τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ ᾅδου· διό σε, ζωοδότα, ἐν ὕμνοις τιμῶντες μεγαλύνομεν.

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the dead loosed from the bands of hell, Death deaded, the palaces of hell voided: therefore in hymns do we honour and magnify thee, O Giver of Life." "[333]Thou wast put in the tomb, being voluntarily made dead, and didst empty all the palaces of hell, O immortal King, raising up the dead with thy resurrection." "[334]Thou who spoiledst hell by thy burial, be mindful of me."

Hitherto also belongeth that of Prudentius, in his Apotheosis:

> —— tumuloque inferna refringens
> Regna resurgentes secum jubet ire sepultos.
> Cœlum habitat, terris intervenit, abdita rumpit
> Tartara: vera fides; Deus est, qui totus ubique est.

Where, in saying that our Saviour "by his grave did break up the infernal kingdoms," and "commanded those that were buried to rise up with him," he hath reference unto that part of the history of the Gospel wherein it is recorded, that *The graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.* Matth. xxvii. 52, 53. Upon which place St Hilary writeth thus: "[335]Enlightening the darkness of death and shining in the obscure places of hell, by the resurrection of the saints that were seen at the present he took away the spoils of death itself." To the same effect writeth St Ambrose also: "[336]Neither did his sepulchre want a miracle. For when he was anointed by Joseph, and buried in his tomb, by a new kind of work he that was dead himself did open the sepulchres of the dead. His body indeed did lie in the grave, but he himself, being free among the dead, did give liberty unto them that were placed in hell, dissolving

[333] Ἐτέθης ἐν μνημείῳ, ὁ ἑκουσίως γενόμενος νεκρὸς, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ ᾅδου, βασιλεῦ ἀθάνατε, ἅπαντα ἐκένωσας, νεκροὺς τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐγείρας τῇ σῇ.

[334] Μνήσθητί μου, ὁ τὸν ᾅδην σκυλεύσας τῇ ταφῇ σου. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. ann. 1589, Tom. VI. col. 128.

[335] Illuminans enim mortis tenebras, et infernorum obscura collustrans, in sanctorum ad præsens conspicatorum resurrectione mortis ipsius spolia detrahebat. Hilar. in Matth. Canon 33.

[336] Sed nec sepulchrum quidem ejus miraculo caret. Nam cum esset unctus a Joseph, et in ejus monumento sepultus; novo opere quodam ipse defunctus defunctorum sepulchra reserabat. Et corpus quidem ejus jacebat in tumulo; ipse autem inter mortuos liber remissionem in inferno positis, soluta mortis lege, donabat. Erat enim caro ejus in monumento, sed virtus ejus operabatur e cœlo. Ambros. de Incarnat. cap. 5.

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the law of death. For his flesh was in the tomb, but his power did work from heaven." Which may be a sufficient commentary upon that sentence which we read in the exposition of the Creed attributed unto St Chrysostom: "[337]He descended into hell, that there also he might not want a miracle. For many bodies of the saints arose with Christ." Namely, "[338]HELL rendering up the BODIES of the saints alive again," as either the same, or another author that goeth under the like name of Chrysostom, doth elsewhere directly affirm: which is a further confirmation of that which we have heard delivered by Ruffinus touching the exposition of the article of the Descent into hell, that the substance thereof seemeth to be the same with that of the burial. For what other hell can we imagine it to be but the grave, that thus receiveth and giveth up the bodies of men departed this life?

And hitherto also may be referred that famous saying of "Christ's descending alone, and ascending with a multitude," which we meet withal in four several places of antiquity. *First*, in the heads of the sermon of Thaddæus, as they are reported by Eusebius out of the Syriac records of the city of Edessa: "[339]He was crucified and descended into *hades* or hell, and brake the rampire never broken before since the beginning; and rose again, and raised up with him those dead that had slept from the beginning; and descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a great multitude." *Secondly*, in the Epistle of Ignatius unto the Trallians: "[340]He was truly, and not in opinion, cruci-

[337] Descendit ad infernum, ut et ibi a miraculo non vacaret. Nam multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt cum Christo. Homil. II. in Symbol. Tom. V. Latin. Oper. Chrysostom.

[338] Reddunt inferi corpora rediviva sanctorum; et in occursum auctoris inferos penetrantis temporalem accipiunt beatæ animæ commeatum. Homil. IV. de Proditore, et Pass. Dominic. Tom. III. Latin. Oper. Chrysost.

[339] Πῶς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ συνήγειρε νεκροὺς τοὺς ἀπ' αἰώνων κεκοιμημένους; καὶ πῶς κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ; Thaddæus apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. ult.

[340] Ἀληθῶς δὲ, καὶ οὐ δοκήσει, ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἀπέθανε, βλεπόντων οὐρανίων, καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ καταχθονίων· οὐρανίων μὲν, ὡς τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσεων· ἐπιγείων δὲ, Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τῶν παρόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, σταυρουμένου τοῦ Κυρίου· καταχθονίων δὲ, ὡς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ συναναστάντος τῷ Κυρίῳ. Πολλὰ γὰρ, φησὶ, σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη, τῶν μνημείων ἀνεῳχθέντων. καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδην μόνος, ἀνῆλθε δὲ μετὰ πλήθους, καὶ ἔσχισε τὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν, καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον αὐτοῦ ἔλυσε. Ignat. Epist. II. ad Trallian.

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fied, and died; those that were in heaven and in earth and under the earth beholding him: those in heaven, as the incorporeal natures; those in earth, to wit, the Jews and the Romans, and such men as were present at that time when the Lord was crucified; those under the earth, as the multitude that rose up together with the Lord; for *many bodies*," saith he, "*of the saints which slept arose, the graves being opened.* And he descended into *hades* or hell alone, but returned with a multitude, and brake the rampire that had stood from the beginning, and overthrew the partition thereof." *Thirdly*, in the Disputation of Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the first general Council of Nice: "[341] After death we were carried into *hades* or hell. Christ took upon him this also, and descended voluntarily into it; he was not detained as we, but descended only. For he was not subjected unto death, but was the Lord of death; and descending alone, he returned with a multitude. For he was that spiritual grain of wheat, falling for us into the earth, and dying in the flesh; who, by the power of his Godhead, raised up the temple of his body according to the Scriptures, which brought forth for fruit the resurrection of all mankind." *Fourthly*, in the Catechises of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, whose words are these: "[342] I believe that Christ was raised from the dead. For of this I have many witnesses, both out of the divine Scriptures, and from the witness and operation even unto this day of him that rose again; of him, I say, that descended into *hades* or hell alone, but ascended with many. For he did descend unto death; *and many bodies of the saints that slept were raised by him.*" Which resurrection he seemeth afterward

[341] Κατεφερόμεθα μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εἰς τὸν ᾅδην· ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ κατῆλθεν ἑκουσίως εἰς αὐτόν. οὐ κατηνέχθη καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατῆλθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑποκείμενος τῷ θανάτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐξουσιαστὴς τοῦ θανάτου. καὶ μόνος κατελθὼν, μετὰ πλήθους ἀνελήλυθεν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ νοερὸς κόκκος τοῦ σίτου, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γὴν, καὶ ἀποθανὼν σαρκὶ, ὃς τῇ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἀνέστησε τὸν σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν, κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, καρποφορήσαντα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἀνάστασιν. Macar. Hierosolym. apud Gelasium Cyzicen. in Act. Conc. Nicæn. lib. i. cap. 23. al. 24.

[342] Πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται. πολλὰς γὰρ ἔχω τὰς περὶ τούτου μαρτυρίας, ἔκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέχρι σήμερον τοῦ ἀναστάντος μαρτυρίας καὶ ἐνεργείας, τοῦ μόνου μὲν καταβάντος εἰς ᾅδην, πολλοστοῦ δὲ ἀναβάντος. κατῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη δι' αὐτοῦ. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. XIV.

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to make common unto all the saints that died before our Saviour. "[343]All the righteous men," saith he, "were delivered, whom death had devoured. For it became the proclaimed King to be the deliverer of those good proclaimers of him. Then did every one of the righteous say, O death, where is thy victory? O hell, where is thy sting? for the Conqueror hath delivered us." Wherewith we may compare that saying of St Chrysostom: "[344]If it were a great matter that Lazarus, being four days dead, should come forth, much more that all they who were dead of old should appear together alive, which was a sign of the future resurrection; for *many bodies of the saints which slept arose*," saith the text. And those other attributed unto him in the Greek Euchologue: "[345]The monuments, or graves, were opened, and they that were dead from the beginning arose:" the Lord "[346]descending into *hades*, and shaking out the monuments thereof, freed all those that were detained bound therein, and called them unto himself." And these articles of the confession of the Armenians: "[347]According to his body, which was dead, he descended into the grave; but according to his divinity, which did live, he overcame hell in the mean time. The third day he rose again, but withal raised up the souls (or persons) of the faithful together with him, and gave hope thereby that our bodies also should rise again like unto him at his second coming."

[343] Ἐλυτροῦντο πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, οὓς κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κηρυχθέντα βασιλέα τῶν καλῶν κηρύκων γενέσθαι λυτρωτήν. Εἶτα ἕκαστος τῶν δικαίων ἔλεγε, Ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ κέντρον; ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ νικοποιός. Id. ibid.

[344] Εἰ γὰρ τὸ τεταρταῖον ἐξελθεῖν Λάζαρον μέγα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ πάντας ἀθρόως τοὺς πάλαι κοιμηθέντας φανῆναι ζῶντας. ὃ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως σημεῖον ἦν· πολλὰ γὰρ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη, φησί. Chrysost. in Matth. xxvii. Hom. LXXXVIII. edit. Græc. vel LXXXIX. Latin. *ubi tamen Interpres vertit:* Multo majus profecto est multos jam olim mortuos in vitam reduxisse.

[345] Τὰ μνημεῖα ἠνεῴχθησαν, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος θανόντες ἀνέστησαν. Eucholog. fol. 166. b.

[346] Ὁ καταβὰς εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐκτινάξας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατεχομένους δεσμίους ἐλευθερώσας, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακαλεσάμενος. Ibid.

[347] Ergo et in sepulchrum quoad corpus, quod mortuum erat, descendit; juxta vero divinitatem, quæ vivebat, infernum interea devicit. Tertio die resurrexit: sed et animas fidelium secum una suscitavit; et dedit spem corporibus etiam a morte resurgendi sibi similiter in secundo adventu. Confess. Armen. Artic. 122—124.

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Of those who arose with our Saviour from the grave, or, as anciently they used to speak, from hell, two there be whom the Fathers nominate in particular, Adam and Job; unto whom [348]Eusebius also thinketh fit that David should be added. Of Job St Ambrose writeth in this manner: "[349]Having heard what God had spoken in him, and having understood by the Holy Ghost that the Son of God was not only to come into the earth, but that he was also to descend into hell, that he might raise up the dead, (which was then done for a testimony of the present and an example of the future), he turned himself unto the Lord and said, *O that thou wouldest keep me in hell, that thou wouldest hide me until thy wrath be past, and that thou wouldest appoint me a time in which thou wouldest remember me.* Job xiv. 13." In which words he affirmeth that Job did prophesy "[350]that he should be raised up at the passion of our Lord, as in the end of this book," saith he, "he doth testify." Meaning the apocryphal appendix which is annexed to the end of the Greek edition of Job, wherein we read thus: "[351]It is written, that he should rise again with those whom the Lord was to raise." Which although it be accounted to have proceeded from the Septuagint, yet the thing itself sheweth that it was added by some that lived after the coming of our Saviour Christ. Touching Adam St Augustine affirmeth, that "[352]the whole Church almost did consent" that Christ loosed him in hell. "Which we are to believe," saith he, "that she did not vainly believe whencesoever this tradition came, although no express authority of the canonical Scriptures be produced

[348] Euseb. in Psalm. iii. 5, in Catena Danielis Barbari et Aloysii Lippomani.

[349] Audito igitur quid locutus esset in eo Deus, et cognito per Spiritum Sanctum quod Filius Dei non solum veniret in terras, sed etiam descensurus esset ad inferos, ut mortuos resuscitaret, (quod tunc quidem factum est ad testimonium præsentium et exemplum futurorum), conversus ad Dominum ait, Utinam in inferno conservares, absconderes autem me donec desinat ira tua, et statuas mihi tempus in quo memoriam mei facias. Ambros. de Interpellatione Job. lib. i. cap. 8.

[350] Quod in passione Domini resuscitandus foret, sicut in fine hujus libri testatur. Ibid.

[351] Γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσασθαι, μεθ' ὧν ὁ Κύριος ἀνίστησι, vel ἀνέστησε. Append. ad Job. Vide Clement. Constitut. Apostolic. lib. v. cap. 6.

[352] Et de illo quidem primo homine patre generis humani, quod eum ibidem solverit, Ecclesia fere tota consentit; quod eam non inaniter credidisse credendum est, undecunque hoc traditum sit, etiamsi canonicarum scripturarum hinc expressa non proferatur auctoritas. Aug. Epist. xcix.

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for it."" The only place which he could think of that seemed to look this way, was that in the beginning of the tenth chapter of the Book of Wisdom: *She kept him who was the first-formed Father of the world, when he was created alone, and brought him out of his sin.* Which would be much more pertinent to the purpose, if that were added which presently followeth in the [353] Latin text, I mean in the old edition, for the new corrected ones have left it out: *Et eduxit illum de limo terræ*, "and brought him out of the clay of the earth." Which being placed after the *bringing of him out of his sin*, may seem to have reference unto some deliverance, like that of David's, Psalm XL. 2, *He brought me up out of the horrible pit, out of the miry clay*, rather than unto his first creation out of the dust of the earth. So *limus terræ* may here answer well unto the Arabians' الثرى *al-tharay*, which properly signifying *moist earth*, or *slime*, or *clay*, is by the Arabic interpreter of Moses used to express the Hebrew [354] שאול, which we translate *hell* or *grave*. And as this place in the Book of Wisdom may be thus applied unto the raising of Adam's body out of the earth, wherein he lay buried, so may that other tradition also, which was so current in the Church, be referred unto the selfsame thing, even to the bringing of Adam out of the hell of the grave.

The very Liturgies of the Church do lead us unto this interpretation of the tradition of the Church, beside the testimony of the Fathers, which discover unto us the first ground and foundation of this tradition. In the Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, ascribed to St Mark, our Saviour Christ is thus called upon: "[355] O most great King, and co-eternal to the Father, who by thy might didst spoil hell, and tread down death, and bind the strong one, and raise

[353] In Bibliis Complutensibus, et Regiis edit. Antuerp. ann. 1572, et magnis Latinis Bibliis edit. Venet. ann. 1588, ubi in hanc particulam habentur notæ Glossæ interlinealis et Nic. Lyrani.

[354] Fr. Rapheleng. in Lexico Arabico, p. 53 et 55. תרי et תרא *sepulchrum, infernus*, שאול. Male, inquit Erpenius, in observation. ad hunc locum: significat *terram humidam*. Verum Raphelengium ab hac reprehensione vindicat Arabs Pentateuchi interpres ab ipso Erpenio editus, qui *sheol* vertit *tharay*, Gen. xxxvii. 35, et XLIV. 29, 31; item Num. xvi. 30, 33, et Deut. xxxii. 22.

[355] Ἄναξ μέγιστε, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνάναρχε, ὁ τῷ σῷ κράτει τὸν ᾅδην σκυλεύσας, καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουργικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αἴγλῃ τῆς σῆς ἀρρήτου θεότητος. Marci Liturg.

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Adam out of the grave by thy divine power and the bright splendour of thine unspeakable Godhead." In the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, translated into Latin by Leo Thuseus, the like speech is used of him: "[356]He did voluntarily undergo the cross for us, by which he raised up the first-formed man, and saved our souls from death." And in the *Octoëchon Anastasimon* and *Pentecostarion* of the Grecians at this day, such sayings as these are very usual: "[357]Thou didst undergo burial, and rise in glory, and raise up Adam together with thee, by thy almighty hand." "[358]Rising out of thy tomb, thou didst raise up the dead, and break the power of death, and raise up Adam." "[359]Having slept in the flesh as a mortal man, O King and Lord, the third day thou didst arise again, raising Adam from corruption, and abolishing death." "[360]Jesus the Deliverer, who raised up Adam of his compassion, &c." Therefore doth Theodorus Prodromus begin his tetrastich upon our Saviour's resurrection with—

Ἔγρεο πρωτόπλαστε παλαίγενες, ἔγρεο τύμβου.

Rise up, thou first-formed old man, rise up from thy grave.

St Ambrose pointeth to the ground of the tradition, when he intimateth that Christ suffered in "[361]Golgotha, where Adam's sepulchre was, that by his cross he might raise him that was dead; that where in Adam the death of all men lay, there in Christ might be the resurrection of all." Which he received, as he did many other things besides, from Origen, who writeth thus of the matter: "[362]There came unto me some such tradition as this, that

[356] Crucem sponte pro nobis subiit, per quam resuscitavit protoplastum, et a morte animas nostras salvavit. Chrysost. Liturg. Latin.

[357] Ταφὴν καταδεξάμενος, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐν δόξῃ, συναναστήσας τὸν Ἀδὰμ χειρὶ παντοδυνάμῳ. Nov. Antholog. Græc. edit. Romæ ann. 1598, p. 235. b.

[358] Ἐξαναστὰς τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἤγειρας, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κράτος συνέτριψας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνέστησας. Ibid. fin. p. 239.

[359] Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας ὡς θνητὸς, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύριος, τριήμερος ἐξανέστης Ἀδὰμ ἐγείρας ἐκ φθορᾶς, καὶ καταργήσας θάνατον. Ibid. p. 262. b.

[360] Ἰησοῦς ὁ λυτρωτὴς, ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Ibid. p. 278. b.

[361] Quam suscepit in Golgotha Christus, ubi Adæ sepulchrum, ut illum mortuum in sua cruce resuscitaret. Ubi ergo in Adam mors omnium, ibi in Christo omnium resurrectio. Ambros. lib. v. Epist. XIX.

[362] Venit ad me traditio quædam talis, quod corpus Adæ primi hominis ibi sepultum est ubi crucifixus est Christus, ut

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the body of Adam the first man was buried there where Christ was crucified; that as in Adam all do die, so in Christ all might be made alive; that in the place which is called the place of Calvary, that is, the place of the head, the head of mankind might find resurrection with all the rest of the people by the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, who suffered there and rose again. For it was unfit that when many which were born of him did receive forgiveness of their sins, and obtain the benefit of resurrection, he who was the father of all men should not much more obtain the like grace." Athanasius, or whoever else was author of the discourse upon the passion of our Lord which beareth his name, referreth this tradition of Adam's burial-place unto the report of the [363]doctors of the Hebrews, (from whom, belike, he thought that Origen had received it), and addeth withal, that it was very fit that where it was said to Adam, *Earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt return*, our Saviour finding him there, should say unto him again, *Arise, thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.*" [364]Epiphanius goeth a little further, and findeth out a mystery in the water and blood that fell from the cross upon the relics of our first father lying buried under it, applying thereunto both that in the Gospel, of the *arising of many of the saints*, (Matt. xxvii. 52), and that other place in St Paul, *Arise, thou that sleepest*, &c. (Ephes. v. 14). Which strange speculation, with what great applause it was received by the multitude at the first delivery of it, and for how little reason, he that lists may read in the fourth book of St Jerome's Commentaries upon the 27th of St Matthew, and in his third upon the 5th to the Ephesians. For upon this first point, of Christ's descent into the hell of the grave,

sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo qui dicitur Calvariæ locus, id est, locus capitis, caput humani generis resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est et resurrexit. Inconveniens enim erat, ut cum multi ex eo nati remissionem acciperent peccatorum, et beneficium resurrectionis consequerentur, non magis ipse pater omnium hominum hujusmodi gratiam consequeretur. Origen. Tractat. xxxv. in Matt. cap. xxvii.

[363] Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀλλαχοῦ πάσχει, οὐδὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον σταυροῦται, ἢ εἰς τὸν κρανίου τόπον, ὃν Ἑβραίων οἱ διδάσκαλοί φασι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἶναι τάφον. Athanas. in Passion. et Crucem Domini.

[364] Epiphan. contra Tatian. Hæres. XLVI. Vide etiam Paulæ et Eustochii Epist. ad Marcellam, Tomo I. Oper. Hieronymi, Epist. XVII.

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and the bringing of Adam and his children with him from thence, we have dwelt too long already.

In the second place, therefore, we are now to consider that as *hades* and *inferi*, which we call hell, are applied by the interpreters of the holy Scripture to denote the place of bodies separated from their souls, so with foreign authors, (in whose language, as being that wherewith the common people was acquainted, the Church also did use to speak,) the same terms do signify ordinarily the common lodge of souls separated from their bodies, whether the particular place assigned unto each of them be conceived to be a habitation of bliss or of misery. For as when the grave is said to be the common receptacle of dead bodies, it is not meant thereby that all dead carcases are heaped together promiscuously in one certain pit; so when the heathen write, that all the souls of the dead go to *hades*, their meaning is not that they are all shut up together in one and the selfsame room; but in general only they understand thereby the translation of them into the other world, the extreme parts whereof the poets place as far asunder as we do heaven and hell. And this opinion of theirs St Ambrose doth well like of, [365]wishing that they "had not mingled other superfluous and unprofitable" conceits therewith: "[366]That souls departed from their bodies did go to ᾅδης, that is, to a place which is not seen; which place," saith he, "we in Latin call *infernus*." So likewise saith St Chrysostom: "[367]The Grecians and barbarians, and poets and philosophers, and all mankind, do herein consent with us, although not all alike, and say that there be certain seats of judgment in *hades*; so manifest and so confessed a thing is this." And again: "[368]The Grecians were foolish in many things, yet

[365] Atque utinam non superflua his et inutilia miscuissent. Ambros. de Bono Mortis, cap. 10.

[366] Satis fuerat dixisse illis, quod liberatæ animæ de corporibus *αἴδην* peterent, id est, locum qui non videtur. Quem locum Latine *infernum* dicimus. Ibid.

[367] Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ πᾶν ἀνθρώπων γένος συμφωνοῦσιν ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως, καί φασιν εἶναί τινα δικαστήρια ἐν ᾅδου. οὕτω φανερὸν καὶ ὡμολογημένον τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστι. Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Homil. IX.

[368] Τοσαῦτα ἐληρησαν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὅμως πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δόγματος τούτου οὐκ ἀντέστησαν ἀλήθειαν. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκολουθήσεις, ὅμως ἔδωκάν τινα μετὰ ταῦτα βίον, καὶ εὐθύνας, καὶ δικαστήρια ἐν ᾅδου, καὶ κολάσεις, καὶ τιμὰς, καὶ ψήφους, καὶ κρίσεις· κἂν Ἰουδαίους ἐρωτήσῃς, κἂν αἱρετικοὺς, κἂν ὄντινα ἄνθρωπον, αἰσχυνθήσεται τοῦ δόγματος τὴν

did they not resist the truth of this doctrine. If, therefore, thou wilt follow them, they have granted that there is a certain life after this, and accounts, and seats of judgment in *hades*, and punishments, and honours, and sentences, and judgments. And if thou shalt ask the Jews or heretics, or any man, he will reverence the truth of this doctrine; and although they differ in other things, yet in this do they all agree, and say that there are accounts to be made there of the things that be done here." Only among the Jews the "Sadducees, which [369]*say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit*, τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι, take away the punishments and honours that are in *hades*," as is noted by [370]Josephus. For which wicked doctrine they were condemned by the other sects of the Jews, who generally acknowledged that there was עולם הנשמות *olam hanneshamoth*, (for [371]so do they in their language until this day call that which Josephus in Greek termeth *hades*), that is to say, *the world of spirits*, into which they held that the souls were translated presently after death, and there received their several judgments.

The same thing doth Theodoret suppose to be signified by that phrase of being *gathered to one's people*, which is so usual in the word of God. For it being said of Jacob, before he was buried, that he *gave up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people*, Gen. XLIX. 33, Theodoret observeth, that "Moses [372]by these words did closely intimate the hope of the resurrection. For if men," saith he, "had been wholly extinguished, and did not pass unto another life, he would not have said, *He was gathered to his people.*" So likewise, where it is distinctly noted of Abraham, Gen. xxv. 8, 9, first, that *he gave up the ghost and died*, then, that *he was gathered to his people*, and lastly, that *his sons buried him*, Cardinal [373]Cajetan and the Jesuit [374]Lorinus interpret

ἀλήθειαν· καὶ εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις διαφέρονται, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ πάντες συμφωνοῦσι, καὶ λέγουσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἐκεῖ. Chrysost. de Fato et Providentia, Orat. IV. Tom. VI. p. 874, edit. Savil.

[369] Acts xxiii. 8.

[370] Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. 12, circa finem.

[371] Elias Levita in Tischi, verb. הבא עולם

[372] Διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων ᾐνίξατο τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Εἰ γὰρ παντάπασι διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ εἰς ἕτερον μετέβαινον βίον, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε, Προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Theodoret. in Gen. Quæst. CIX.

[373] Cajetan. in Gen. xxv.

[374] Lorin. in Act. xiii. 16.

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the first *de compositi totius dissolutione*, "of the dissolution of the parts of the *whole man*," consisting of body and soul; the second of the state of the *soul* separated from the body; and the third of the disposing of *the body* parted from the soul. Thus the Scripture's speech of being *gathered to our people* should be answerable in meaning to the phrase used by the heathen of "descending into hell," or "going to *hades*;" which, as [375]Synesius noteth out of Homer, was by them opposed τῇ ἀκριβεστάτῃ ἀπωλείᾳ, to *a most absolute extinguishment* as well of the soul as of the body. And forasmuch as by that term "the immortality of the soul" was commonly signified, therefore doth Plato, in his Phædo, disputing of that argument, make this the state of his question: "[376]Whether the souls of men deceased be in *hades* or no?" and Olympiodorus, the Alexandrian deacon, affirmeth of Job, that he delivered "[377]the most excellent doctrine of the immortality of the soul," by teaching, "that souls are not extinguished together with their bodies, but do remain in *hades*;" and some others also of our ecclesiastical writers do from thence fetch a difference betwixt death and *hades*. "[378]You shall find," saith Theophylact, "that there is some difference betwixt *hades* and death; namely, that *hades* containeth the souls, but death the bodies. For the souls are immortal." The same we read in [379]Nicetas Serronius's Exposition of Gregory Nazianzen's second paschal Oration. Andreas Cæsariensis doth thus express the difference: "[380]Death is the separation of the soul and the body; but *hades* is a place to us invisible, or unseen and unknown, which receiveth our souls when they depart from hence." The ordinary gloss, following St Jerome upon the 13th of

[375] Synes. Epist. IV.

[376] Εἴτε ἄρα ἐν ᾄδου εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαὶ τελευτησάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε καὶ οὔ; Plat. Phædon. p. 381, edit. Græco-Latin. ann. 1590.

[377] Περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς κάλλιστον εἰσηγεῖται μάθημα. δι' ὧν διδάσκει, μὴ συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾄδου τυγχάνειν. Olympiodor. Protheor. in Job. κεφ. δ.

[378] Comperies aliquod esse inferni et mortis discrimen; videlicet, quod animas infernus contineat, mors vero corpora. Nam immortales sunt animæ. Theophylact. in 1 Cor. xv.

[379] Hoc differunt mors et infernus, quod illa corpora, hic animas detineat. Nicet. in Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. XLII.

[380] Θάνατος μὲν χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ᾅδης δὲ τόπος ἡμῖν ἀειδὴς, ἤγουν ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄγνωστος, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημούσας δεχόμενος. Andr. Cæsariens. in Apocalyps. Commentar. cap. 64. edit. Græc. 63 Latin.

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Hosea, thus: "[381]Death is that whereby the soul is separated from the body; hell is that place wherein the souls are included either for comfort or for pain.

The "[382]soul goeth to *hades*," saith Nicetas Choniates in the proem of his history, "but the body returneth again into those things of which it was composed." Caius, or whoever else was the author of that ancient fragment which we formerly signified to have been falsely fathered upon Josephus, holdeth, that "[383]in *hades* the souls both of the righteous and unrighteous are contained;" "[384]but that the righteous are led to the right hand by the angels that await them there, and brought unto a lightsome region, wherein the righteous men that have been from the beginning do dwell, and this we call Abraham's bosom," saith he; whereas "the wicked are drawn toward the left hand by the punishing angels, not going willingly, but drawn as prisoners by violence." Where you may observe how he frameth his description of *hades* according to that model wherewith the poets had before possessed men's minds:

> [385]Dextera, quæ ditis magni sub mœnia tendit.
> Hac iter Elysium nobis: at læva malorum
> Exercet pœnas, et ad impia Tartara mittit.

> "The right hand path goeth underneath the walls of Pluto deep;
> That way we must, if paths to paradise we think to keep:
> The left hand leads to pain, and men to Tartarus doth send."

For "[386]as we do allot unto good men a resting-place in paradise, so the Greeks do assign unto their heroes the

[381] Mors est qua separatur a corpore. Infernus est lacus ubi recluduntur animæ, vel ad refrigerium, vel ad pœnam. Strabus in Gloss. Ordinar. ex Hieronym. lib. iii. in Ose. cap. xiii.

[382] Καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐς ᾅδου βέβηκεν ἡ ψυχὴ, πρὸς δὲ τὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἡρμόσθη, τὸ σῶμα ἐπαλινδρόμησε. Nicet. init. Historiæ.

[383] Περὶ δὲ ᾅδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. Caius, in Fragmento de Causa sive Essentia Universi: de quo supra, p. 205.

[384] Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δίκαιοι, εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγωγούμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενοι, ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινὸν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαιοι πολιτεύονται, &c. τούτῳ δὲ ὄνομα κικλήσκομεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἕλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν, οὐκέτι ἑκουσίως πορευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βίας ὡς δέσμιοι ἑλκόμενοι. Ibid.

[385] Virgil. Æneid. VI. conferend. cum Platonis Narratione, lib. x. de Republ. paullo post citanda.

[386] Ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀποκληροῦμεν διατριβὴν, οὕτω τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀπονέμουσιν Ἕλληνες τὰς μακάρων νήσους καὶ τὸ ἠλύσιον πεδίον. Jo. Tzetz. in Hesiod. Ἐργ.

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Fortunate Islands and the Elysian fields," saith Tzetzes. And as the Scripture borroweth the term of [387] Tartarus from the heathen, so is it thought by [388] Tertullian and [389] Gregory Nazianzen, that the heathen took the ground of their "Elysian fields" from the Scriptures' paradise.

To heap up many testimonies out of heathen authors to prove that in their understanding all souls went to *hades*, and received there either punishment or reward according to the life that they led in this world, would be but a needless work, seeing none that hath read any thing in their writings can be ignorant thereof. If any man desire to inform himself herein, he may repair to Plutarch's consolatory Discourse written to Apollinus, where he shall find the testimonies of [390] Pindarus and many others alleged, *περὶ τῶν εὐσεβέων ἐν ᾅδου*, touching the state of *the godly in hades*. Their common opinion is sufficiently expressed in that sentence of Diphilus, the old comical poet: "[391] In *hades* we resolve there are two paths; the one whereof is the way of the righteous, the other of the wicked." Which by [392] Theodoret is commended for true philosophy indeed; as the like, in the stoical philosophy of Zeno, is by [393] Lactantius pronounced to be consonant to the doctrine of the prophets and the verity of our religion. But as in this general they agreed together both among themselves and with the truth, so touching the particular situation of this *hades*, and the special places whereunto these two sorts of souls were disposed, and the state of things there, a number of ridiculous fictions and fond conceits are to be found among them, wherein they dissented as much from one another as they did from the truth itself. So we see, for example, [394] that the best souls are placed by some of them in the company of their gods in heaven, by others in the *galaxias*

[387] *Σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας.* 2 Pet. ii. 4.

[388] Tertullian. Apologetic. cap. 47.

[389] Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xx. in laud. Basilii.

[390] Pindar. Olymp. Od. II. ubi etiam Scholiastes ejus meminit *τῶν ἐν ᾅδου δικαίων*.

[391] *Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ᾅδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν· Μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν εἶν' ὁδόν.* Diphil. apud Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. v. indeque apud Euseb. Præp. Evangelic. lib. xiii. p. 400, edit. Græc. et auctorem libri de Monarchia apud Justinum Martyr. qui Philemoni hoc attribuit.

[392] Theodoret. in Therapeutic. ad Græc. lib. viii. pp. 88, 89.

[393] Lactant. Institut. lib. vii. cap. 7.

[394] Vide Tertullian. de Anima, cap. 54, 55, et Macrob. in Somn. Scipionis, lib. i. cap. 9—12.

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or milky circle, by others about the moon, by others in the lower air, by others beyond the ocean, and by others under the earth:

[395] Πάντας ὁμῶς θνητοὺς δέχεται,

yet one *hades*, notwithstanding, was commonly thought to have received them all.

Plato relateth this as a sentence delivered by them who were the first ordainers of the Grecian mysteries: "[396] Whosoever goeth to *hades* not initiated and not cleansed shall lie in the mire; but he that cometh thither purged and initiated shall dwell with the gods." So Zoroaster, the great Father of the Magi in the East, is said to have used this entrance into his discourse touching the things of the other world: "[397] These things wrote Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, by race a Pamphylian, having been dead in the war, which I learned of the gods, being in *hades*," as Clemens Alexandrinus relateth in the fifth book of his Stromata; where he also noteth, that this Zoroaster is that Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian, of whom Plato writeth in the tenth book of his Commonwealth, that being slain in the war he revived the twelfth day after, and was sent back as a messenger to report unto men here the things which he had heard and seen in the other world. One part of whose relation was this: That he saw certain [398] gulfs beneath in the earth and above in the heaven opposite one to the other; and that the just were commanded by the judges that sate betwixt those gulfs to go to the *right* hand up toward heaven, but the wicked to the *left* hand and downward. Which testimonies [399] Eusebius bringeth in, among many others, to shew the consent that is betwixt Plato and the Hebrews in matters that concern the state of the world to come.

[395] Antholog. lib. i. cap. 37. and lib. iii. cap. 6. Εἰς κοινὸν ᾄδην πάντες ἥξουσι βροτοί.

[396] Ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς ᾄδου ἀφίκηται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται· ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος, ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος, μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. Plat. Phædon. p. 380. f. and 380. a.

[397] Τάδε συνέγραψε Ζωροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος, ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ὅσα ἐν ᾄδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ θεῶν. Zoroaster apud Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. v. indeque apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. xiii. p. 395.

[398] Plato lib. x. de Repub. p. 518.

[399] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. xi. p. 330. Vide et Origenem contra Celsum, lib. ii. p. 72, edit. Græc.

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Next to Zoroaster cometh Pythagoras, whose golden verses are concluded with this distich:

[400] Ἢν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα, ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς,
Ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος Θεὸς, ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι θνητός.

"When thou shalt leave the body and come unto a free heaven, thou shalt be an immortal god, incorruptible, and not subject to mortality any more." So Epicharmus, the scholar of Pythagoras: "[401] If thou be godly in mind, thou shalt suffer no evil when thou art dead; thy spirit shall remain above in heaven." And Pindarus: "[402] The souls of the ungodly fly under the heaven (or under the earth) in cruel torments, under the unavoidable yokes of evils; but the souls of the godly, dwelling in heaven, do praise that great blessed One with songs and hymns."

Ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμέστιοι,

as [403] Empedocles speaketh, "conjoined in the same dwelling with other immortal wights." Whereunto we may add these Greek verses of Moschion, in Stobæus:

Ἐάσατ' ἤδη γῇ καλυφθῆναι νεκροὺς,
Ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο,
Ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,
Τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν.

"Suffer now the dead to be covered with earth, and whence every thing came into the body, thither to return again; the spirit to heaven, the body to the earth." And compare them with the like Latin of [404] Lucretius:

Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras; et quod missum est ex ætheris oris,
Id rursum cœli rellatum templa receptant.

[400] Pythagor. Aur. Carm. cum Commentar. Hieroclis, p. 310.

[401] Εὐσεβὴς νῷ πεφυκὼς οὐ πάθοις γ' οὐδὲν κακὸν Κατθανών· ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ' οὐρανόν. Epicharm. apud Clement. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. iv.

[402] Ψυχαὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ὑπουράνιοι (al. ὑπ' οὖν τοι) γαίᾳ πωτῶνται ἐν ἄλγεσι φονίοις ὑπὸ ζεύγλαις ἀφύκτοις κακῶν· εὐσεβῶν δὲ ἐπουράνιοι νάουσι (al. ἐν οὐρανοῖς ναίουσαι) μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν ἀείδουσ' ἐν ὕμνοις. Pindar. ibid. et apud Theodoret. in Therapeutic. ad Græcos, lib. viii.

[403] Empedoc. apud Clement. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. v.

[404] Lucret. de Rer. Natur. lib. ii.

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"For that which was before of the earth goeth back again into the earth; and what was sent down from the heavenly regions, that do the temples of heaven again receive transmitted thither."

Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, allegeth the testimony of [405]Ennius, approving the common fame that "Romulus did lead his life in heaven with the gods." And in the sixth book of his Commonwealth he bringeth in Scipio teaching, that "[406]unto all them which preserve, assist, and enlarge their country, there is a certain place appointed in heaven, where they shall live blessed world without end." "[407]Such a life," saith he, "is the way to heaven, and into the company of those who, having lived, and are now loosed from their body, do inhabit that place which thou seest," pointing to the *galaxias*, or milky circle, whereof we read thus also in [408]Manilius:

> An fortes animæ, dignataque nomina cœlo,
> Corporibus resoluta suis, terræque remissa;
> Huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia cœlum,
> Æthereos vivunt annos, mundoque fruuntur?

With Damascius, the philosopher of Damascus, this circle "[409]is the way of the souls that go to the *hades* in heaven." Against whom Johannes Philoponus doth reason thus, from the etymology of the word: "[410]If they pass through the *galaxias*, or milky circle, then this should be that ἀΐδης, or *hades*, that is in heaven; and how can that be *hades* which is so lightsome?" To which they that maintained the other opinion would peradventure oppose that other common derivation of the word from the Doric ἅδειν, which signifieth *to please*, or *to delight;* or that which [411]Plato

[405] Romulus in cœlo cum diis agit ævum, ut famæ assentiens dixit Ennius. Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i.

[406] Omnibus qui patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur. Id. in Somnio Scipionis.

[407] Ea vita via est in cœlum, et in hunc cœtum eorum, qui jam vixerunt, et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum quem vides, (erat autem is splendidissimo candore inter flammas elucens circulus,) quem vos, ut a Graiis accepistis, orbem lacteum nuncupatis. Ibid.

[408] Manil. Astronom. lib. i.

[409] Ἡ ὁδός ἐστι τὸ γάλα τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ ᾅδην. Damasc.

[410] Εἰ οὖν τὸν γαλαξίαν διαπορεύονται, οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀΐδης· καὶ πῶς ἀΐδης ὁ οὕτω φωτεινός; Philopon. in Meteor. I. fol. 104. b.

[411] Καὶ τό γε ὄνομα ὁ Ἅδης, ὦ Ἑρμόγενες, πολλοῦ δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀειδοῦς ἐπωνομᾶσθαι· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ

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doth deliver in the name of Socrates, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι, from *seeing* or knowing all good things; for there did Socrates look to find such things, as appeareth by that speech which Plato, in his Dialogue of the Soul, maketh him to use the same day that he was to depart out of this life: "[412]The soul, being an invisible thing, goeth hence into such another noble, pure, and invisible place; to *hades*, in truth, unto the good and wise God; whither, if God will, my soul must presently go." Which place is alleged by [413]Eusebius to prove, that "[414]in the things which concern the immortality of the soul Plato doth differ in opinion nothing from Moses." The tale also which Socrates there telleth of the "[415]pure land," seated above in the "pure heaven," though it have a number of toys added to it, as tales use to have, yet the foundation thereof both Eusebius and Origen do judge to have been taken from the speeches of the Prophets touching the Land of Promise and the heavenly Canaan; and for the rest Origen referreth us to Plato's interpreters, affirming that "[416]they who handle his writings more gravely do expound this tale of his by way of allegory."

Such another tale doth the same philosopher relate in the dialogue which he intituleth Gorgias, shewing that "[417]among men he that leadeth his life righteously and holily shall, when he is dead, go unto the Fortunate Islands, and dwell in all happiness, free from evils; but he that leadeth it unrighteously and impiously shall go unto the prison of punishment and just revenge, which they call Tartarus." Which Theodoret bringeth in to prove, that "[418]Plato did

πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι, ἀπὸ τούτου ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου Ἅδης ἐκλήθη. Socrat. apud Platon. in Cratylo. p. 265.

[412] Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα, τὸ ἀειδὲς, τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον, γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀειδῆ, εἰς ᾅδου ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον Θεόν· οἷ, ἂν Θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἰτέον. Id. apud eund. in Phædon. p. 385. g.

[413] Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. xi. p. 325.

[414] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας οὐδὲν Μωσέως ὁ Πλάτων διέστηκε τῇ δόξῃ. Ibid. p. 323.

[415] Plat. Phædon. p. 398, 399.

[416] Τὸν μὲν οὖν παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀλληγοροῦντες μῦθον οἱ σεμνότερον τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐξειληφότες διηγοῦνται. Origen. lib. vii. contra Celsum, p. 362.

[417] Τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν· τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεώς τε καὶ δίκης δεσμωτήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ἰέναι. Plato in Gorg. p. 312. c.

[418] Οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστευεν ὁ Πλάτων εἶναι τὰ ἐν ᾅδου κριτήρια. ἐντυχὼν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τῶν προφητικῶν πάντως λογίων ἐπήκουσε. Theodoret. Therapeutic. ad Græc. lib. xi. p. 155.

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exactly believe that there were judgments to pass upon men in *hades*. For being conversant with the Hebrews," saith he, "in Egypt, he heard without doubt the oracles of the Prophets;" and "[419]taking some things from thence, and mingling other things therewith out of the fables of the Greeks, made up his discourses of these things." Among which mixtures, that which he hath of the Fortunate Islands is reckoned by [420]Theodoret for one; whereof you may read in [421]Hesiod, [422]Pindarus, [423]Diodorus Siculus, [424]Plutarch, and [425]Josephus also, who, treating of the divers sects that were among the Jews, sheweth that the Essenes borrowed this opinion of the placing of good men's souls in a certain pleasant habitation beyond the ocean from the Grecians. But the Pharisees, as he noteth [426]elsewhere, held that the place wherein both rewards were given to the good, and punishments to the wicked, was "under the earth;" which, as [427]Origen doth declare to have been the common opinion of the Jews, so doth Lucian shew that it was the more vulgar opinion among the Grecians. For among them "[428]the common multitude, whom wise men," saith he, "call simple people, being persuaded of these things by Homer and Hesiod, and such other fabulous authors, and receiving their poems for a law, took HADES to be a certain deep place under the earth." The first original of which conceit is by Cicero derived from hence: "[429]The bodies falling into the ground and being covered with earth, whence they are said to be interred, men thought that the rest of the life of the dead

[419] Τὰ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναμίξας μύθων, τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐποιήσατο λόγους. Ibid. p. 166.

[420] Ibid. p. 157.

[421] Hesiod. in Ἔργ.

[422] Pindar. Olymp. Od. II. et Græc. Scholiast. ibid.

[423] Diodor. Biblioth. lib. iii.

[424] Plutarch. in Vita Sertorii.

[425] Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. 12, p. 730, edit. Græc.

[426] Ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς, οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονε. Id. Antiquit. lib. xviii. cap. 2, p. 548.

[427] Πηλίκον δὲ τὸ σχεδὸν ἅμα γενέσει καὶ συμπληρώσει τοῦ λόγου διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίαν, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δικαιωτήρια, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν καλῶς βεβιωκότων. Orig. contra Cels. lib. v. p. 267.

[428] Ὁ μὲν δὴ πολὺς ὅμιλος, οὓς ἰδιώτας οἱ σοφοὶ καλοῦσιν, Ὁμήρῳ τε καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μυθοποιοῖς περὶ τούτων πειθόμενοι, καὶ νόμον θέμενοι τὴν ποίησιν αὐτῶν, τόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ βαθὺν Ἅιδην ὑπειλήφασι. Lucian. de Luctu.

[429] In terram enim cadentibus corporibus, hisque humo tectis, ex quo dictum est humari, sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum; quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt, quos auxerunt poetæ. Cicer. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i.

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was led under the earth: upon which opinion of theirs," saith he, "great errors did ensue, which were increased by the poets." Others do imagine that the poets herein had some relation to the "[430]spherical" situation of the world; for the better understanding whereof these particulars following would be considered by them that have some knowledge in this kind of learning.

First. The material spheres in ancient time were not made moveable in their sockets as they are now, that they might be set to any elevation of the pole, but were [431]fixed to the elevation of 36 degrees, which was the height of the Rhodian climate. *Secondly.* The horizon which divided this sphere through the middle, and separated the visible part of the world from the invisible, was commonly esteemed the utmost bound of the earth, so that whatsoever was under that horizon was accounted to be under the earth. For neither the common people, nor yet some of the learned doctors of the Church, (as [432]Lactantius, [433]St Augustine, [434]Procopius, and others), could be induced to believe that which our daily navigations find now to be most certain, that there should be another southern hemisphere of the earth inhabited by any antipodes that did walk with their feet just opposite unto ours. *Thirdly.* The great ocean was supposed to be the thing in nature which was answerable to this horizon in the sphere. Therefore it is observed by [435]Strabo that Homer, and by [436]Theon, [437]Achilles Tatius, and others, that Aratus and the rest of the poets do put the ocean for the horizon; and thereupon, where the astro-

[430] Heraclid. Pontic. de Allegor. Homer. Servius in Virgil. Æneid. lib. vi.

[431] *Πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ἓν κλίμα καὶ αἱ κρικωταὶ σφαῖραι κατασκευάζονται καὶ αἱ στερεαί.* Geminus in Phænomen. cap. 13.

[432] Lactant. Instit. lib. iii. cap. 23.

[433] Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 9.

[434] Procop. in Genes. cap. i.

[435] Strabo, Geograph. lib. i. ad quem doctissimus Casaubonus hanc ex Grammaticis *Oceani* definitionem producit: *Ὠκεανός ἐστι κύκλος διχάζων ἐννοηματικῶς τὴν οὐρανίαν σφαῖραν κατὰ ἰσότητα τοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιπέδου, καὶ τέμνων διχῆ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν αὐτὸν, εἴς τε τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁρίζων λεγόμενος.*

[436] *Ὠκεανὸν δὲ τὸν ὁρίζοντα ὁ Ἄρατος λέγει ποιητικῶς.* Theon in Arat. p. 6. *Ὠκεανὸς γὰρ ὁ ὁρίζων.* Ibid. p. 59, edit. Paris.

[437] *Λέγεται δὲ ὁρίζων, διότι ὁρίζει τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον. περὶ γὰρ τὴν σφαῖραν ἔξωθεν ὢν, τάξιν ἔχει τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ὃς ἔξωθεν περικλύζει τὴν γῆν, ἀφ' οὗ ἀνατέλλειν καὶ εἰς ὃν δύνειν δοκεῖ τὰ ἄστρα. ὅθεν καὶ Ἄρατος ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν καλεῖ.* Achill. Tat. in Arat. p. 93, edit. Florent. ubi etiam alius Scholiastes, p. 115, *de Horizonte* similiter notat: *Οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν καλοῦσι.*

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nomers say that the sun or the stars at their setting go under the horizon, the common phrase of the poets is, that they do *tingere se oceano*, dive themselves into the ocean. For as they took the earth to be but half a globe, and not a whole one, so they imagined that demi-globe to be as it were a great mountain or island, seated in, and environed round about with, the ocean. Thus the author of the book *de Mundo* affirmeth that "[438]the whole world is one island, compassed about with the Atlantic sea;" and Dionysius Alexandrinus, in the beginning of his geography,

Μνήσομαι Ὠκεανοῖο βαθυῤῥόου· ἐν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ
Πᾶσα χθὼν, ἅτε νῆσος ἀπείριτος, ἐστεφάνωται·

wherein he followed Eratosthenes, as his expositor Eustathius there noteth, who compareth also with this that place of Orpheus, ἐν τῷ περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας,

κύκλον ἀκαμάτου καλλιῤῥόου Ὠκεανοῖο,
Ὃς γαῖαν δίνῃσι πέριξ ἔχει ἀμφιελίξας·

whereunto answereth that of [439]Euphorion, or, as [440]Achilles Tatius citeth it, of Neoptolemus Parianus, in his Τριχθόνια·

Ὠκεανὸς, τῷ πᾶσα περίῤῥυτος ἐνδέδεται χθών.

And this opinion of theirs the Fathers of the Church did the more readily entertain, because they thought it had ground from [441]Psalm xxiv. 2, and cxxxvi. 6, and such other testimonies of holy Scripture. "[442]That the whole earth," saith Procopius Gazæus, "doth subsist in the waters, and that there is no part of it which is situated under us void and cleared of waters, I suppose it be known unto all. For so doth the Scripture teach: *Who stretcheth out the*

[438] Ὅτι καὶ ἡ σύμπασα (οἰκουμένη) μία νῆσός ἐστιν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς καλουμένης θαλάσσης περιῤῥεομένη. Aristot. de Mundo, cap. 3.

[439] Citat. ab Arati Scholiaste, edit. cum Hipparcho Florent. ann. 1567, p. 115.

[440] Achill. Tat. in Arateis, ibid. p. 93.

[441] Vide Augustin. Quæst. CXXXII. in Genesin, et in Enarrat. Psalm. cxxxv.

[442] Quod autem universa terra in aquis subsistat, nec ulla sit pars ejus, quæ infra nos sita est, aquis vacua et denudata, omnibus notum reor. Nam sic docet scriptura, *Qui expandit terram super aquas:* et iterum, *Quia ipse super maria fundavit eam, et super flumina præparavit eam*, &c. Nec decet ut credamus aliquam terram infra nos coli nostro orbi oppositam. Procop. in Genes. cap. i.

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earth upon the waters; and again, *He hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods.* Neither is it fit we should believe that any earth under us is inhabited, opposite unto our part of the world." The same collection is made by [443]St Hilary, [444]Chrysostom, [445]Cæsarius, and others. *Fourthly.* It was thought by the ancient heathen that the ocean, supplying the place of the horizon, did "[446]separate the visible world from the kingdom of *hades;* and therefore, that such as went to *hades*," or the world invisible to us, "must first pass the ocean;" whence that of [447]Horace:

Nos manet oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
Petamus arva, divites et insulas:

and that the pole antarctic was seen by them there, as the arctic or north pole is by us here, according to that of Virgil in his Georgics:

Hic vertex nobis semper sublimis: at illum
Sub pedibus Styx atra videt, manesque profundi.

Fifthly. As they held that *hades* was for situation placed from the centre of the earth downward, so betwixt the beginning and the lowest part thereof they imagined as great a space to be interjected as there is betwixt heaven and earth. So saith Apollodorus of Tartarus, the dungeon of torment: "[448]This is a dark place in *hades*, having as great a distance from the earth as the earth from the heaven." And Hesiod, in his Theogonia, agreeably to that which before we heard from Homer:

Τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης·
Ἶσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον [449]ἠερόεντα.

[443] Hilar. in Psal. ii.

[444] Chrysost. in Genes. cap. ii. Homil. XII.

[445] Cæsar. Dialog. I.

[446] Παρ' ὠκεανὸν δὲ οἰκεῖν λέγεσθαι, τὸν διορίζοντα τὸν νοητὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ᾅδου βασιλείας· ὃν καὶ πρῶτον περαιοῦσθαι τοὺς εἰς ᾅδου πορευομένους. Proclus, Diadoch. in Hesiod. Ἔργ. ab Hugone Sanfordo citatus, qui complura veterum testimonia huc facientia diligenter congessit.

[447] Horat. Epodon. lib. Od. XVI.

[448] Τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐρεβώδης ἐστὶν ἐν ᾅδου, τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ. Apollodor. Bibliothec. lib. i.

[449] Τὸ δὲ βάθος τὸ πολλὸν τοῦ ἠέρος Τάρταρος καλέεται. Lucian. περὶ ἀστρολογίας.

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"It is as far beneath the earth as heaven is from the earth; for thus equal is the distance from the earth unto dark Tartarus." Whereunto that of Virgil may be added, in the sixth of the Æneids:

Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in præceps tantum, tenditque sub umbras,
Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus Olympum.

Then Tartarus itself, that sink-hole steep,
Two times as low descends, two times as headlong downright deep,
As heaven upright is high:

that, see how high the heaven is over us when we look upward to it, the downright distance from thence to Tartarus should be twice as deep again. For so we must conceive the poet's meaning to be, if we will make him to accord with the rest of his fellows.

These observations, I doubt not, will be censured by many to savour of a needless and fruitless curiosity; but the intelligent reader, for all that, will easily discern how hereby he may be led to understand in what sense the ancient, both [450]heathen and Christian, writers did hold *hades* to be under the earth, and upon what ground. For they did not mean thereby (as the schoolmen generally do, and as [451]Tertullian sometime seemeth to imagine,) that it was contained within the bowels of the earth, but that it lay under the whole bulk thereof, and occupied that whole space which we now find to be taken up with the earth, air, and firmament of the southern hemisphere. "[452]The inhabitants of which infernal region and vast depth" are thereupon affirmed by St Hilary to be *non intra terram, sed infra terram*, "not within the earth, but beneath the earth." And this proceeded from no other ground but the vulgar opinion, that the southern hemisphere of the earth was not inhabited by living men, as our northern is: insomuch that some of the heathen atheists, finding the contrary to be true by the discourse of right reason, endeavoured to persuade them-

450 Ita apud Pindarum, in Olymp. Od. II. illud, κατὰ γᾶς, exponit scholiastes, ὑπὸ γῆν, τουτέστι καθ' ᾅδου.

451 Nobis inferi non nuda cavositas nec subdivalis aliqua mundi sentina creduntur, sed in fossa terræ et in alto vastitas, et in ipsis visceribus ejus abstrusa profunditas. Tertul. de Anima, cap. 55.

452 Esse autem hujus infernæ regionis vastæque abyssi incolas plures beati Johannis Apocalypsi docemur, &c. Hilar. in Psal. xcix.

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selves from thence that there was no such place as *hades* at all. "[453]Lucretius for the greater part," saith Servius, "and others fully teach, that the kingdoms of hell cannot as much as have a being. For what place can we say they have, when under the earth our antipodes are said to be? and that they should be in the midst of the earth, neither will the solidity permit nor the centre of the earth. Which earth, if it be in the middle of the world, the profundity thereof cannot be so great that it may have those *inferos* within it, in which is Tartarus, whereof we read,

> Bis patet in præceps tantum, tenditque sub umbras,
> Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus Olympum."

But Christian men, being better instructed out of the word of God, were taught to answer otherwise. "[454]If thou dost ask me," saith St Chrysostom, "of the situation and place of Gehenna, I will answer and say, that it is seated somewhere out of this world," and that "it is not to be enquired in what place it is situated, but by what means rather it may be avoided."

In the dialogue betwixt Gregory Nyssen and that admirable woman Macrina, St Basil's sister, touching the soul and the resurrection, this point is stood upon at large, the question being first proposed by Gregory in this manner: "[455]Where is that name of *hades* so much spoken of, which is so much treated of in our common conversation, so much in the writings both of the heathen and our own, into which all men think that the souls are translated from hence as into a certain receptacle? For you will not say that the elements are this *hades*." Whereunto Macrina thus replies:

[453] Lucretius ex majore parte et alii integre docent, inferorum regna ne esse quidem posse. Nam locum ipsorum quem possumus dicere, cum sub terris dicantur esse antipodes? in media vero terra eos esse, nec soliditas patitur, nec centrum terræ; quæ terra si in medio mundi est, tanta ejus esse profunditas non potest, ut in medio sui habeat inferos, in quibus est Tartarus, de quo legitur, Bis patet in præceps tantum, &c. Servius in Æneid. VI.

[454] Si de situ et loco quæsieris, respondebo, dicamque extra terrarum orbem hunc aliquo esse positam. Non ergo erit quo fuerit hæc loco sita, quin magis quo pacto evitari possit, quærendum. Chrysost. de Præmiis Sanctor. Tom. III. Oper. Latin.

[455] Ποῦ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πολυθρύλλητον τοῦ ᾄδου ὄνομα, πολὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τοῦ βίου, πολὺ δὲ ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς ταῖς τε ἔξωθεν καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις περιφερόμενον, εἰς ὃ πάντες οἴονται καθάπερ δοχεῖον ἐνθένδε τὰς ψυχὰς μετανίστασθαι; οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ στοιχεῖα τὸν ᾅδην λέγοις. Gregor. Nyssen. in Macriniis, Tom. II. Oper. p. 641.

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"[456]It appeareth that thou didst not give much heed to my speech; for when I spake of the translation of the soul from that which is seen unto that which is invisible, I thought I had left nothing behind to be enquired of *hades*. Neither doth that name, wherein souls are said to be, seem to me to signify any other thing, either in profane writers or in the holy Scripture, save only a removing unto that which is invisible and unseen." Thereupon it being further demanded, "[457]How then do some think that a certain subterraneal place should be so called, and that the souls do lodge therein?" for answer thereunto it is said, that there is no manner of difference betwixt the lower hemisphere of the earth and that wherein we live; that as long as the principal doctrine of the immortality of the soul is yielded unto, no controversy should be moved touching the place thereof; that local position is proper to bodies, and the soul, being incorporeal, hath no need to be detained in certain places. Then the place objected from Philip. ii. 10, of those *under the earth* that should *bow at the name of* JESUS, being largely scanned, this in the end is laid down for the conclusion: "[458]These things being thus, no man can constrain us by the name of *things under the earth* to understand any subterraneal place; forasmuch as the air doth so equally compass the earth round about, that there is no part thereof found naked from the covering of the air." Both these opinions are thus propounded by [459]Theophylact, and by [460]Hugo Etherianus after him: "What is

[456] Δῆλος εἶ μὴ λίαν προσεσχηκὼς τῷ λόγῳ. τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὁρωμένου πρὸς τὸ ἀειδὲς μετάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰποῦσα, οὐδὲν ᾤμην ἀπολελοιπέναι εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ ᾄδου ζητούμενον. οὐδὲ ἄλλο τί μοι δοκεῖ παρά τε τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο διασημαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ψυχὰς γίνεσθαι λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀφανὲς μετέχουσιν (*fort.* μετοίκησιν). Ibid. p. 641, 642.

[457] Καὶ πῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον χῶρον οἴονταί τινες οὕτω λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κἀκείνων τὰς ψυχὰς πανδοχεύειν; &c. Ibid. p. 642.

[458] Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, οὐκέτ' ἂν τις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζοι τῷ τῶν καταχθονίων ὀνόματι τὸν ὑπόγειον ἐννοεῖν χῶρον, ἐπίσης τοῦ ἀέρος πανταχόθεν πρικεχυμένου τῇ γῇ, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος γυμνὸν τῆς περιβολῆς τοῦ ἀέρος καταλαμβάνεσθαι. Ibid. p. 644.

[459] Τί δὲ ὁ ᾅδης; οἱ μὲν αὐτόν φασι χῶρον ὑπόγειον σκοτεινόν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀειδὲς μετάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς ᾅδην ἔφασαν. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ἐν σώματι ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, φαίνεται διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν· μεταστᾶσα δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀειδὴς γίνεται· τοῦτο γοῦν ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν ᾅδην. Theophylact. in Luc. cap. xvi.

[460] Infernum autem hi quidem putant regionem sub terra caliginis et tenebrarum, &c. Alii vero infernum ex appari-

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hades or hell? Some say that it is a dark place under the earth. Others say that it is the translation of the soul from that which is visible unto that which is unseen and invisible. For while the soul is in the body, it is seen by the proper operations thereof; but being translated out of the body it is invisible, and this did they say was *hades*."

So where the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy defineth death to be a separation of the united parts, and the bringing of them εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ἀφανὲς, unto that which is *invisible to us*, his scholiast Maximus noteth thereupon, that "[461]this invisible thing some do affirm to be *hades*, that is to say, an unseen and invisible departure of the soul unto places not to be seen by the sense of man." Hitherto also may be referred the place cited [462]before out of Origen in his fourth book περὶ ἀρχῶν, which by St Jerome is thus delivered: "[463]They who die in this world by the separation of the flesh and the soul, according to the difference of their works obtain divers places in hell." Where by *hades*, *inferi*, or *hell*, he meaneth indefinitely *the other world*, in which how the souls of the godly were disposed he thus declareth in another place: "[464]The soul leaveth the darkness of this world, and the blindness of this bodily nature, and is translated unto another world, which is either the bosom of Abraham, as it is shewed in Lazarus, or paradise, as in the thief that believed upon the cross; or yet if God know that there be any other places or other mansions, by which the soul that believeth in God passing and coming unto that *river which maketh glad the city of God*, may receive within it the lot of the inheritance pro-

tione ad disparitionem animæ nominaverunt. Quamdiu anima est in corpore, per proprias videtur actiones; sed ubi a corpore discessum est, omnibus modis incognita nobis existit. Hugo Etherian. de Animar. Regress. ab Inferis, cap. 11.

[461] Τοῦτο τὸ ἀφανὲς τινὲς ἔφησαν εἶναι τὸν ᾅδην, τουτέστι τὸν ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀφανῆ γενόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς χωρισμὸν εἰς τόπους ἀοράτους τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς. Maxim. in Dionys. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 2.

[462] Supra p. 201.

[463] In isto mundo qui moriuntur separatione carnis et animæ, juxta operum differentiam diversa apud inferos obtinent loca. Origen. de Principiis, lib. iv. apud Hieronym. Epist. LIX. ad Avitum.

[464] Relinquit anima mundi hujus tenebras ac naturæ corporeæ cæcitatem, et transfertur ad illud seculum, quod vel sinus Abrahæ, ut in Lazaro, vel paradisus, ut in latrone qui de cruce credidit, indicatur; vel etiam si qua novit Deus esse alia loca vel alias mansiones, per quæ transiens anima Deo credens, et perveniens usque ad flumen illud quod lætificat civitatem Dei, intra ipsum sortem promissæ patribus hæreditatis accipiat. Origen. in Numer. XXXI. Homil. XXVI.

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mised unto the Fathers." For touching the determinate state of the faithful souls departed this life, the ancient doctors, as we have shewed, were not so thoroughly resolved.

At this time all the question betwixt us and the Romanists is, whether the faithful be received into their everlasting tabernacles presently upon their removal out of the body, or after they have been first "purified to the point," as Allen speaketh, in the furnace of purgatory: but in the time of the Fathers, as St Augustine noteth, the "[465]great question was, whether the receiving" of them into those everlasting tabernacles were "performed presently after this life, or in the end of the world, at the resurrection of the dead and the last retribution of judgment." And so concerning hell the question was as great among them, whether all, good and bad, went thither or no? whereof the same St Augustine is a witness also, who upon that speech of Jacob, Gen. xxxvii. 35, *I will go down to my son mourning into hell*, writeth thus: "[466]It useth to be a great question, in what manner hell should be understood; whether evil men only, or good men also, when they are dead, do use to go down thither. And if evil men only do, how doth he say that he would go down unto his son mourning? for he did not believe that he was in the pains of hell: or be these the words of a troubled and grieving man, amplifying his evils from hence?" And upon that other speech of his, Gen. XLII. 38, *You shall bring down mine old age with sorrow unto hell:* "[467]Whether therefore unto hell, because with sorrow? or, although sorrow were away, speaketh he these things as if he were to go down into hell by dying? For of hell there is a great question; and what the Scripture delivereth thereof, in all

[465] Illa receptio utrum statim post istam vitam fiat, an in resurrectione mortuorum atque ultima retributione judicii, non minima quæstio est. Augustin. Quæstion. Evangel. lib. ii. cap. 38.

[466] Solet esse magna quæstio, quomodo intelligatur infernus; utrum illuc mali tantum, an etiam boni mortui descendere soleant. Si ergo tantum mali, quomodo iste ad filium suum se dicit lugentem descendere? Non enim in pœnis inferni eum esse credidit. An perturbati et dolentis verba sunt, mala sua etiam hinc exaggerantis? Id. Quæstion. CXXVI. in Genes. et Eucher. in Genes. lib. iii. cap. 18.

[467] Utrum ideo ad infernum, quia cum tristitia? An etiam si abesset tristitia, tanquam ad infernum moriendo descensurus hæc loquitur? De inferno enim magna quæstio est; et quid inde scriptura sentiat, locis omnibus ubi forte hoc commemoratum fuerit observandum est. Augustin. Quæstion. CXLII. in Genesim, et Eucher. in Genes. lib. iii. cap. 27.

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the places where it hath occasion to make mention of it, is to be observed." Hitherto St Augustine, who had reference to this "great question" when he said, as hath been [468]before alleged, "Of hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you; and peradventure there shall be another way, and by hell it shall not be. For these things are uncertain." Neither is there greater question among the doctors of the Church concerning the hell of the Fathers of the Old Testament, than there is of the hell of the faithful now in the time of the New; neither are there greater differences betwixt them touching the hell into which our Saviour went, (whether it were under the earth or above, whether a darksome place or a lightsome, whether a prison or a paradise), than there are of the mansions wherein the souls of the blessed do now continue.

St Jerome, interpreting those words of king Hezekiah, Isaiah xxxviii. 10, *I shall go to the gates of hell*, saith that this is meant "[469]either of the common law of nature, or else of those gates, from which that he was delivered the Psalmist singeth, *Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death, that I may shew forth all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.* Psalm ix. 13, 14." Now, as some of the Fathers do expound our Saviour's going to hell of his descending into Gehenna, so others expound it of his going to hell according to "the common law of nature;" the common law of nature, I say, which extendeth itself indifferently unto all the dead, whether they belong to the state of the New Testament or of the Old. For as Christ's soul was in all points made like unto ours, sin only excepted, while it was joined with his body here in the land of the living; so, when he had humbled himself unto the death, *it became him in all things to be made like unto his brethren* even in that state of dissolution. [470]And

[468] Supra p. 199.

[469] Vel communi lege naturæ, vel illas portas de quibus quod liberatus sit, Psalmista decantat, Qui exaltas me de portis mortis, ut annunciem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiæ Sion. Hieron. lib. xi. in Esai. cap. xxxviii.

[470] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἑκατέρων πεῖραν ἔσχε· γέγονε γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκτὸς γενομένη ζῇ καὶ ὑφέστηκε· λογικὴ ἄρα καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοούσιος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ὁμοούσιος τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σαρκὶ τυγχάνει ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας προελθοῦσα. Eustathius Antiochen. in Psal. xv. citatus a Theodoreto in Ἀτρέπτῳ, Dialog. I.

so indeed the soul of "JESUS had experience of both. For it was in the place of human souls, and being out of the flesh did live and subsist. It was a reasonable soul, therefore, and of the same substance with the souls of men, even as his flesh is of the same substance with the flesh of men, proceeding from Mary," saith Eustathius, the patriarch of Antioch, in his exposition of that text of the Psalm, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* Where by Ἅιδης, or *hell*, you see, he understandeth χωρίον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, *the place of human souls*, which is the Hebrews' עלם הנשמות or *world of spirits;* and by the disposing of Christ's soul there after the manner of other souls, concludeth it to be of the same nature with other men's souls. So St Hilary, in his exposition of the 138th Psalm: "[471] This is the law of human necessity," saith he, "that the bodies being buried the souls should go to hell. Which descent the Lord did not refuse, for the accomplishment of a true man." And a little after he repeateth it, that *de supernis ad inferos mortis lege descendit*, "he descended from the supernal to the infernal parts by the law of death." And upon the 53d Psalm more fully: "[472] To fulfil the nature of man he subjected himself to death, that is, to a departure as it were of the soul and body; and pierced into the infernal seats, which was a thing that seemed to be due unto men."

So Leo, in one of his sermons upon our Lord's passion: "[473] He did undergo the laws of hell by dying, but did dissolve them by rising again, and so did cut off the perpetuity of death, that of eternal he might make it temporal." So Irenæus, having said that our Lord "[474] conversed three days where the dead were," addeth that therein he "[475] observed

[471] Humanæ ista lex necessitatis est, ut consepultis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant. Quam descensionem Dominus, ad consummationem veri hominis, non recusavit. Hilar. in Psal. cxxxviii.

[472] Ad explendam quidem hominis naturam etiam mori se, id est, discessioni se tanquam animæ corporisque subjecit; et ad infernas sedes, id quod homini debitum videtur esse, penetravit. Id. in Psal. LIII.

[473] Leges inferni moriendo subiit, sed resurgendo dissolvit; et ita perpetuitatem mortis incidit, ut eam de æterna faceret temporalem. Leo de Passion. Serm. VIII.

[474] Nunc autem tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui. Irenæus, lib. v. cap. ult.

[475] Dominus legem mortuorum servavit, ut fieret primogenitus a mortuis; et commoratus usque ad tertium diem in inferioribus terræ, post deinde surgens in carne, ut etiam figuras clavorum ostenderet discipulis, sic ascendit ad Patrem. Ibid.

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the law of the dead, that he might be made the first-begotten from the dead, staying until the third day in the lower parts of the earth, and afterward rising in his flesh." Then he draweth from thence this general conclusion: "[476] Seeing our Lord went in the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, then afterward rose again corporally, and after his resurrection was assumed, it is manifest that the souls of his disciples also, for whose sake the Lord wrought these things, shall go to an invisible place appointed unto them by God, and there shall abide until the resurrection, waiting for the resurrection; and afterwards receiving their bodies, and rising again perfectly, that is to say, corporally, even as our Lord did rise again, they shall so come unto the presence of God. For there is no disciple above his Master, but every one shall be perfect if he be as his Master." The like collection doth Tertullian make in his book of the Soul: "[477] If Christ being God, because he was also man dying according to the Scriptures, and being buried according to the same, did here also satisfy the law by performing the course of a human death in hell, neither did ascend into the higher parts of the heavens before he descended into the lower parts of the earth, that he might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of himself, thou hast both to believe that there is a region of hell under the earth, and to push them with the elbow who proudly enough do not think the souls of the faithful to be fit for hell; servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master, scorning, perhaps, to take the comfort of expecting the resurrection in Abraham's bosom." And in the same book, speaking of the soul: "[478] What is that," saith he, "which is translated unto the infernal parts, or hell,

[476] Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est, manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes corpora, et perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super Magistrum, perfectus autem omnis erit sicut Magister ejus. Ibid.

[477] Tertullian. de Anima, cap. 55; vide supra p. 256.

[478] Quid est illud quod ad inferna transfertur post divortium corporis? quod detinetur illic, quod in diem judicii reservatur, ad quod et Christus moriendo descendit, puto ad animas patriarcharum. Ibid. cap. 7.

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after the separation of the body? which is detained there, which is reserved unto the day of judgment, unto which Christ by dying did descend, to the souls of the patriarchs, I think." Where he maketh the hell unto which our Saviour did descend to be the common receptacle not of the souls of the patriarchs alone, but also of the souls that are now still separated from their bodies, as being the place *quo universa humanitas trahitur*, (as he speaketh [479]elsewhere in that book), "unto which all mankind is drawn."

So Novatianus after him affirmeth, that the very places "[480]which lie under the earth be not void of distinguished and ordered powers. For that is the place," saith he, "whither the souls both of the godly and ungodly are led, receiving the fore-judgments of their future doom." Lactantius saith that our Saviour [481]rose again *ab inferis*, "from hell;" but so he saith also, that the dead saints shall be [482]raised up *ab inferis* at the time of the resurrection. St Cyril of Alexandria saith, that the Jews "[483]killed Christ, and cast him into the deep and dark dungeon of death, that is, into *hades*;" adding afterward, that "[484]*hades* may rightly be esteemed to be the house and mansion of such as are deprived of life." Nicephorus Gregoras, in his Funeral Oration upon Theodorus Metochites, putteth in this for one strain of his lamentation: "[485]Who hath brought down that heavenly man unto the bottom of *hades*?" And Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, touching the descent both of Christ and all Christians after him even unto the dark and comfortless *hades*, writeth in this manner: "[486]If he, who was the Lord and Master of all, and the

[479] Ibid. cap. 58.

[480] Quæ infra terram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis et ordinatis potestatibus vacua. Locus enim est quo piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia sentientes. Novatian. de Trinitat. cap. 1.

[481] Lactant. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 19.

[482] Id. lib. vii. cap. 24. vide et cap. 22.

[483] Ἀπεκτόνασι γὰρ, καὶ ὥσπερ εἴς τινα λάκκον καθῆκαν οἱ δείλαιοι, τὸ βαθὺ καὶ σκοτεινὸν τοῦ θανάτου βάραθρον, τουτέστι τὸν ᾅδην. Cyril. Glaphyr. in Gen. lib. vi. p. 154.

[484] Τῶν γὰρ ζωῆς ἐστερημένων νοοῖτ' ἂν εἰκότως ὁ ᾅδης οἶκός τε καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα. Ibid. p. 155.

[485] Τίς τὸν οὐράνιον ἄνθρωπον ἐς ᾅδου πυθμένας κατηνέγκε; Niceph. Gregor. Histor. Roman. lib. x.

[486] Εἰ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἵλετο, κύριος ὢν τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ δεσπότης, καὶ φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἁπάντων, θανάτου γεύσασθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασιν ἐπιδέξασθαι, ὡς ἂν κατὰ πάντα ἡμῖν ὁμοιωθῇ, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τὸν ἀμειδῆ τοῦ ᾅδου χῶρον, τὸν ἀφεγγῆ λέγω καὶ σκοτεινὸν, νυκτοτριήμερον διελήλυθε, τί ξένον,

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light of them that are in darkness, and the life of all men, would taste death and undergo the descent into hell, that he might be made like unto us in all things, sin excepted, and for three days went through the sad, obscure, and dark region of hell; what strange thing is it that we, who are sinners and dead in trespasses, according to the great Apostle, who are subject to generation and corruption, should meet with death, and go with our soul into the dark chambers of hell, where we cannot see light nor behold the life of mortal men? For are we above our Master, or better than the saints who underwent these things of ours after the like manner that we must do?"

Juvencus intimateth that our Saviour, giving up the ghost, sent his soul unto heaven, in those verses of his:

> [487]Tunc clamor Domini magno conamine missus
> Æthereis animam comitem commiscuit auris.

Eusebius Emesenus collecteth so much from the last words which our Lord uttered at the same time: *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Τὸ πνεῦμα ἄνω, saith [488]he, *καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,* "His Spirit was above, and his body remained upon the cross for us." St Chrysostom, or whoever else was the author of that sixth Paschal Homily, making three distinct parts of the whole man out of the sentence of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 23, converteth thus his speech unto our Saviour: "[489]Let the heavens have thy spirit, paradise thy soul, (*for to day,* saith he, *will I be with thee in paradise*), and the earth thy blood," or "thy body" rather; for that answereth to the third member of his division. In the Greek exposition of the Canticles, collected out of Eusebius, Philo Carpathius, and others, that sentence in the beginning of the sixth

ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὄντας, καὶ νεκροὺς ἤδη τοῖς παραπτώμασι, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον, τοὺς ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν, θανάτῳ μὲν προσομιλῆσαι, καὶ ᾅδου τὰ σκοτεινὰ διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς ἀπελθεῖν καταγώγια, οὗ οὐκ ἔστι φέγγος ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲ ὁρᾷν ζωὴν βροτῶν, ὡς προλέλεκται; μὴ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν δεσπότην ἡμεῖς, ἢ τῶν ἁγίων κρείττους, οἳ τὸν ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ὑπεληλύθασι τρόπον τὰ ἡμέτερα; Andre. Hierosolym. Serm. in Vitam Humanam et in Defunctos.

487 Juvenc. Histor. Evangel. lib. iv.

488 Euseb. Emesen. a Theodoreto citatus in Ἀπαθ. Dialog. III.

489 Ἐχέτωσάν σου τὸ πνεῦμα οἱ οὐρανοὶ, ὁ δὲ παράδεισος τὴν ψυχὴν, (σήμερον γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ,) τὸ δὲ αἷμα (an σῶμα potius?) ἡ γῆ. Μεμέρισται ὁ ἀμερὴς, &c. Chrysost. Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 349.

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chapter, *My beloved is gone down into his garden*, is interpreted of Christ's [490] going "to the souls of the saints into *hades*;" which in the Latin collections, that bear the name of Philo Carpathius, is thus more largely expressed: "[491] By this descending of the bridegroom we may understand the descending of our Lord Jesus Christ into hell, as I suppose; for that which followeth proveth this, when he saith, *to the beds of spices*. For those ancient holy men are not unfitly signified by *the beds of spices;* such as were Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Job, David, Samuel, Elisæus, Daniel, and very many others before the law and in the law; who all of them, like unto beds of spices, gave a most sweet smell of the odours and fruits of holy righteousness. For then as a triumpher did he enter PARADISE, when he pierced into hell. God himself is present with us for a witness in this matter, when he answered most graciously to the thief upon the cross, commending himself unto him most religiously, *To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.*" Lastly, touching this paradise, the various opinions of the ancients are thus laid down by Olympiodorus, to seek no farther: "[492] It is a thing fit to enquire in what place under the sun are the godly placed. Certain it is that in paradise; forasmuch as our Saviour said unto the

[490] Κατέβη εἰς κῆπον αὐτοῦ· πρὸς τὰς ἐν ᾅδου τῶν ἁγίων ψυχάς. Euseb. in Cantic. p. 68.

[491] Per descensum sponsi, quem patruelem appellat, Domini nostri Jesu Christi descensum ad inferos possumus intelligere, ut arbitror; nam et hæc sequentia probant, cum dixit, ad aromatum phialas sive areolas. Prisci enim illi sanctissimi viri per phialas aromatum non inepte significantur; quales fuere Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Job, David, Samuel, Eliseus, Daniel, aliique quamplurimi ante legem et in lege; qui quidem omnes, veluti aromatum phialæ sive areolæ, sanctissimæ justitiæ odores ac fructus suavissime oluerunt. Tunc enim paradisum triumphator ingressus est, cum ad inferos penetravit. Adest nobis ipse Deus hac in re testis, cum in cruce latroni (sese illi ipsi religiosissime commendanti) clementissime respondit, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Philo Carpath. in Cantic. vi.

[492] Ζητῆσαι δὲ προσήκει, ποῦ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εὐσεβεῖς. εὔδηλον ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρδείσῳ, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα Σωτῆρα τῷ ληστῇ, Σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. καὶ δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἱστορία τὸν παράδεισον ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι διδάσκει. τινὲς δὲ ἔφησαν ὅτι καὶ ὁ παράδεισος ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ τυγχάνει· διό φησι, Καὶ ὁ πλούσιος εἶδε τὸν Λάζαρον, ἀλλ' αὐτός που κάτω τυγχάνων, ἐκεῖνον ἄνω που (μετ') Ἀβραὰμ ἐθεώρησε. ὅπως δ' ἂν ἔχῃ ταῦτα, διδασκόμεθα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ῥητοῦ καὶ ἐκ πάσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ἐν εὐπαθείαις εἶναι τὸν εὐσεβῆ, τὸν δὲ ἄδικον ἐν τοῖς καταλλήλοις κολάσεσιν. ἑτέροις δὲ ἔδοξε τὸν παράδεισον ἐν οὐρανῷ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἁπλοῦς ἐκκλησιαστὴς ἀκολουθήσει μᾶλλον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ. Olympiodor. in Ecclesiast. cap. iii.

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thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.* And it is to be known that the history teacheth paradise to be upon earth; but some have said that paradise also is in *hades*; and therefore," say they, "the rich man saw Lazarus; but he being somewhere below, beheld the other with Abraham somewhere above. Yet howsoever the matter goeth, this we are taught, as well out of Ecclesiastes as out of all the sacred Scriptures, that the godly man is in a good estate, and the wicked on the other side in torments. Others again have been of the mind that paradise is in heaven, &c." Hitherto Olympiodorus.

That "Christ's soul went into paradise," [493]Doctor Bishop saith, being "well understood, is true. For his soul in hell had the joys of paradise; but to make that an exposition of Christ's descending into hell, is to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it." Yet this "ridiculous" exposition he affirmeth to be "received of most Protestants;" which is even as true as that which he avoucheth in the same place, that this article of the descent into hell is to be found "[494]in the old Roman Creed expounded by Ruffinus;" where Ruffinus, as we have heard, expounding that Article, delivereth the *flat* contrary, that it is "not found added in the Creed of the Church of Rome." It is true, indeed, that more than "most Protestants" do interpret the words of Christ uttered unto the thief upon the cross, Luke xxiii. 43, of the going of his soul into paradise; where our Saviour meaning simply and plainly that he would be that day in [495]heaven, Master Bishop would have him so to be understood as if he had meant that that day he would be in hell. And must it be now held more ridiculous in Protestants to take hell for paradise, than in Master Bishop to take paradise for hell? *Κατελθόντα εἰς ᾅδου* be the words of the Apostles' Creed in the Greek, and *Κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην*, in the Symbol of [496]Athanasius.

[493] Bishop's Answer to Perkins's Advertisement, p. 9.

[494] Ibid. p. 8.

[495] Suarez. Tom. II. in part. III. Tho. Quæst. XLVI. Art. II, and Quæst. LII. Art. 8. Disput. XLIII. sect. 4. Bellarm. de Sanctor. Beatitud. lib. i. cap. 3. Test. IV. See before, p. 240.

[496] Oper. Athanas. Tom. II. p. 39, edit. Græco-Lat. vel *κατῆλθεν ἐν ᾅδου*, ut habetur in Horis B. Mariæ Virginis, secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curiæ, Græce ab Aldo editis, sive, *κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου*, ut rectius habent editiones aliæ.

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Some learned Protestants do observe, that in these words there is no determinate mention made either of ascending or descending, either of heaven or hell, taking hell according to the vulgar acception, but of the general only, under which these contraries are indifferently comprehended; and that the words, literally interpreted, import no more but this: HE WENT UNTO THE OTHER WORLD. Which is not "to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it," as Master Bishop fancieth; who may quickly make himself ridiculous in taking upon him thus to censure the interpretations of our learned linguists, unless his own skill in the languages were greater than as yet he hath given proof of.

Master Broughton, (with whose authority he elsewhere presseth us, as of a man "[497]esteemed to be singularly seen in the Hebrew and Greek tongues,") hath been but too forward in maintaining that exposition which by Dr Bishop is accounted so ridiculous. In one place touching the term *hell*, as it doth answer the Hebrew *sheol* and the Greek *hades*, he writeth thus: "[498]He that thinketh it ever used for Tartara or Gehenna, otherwise than the term *death* may by synecdoche import so, hath not skill in Hebrew, or that Greek which breathing and live Græcia spake, if God hath lent me any judgment that way." In [499]another place he allegeth out of Portus's Dictionary, that the Macedonian Greek usually termed heaven *haiden*, and that our Lord's Prayer in vulgar Greek saith, *Our Father which art in hades*. One of his acquaintance beyond the sea reporteth that he should deliver, that in "[500]many most ancient manuscript copies" the Lord's Prayer is found with this beginning, Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾅδῃ, *Our Father which art in hades;* which I for my part will then believe to be true, when I shall see one of those old copies with mine own eyes. But in the mean time for *hades* it hath been sufficiently declared before out of good authors, that it signifieth the "place of

[497] Bishop's Preface to the second part of the Reformation of Perkins's Catholic, p. 19.

[498] Broughton in his Epistle to the Nobility of England, edit. ann. 1595, p. 38.

[499] Require of consent, edit. ann. 1611, p. 21.

[500] Inveniri insuper asserit in multis vetustissimis exemplaribus MSS. orationem Dominicam in hunc modum: Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾅδῃ, Pater noster qui es in inferno, &c. Veteres quoque Macedones aliter orationem Dominicam nunquam precatos fuisse. Jo. Rodolph. Lavator. de Descensu ad Inferos, lib. i. part. I. cap. 8.

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souls departed" in general, and so is of extent large enough to comprehend under it as well τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ ᾅδην, as Damascius speaketh, "that part of *hades* which is in heaven," as that which by [501] Josephus is called ᾅδης σκοτιώτερος, *the darker hades*, and in the [502] Gospel τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, *outer darkness*; and therefore, as the word *flesh*, in the vulgar acception of the term, is opposed to *fish*, but as it is taken to express the Greek word σάρξ, is of so ample a reach that it fetcheth within the compass thereof both the one and the other, (so that we say in 1 Cor. xv. 39, that there is one *flesh of beasts*, and *another of fishes*,) in like manner also the word hell, though in the vulgar use it be taken for that which is opposite to heaven, yet as it is applied to represent the signification of the Greek word ᾅδης, Master Broughton might well defend that it is of so large a capacity that heaven itself may be comprised within the notion thereof: heaven, I say, not considered as it is a place of life and perfection, nor as it shall be after the general resurrection, but so far forth only as death, the [503] *last enemy that shall be destroyed*, hath any footing therein; that is to say, as it is the receptacle of the spirits of dead men held as yet dissevered from their bodies; which state of dissolution, though carried to heaven itself, is still a part of death's [504] victory and the saints' [505] imperfection.

As for κατελθεῖν, the other word, in the Acts of the Apostles it is used ten times, and in none of all those places signifieth any descending from a higher place unto a lower, but a removing simply from one place unto another. Whereupon the vulgar Latin edition, which none of the Romanists "[506] upon any pretence may presume to reject," doth render it there by the general terms of [507] *abeo*, [508] *venio*, [509] *devenio*, [510] *supervenio*; and where it retaineth the word [511] *descendo*, it intendeth nothing less than to signify thereby the lower situation of the place unto which the removal is

[501] Joseph. de Bello Judaic. lib. iii. cap. 25, p. 785.

[502] Matth. viii. 12, and xxii. 13, and xxv. 30.

[503] 1 Cor. xv. 26.

[504] 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55.

[505] Hebr. xi. 40.

[506] Nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat. Concil. Trident. Ses. 4.

[507] Acts xiii. 4.

[508] Acts xviii. 5, and xxvii. 5.

[509] Acts ix. 32.

[510] Acts xi. 27, and xxi. 10.

[511] Acts viii. 5, and xii. 19, and xv. 1, and xviii. 22.

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noted to be made. If *descending*, therefore, in the Acts of the Apostles, imply no such kind of thing, what necessity is there that thus of force it must be interpreted in the Creed of the Apostles? *Menelaus declared unto us*, *βούλεσθαι κατελθόντας ὑμᾶς γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις*, saith King Antiochus in his epistle unto the Jews, 2 Maccab. xi. 29. *Velle vos descendere ad vestros*, it is in the Latin edition; whereby what else is meant but that they had a desire to go unto their own? So the Hebrew word ירד, which answereth to this of descending, the Seventy do render by [512]*ἔρχομαι*, [513]*διέρχομαι*, and [514]*εἰσέρχομαι*; and in the selfsame place, and with the selfsame breath as it were, express it both by *καταβαίνω* and *πορεύομαι*, [515]*descending* and *going*; yea, by *καταβαίνω* and *ἀναβαίνω* too, [516]*descending* and *ascending* promiscuously. Ruth iii. 3, 6. I omit the phrases of *descending in prælium*, *in forum*, *in campum*, *in amicitiam*, *in causam*, &c. which are so usual in good Latin authors; yea, and of "descending into heaven" itself, if that be not a jest which the poet breaketh upon Claudius:

> [517]Præcordia pressit
> Ille senis, tremulumque caput descendere jussit
> In cœlum.

But sure I am that the daughter of Jephtha spake in sad earnest what is related in the book of [518]Judges, ואלכה וירדתי על־ההרים, which the Seventy render, *καὶ πορεύσομαι, καὶ καταβήσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη*· Tremellius, *ut abeam descendens in istos montes*, "that I may go and descend unto those mountains:" a like place whereunto is found in the same book, where it is said that three thousand men of Judah ירדו אל־סעיף סלע עיטם, [519]*descended unto the top of the rock Etam.*

[512] 1 Sam. xxix. 4, and 2 (or 4) Kings ii. 2.

[513] Joshua xvi. 3.

[514] 1 Sam. xxvi. 6.

[515] Gen. xliii. 4 and 5: Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀποστέλλῃς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, καταβησόμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποστέλλῃς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ πορευσόμεθα.

[516] Ruth iii. 3: Καὶ ἀναβήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅλω. Et 6: Καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἅλω. Atque in uno et eodem versu Jonæ i. 3: Καὶ κατέβη εἰς Ἰόππην, καὶ εὗρε πλοῖον καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς αὐτό.

[517] Juvenal. Sat. VI.

[518] Judges xi. 37.

[519] Judges xv. 11: Descendentes ad scopulum petræ Hethani. Tremel.

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Others add unto this, that the phrase of *descending ad inferos* is a popular kind of speech which sprung from the opinion that was vulgarly conceived of the situation of the receptacle of the souls under the earth, and that, according to the rule of Aristotle in his Topics, we must speak as the vulgar, but think as wise men do. Even as we use to say commonly that the sun is under a cloud, because it is a vulgar form of speech, and yet it is far enough from our meaning for all that to imagine the cloud to be indeed higher than the sun. So Cicero, they say, wherever he hath occasion to mention any thing that concerneth the dead, speaketh still of *inferi*, according to the vulgar phrase, although he misliked the vulgar opinion which bred that manner of speaking, and professed it to be his judgment that "[520]the souls when they depart out of the body are carried up on high," and not downward unto any habitations under the earth. So Chrysostom and Theophylact think, that the Apostle termed the death and hell unto which our Saviour did descend *the lower parts of the earth*, Ephes. iv. 9, [521]*ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοίας*, [522]*from the common opinion of men*; as in the translation of the holy Scripture St Jerome sheweth that we use the names of Arcturus and Orion, not approving thereby the ridiculous and monstrous figments of the poets in this matter, but expressing the Hebrew names of these constellations "by the words of heathenish fables," because "[523]we cannot understand that which is said but by those words which we have learned by use and drunk in by error."

And just so standeth the case with this word *hades*, which in the dictionary set out with the Complutense Bible anno 1515, for the understanding of the New Testament, is interpreted *infernus* and *Pluto*. This Pluto the heathen feigned to be the god of the dead under the earth, the Grecians terming him so *ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου*, as the Latins Ditem *a divitiis*, from riches, "[524]because that all things coming to their dissolution, there is nothing which is not

[520] Animos cum e corpore excesserint in sublime ferri. Cicer. Tusculan. Quæst. lib. i.

[521] Chrysost. in Ephes. Homil. XI.

[522] Theophylact. in Ephes. cap. iv.

[523] Qui non possumus intelligere quod dicitur, nisi per ea vocabula quæ usu didicimus, et errore combibimus. Hieronym. lib. ii. in Amos cap. v.

[524] Phurnutus de Nat. Deor. in *Plutone*.

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at last brought unto him and made his possession." Thus Homer and Hesiod, with [525]Plato and others after them, say that Rhea brought forth three sons to Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune,

> [526]Ἰφθιμόν τ' Ἀΐδην, ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει,
> Νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων,

"and mighty Hades, who inhabiteth the houses under the earth, having a merciless heart;" for that attribute doth Hesiod give unto him, because death spareth no man. So Homer:

> [527]Τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων·

which is also the description that Hesiod maketh of him in that verse,

> [528]Τρέσσ' Ἀΐδης δ' ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων,

"Hades was afraid, who reigneth over them that lie dead in the earth." Philo Byblius relateth out of Sanchoniathon, a more ancient writer than either Homer or Hesiod, not only that he was the son of Saturn and Rhea, but also that [529]his father did canonize him after his death, and that the Phœnicians call him both Pluto and Muth, which answereth to the Hebrew מות, and in their language signifieth *death*. The Grecians, who had from the Phœnicians their first gods as well as their first letters, tell us further that this [530]Hades, or Pluto, was he who shewed men those things that did concern "burials, and funeral rites, and honours of the dead, of whom no such care was had before his time; and that for this cause he was esteemed the god that bare rule over the dead, the dominion and care of them

[525] Plato in Gorgia.

[526] Hesiod. in Theogonia.

[527] Homer. Iliad. xv.

[528] Hesiod. Theogon.

[529] Ἕτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀπὸ 'Ρέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μοὺθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιεροῖ. Θάνατον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσι. Phylo Bybl. lib. ii. Hist. Phœnic. apud Euseb. lib. ii. Præparat. Evangelic. p. 25.

[530] Τὸν δ' Ἅδην λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδεῖξαι, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου μηδεμίας οὔσης ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτούς· διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ Θεὸς οὗτος παρείληπται κυριεύειν, ἀπονεμηθείσης τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῷ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς καὶ φροντίδος. Diodor. Sicul. Bibliothec. lib. v. p. 337, edit. Græco-Lat.

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being assigned unto him by antiquity." Whence we may see how the word *hades* with them was transferred to signify death, which was the name that the Phœnicians gave him, together with the place into which either the bodies (of the solemn sepulture whereof he was thought to have first shewed the way) or the souls (over which he was imagined to have the sovereignty) of dead men were received.

Now that *κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾅδου*, in the Creed, is a phrase taken from the heathen and applied to express a Christian truth, the very grammatical construction may seem to intimate, where the noun is not put in the accusative case, as otherwise it should, but after the manner of the Greeks [531]in the genitive case, implying the defect of another word necessary to be understood; as if it had been said, He went unto the place or house of *hades*, as the poets use to express it, sometimes defectively *εἰς ἀΐδαο*, and sometimes more fully [532]*εἰς ἀΐδαο δόμον* or [533]*δόμους*, "into the house or chambers of *hades*." Thus, then, they that take *hades* for the common receptacle of souls, do interpret the context of the Creed, as Cardinal Cajetan before did the narration of Moses touching Abraham's giving up the ghost, being gathered to his people, and being buried, Gen. xxv. 8, 9, that the article of the "death" is to be referred to the whole manhood and the dissolution of the parts thereof, that of the "burial" to the body separated from the soul, and this of the "descending into *hades*" to the soul separated from the body; as if it had been said, He suffered death truly by a real separation of his soul from his body, and after this dissolution the same did befal him that useth to betide all other dead men; his lifeless body was sent unto the place which is appointed to receive dead bodies, and his immortal soul went unto the other world, as the souls of other men use to do.

Having now declared how the Greek *hades* (and so the Latin *inferi* and our English *hell*) is taken for the place of the bodies and of the souls of dead men severally, it followeth that we shew how the common state of the dead

[531] Ita Apollodorus, lib. i. Bibliothecæ, de Orpheo: *κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου*, h. e. *ad Plutonis descendit*, ut vertit Latinus interpres, Benedictus Ægius Spoletinus.

[532] *Εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμον κατέβα.* Pindar. Pyth. Od. III.

[533] *Νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν ἀΐδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης Ἔρχεαι.* Homer. Iliad. χ.

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is signified thereby, and the place in general which is answerable unto the parts of the whole man thus indefinitely considered in the state of separation. Concerning which that place of Dionysius, wherein he setteth forth the signification of our being dead and buried with Christ by baptism, is to be considered: "[534] Forasmuch as death is in us not an utter extinguishment of our being, as others have thought, but a separation of the united parts, bringing them unto that which is to us invisible; the soul as being by the deprivation of the body made unseen, and the body as either being covered in the earth, or, by some other of the alterations that are incident unto bodies, being taken away from the sight of man, the whole covering of the man in water is fitly assumed for an image of the death and burial which is not seen." Thus Dionysius concerning the separation of the united parts by death, and the bringing of them unto that which is "invisible;" [535] according whereunto, as his paraphrast Pachymeres noteth, "it is called *hades*, that is to say, an invisible separation of the soul from the body." And so indeed we find as well in foreign authors, as in the Scriptures and the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, that *hades* and *inferi* are not only taken in as large a sense as death, (and so extended unto all men indifferently, whether good or bad), but are likewise oftentimes indifferently used for it. For proof whereof out of heathen authors, these testimonies following may suffice:

> [536] Ἀΐδα τοι λάθεται
> ἄρμενα πράξας ἀνὴρ,

saith Pindarus. "The man that doth things befitting him forgetteth *hades*;" meaning, that the remembrance of death doth no whit trouble him. And again:

[534] Ἐπειδὴ θάνατός ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ τῆς οὐσίας ἀνυπαρξία, κατὰ τὸ δόξαν ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἡνωμένων διάκρισις, εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ἀφανὲς ἄγουσα· τὴν ψυχὴν μὲν ὡς ἐν στερήσει σώματος ἀειδῆ γιγνομένην, τὸ σῶμα δὲ, ὡς ἐν γῇ καλυπτόμενον, ἢ καθ' ἑτέραν τινὰ τῶν σωματοειδῶν ἀλλοιώσεων, ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἰδέας ἀφανιζόμενον· οἰκείως ἡ δι' ὕδατος ὁλικὴ κάλυψις εἰς τὴν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ταφῆς ἀειδοῦς εἰκόνα παρείληπται. Dionys. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 2.

[535] Κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ᾅδης λέγεται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὁ ἀφανὴς χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. Georg. Pachymer. ibid.

[536] Pindar. Olymp. Od. VIII.

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[537] Τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὔχεται
ἀντιάσας ἀΐδαν γῆ-
ρας τε δέξασθαι πολιὸν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς.

"The son of Cleonicus wisheth that with such manners he may meet and receive *hades* (that is, death) and hoar old age." The like hath Euripides in his Alcestis:

—— πλησίον ᾄδας,
Σκοτία δ' ἐπ' ὄσσοισι νὺξ ἐφέρπει.

——Death is near hand,
And darksome night doth creep upon mine eyes.

and another poet, cited by [538] Plutarch:

Ὦ θάνατε παιὰν ἰατρὸς μόλοις·
Λιμὴν γὰρ ὄντως ἀΐδας ἀν' αἶαν.

"O death, the sovereign physician, come; for *hades* is in very truth the haven of the earth." So the saying, that "the best thing were never to have been born, and the next to that to die quickly," is thus expressed by Theognis in his Elegies:

[539] Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
Μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου·
Φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,
Καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

Sophocles, in the beginning of his Trachiniæ, bringeth in Deianira affirming, that howsoever it were an old saying among men, that none could know whether a man's life were happy or unhappy "before he were dead," yet she knew her own to be heavy and unfortunate "before she went to *hades*:"

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ πρὶν εἰς ᾄδου μολεῖν,
Ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυστυχῆ τε καὶ βαρύν.

[537] Pind. Isthm. Od. VI. [538] Plutarch. de Consolat. ad Apollon. [539] Al. Ἀρχὴν.

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where πρὶν εἰς ᾅδου μολεῖν is the same with πρὸ θανάτου, *before death*; as both the ancient Scholiast and the matter itself doth shew. So in his Ajax:

Κρείσσων γὰρ ᾅδᾳ κεύθων, ἢ νοσῶν μάταν.

"He is better that lieth in *hades*," that is to say, he that is dead, ὁ τεθνηκὼς, as the Scholiast rightly expoundeth it, "than he that is sick past recovery:" and in his Antigone:

Μητρὸς δ' ἐν ᾅδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιν,
Οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλαστοῖ ποτέ.

"My father and mother being laid in *hades*, it is not possible that any brother should spring forth afterward." Wherewith [540] Clemens Alexandrinus doth fitly compare that speech of the wife of Intaphernes in [541] Herodotus: Πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκ ἔτι μεῦ ζωόντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο, "My father and mother being now no longer living, another brother by no manner of means can be had." So that ἐν ᾅδου κεκευθότοιν or τετευχότοιν, *being in hades*, with the one, is the same with οὐκ ἔτι ζωόντων, *not now living*, in the other; or, as it is alleged by Clemens, οὐκ ἔτ' ὄντων, *not now being*, which is the Scripture phrase of them that have left this world, Gen. v. 24, and XLII. 36; Psalm XXXIX. 13; Jer. XXXI. 15, and XLIX. 10; used also by Homer, in his Bœotia:

Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
Οὐδ' ἄρ ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος.

Touching the use of the word HELL in the Scriptures, thus writeth Jansenius, expounding those words, Proverbs XV. 11, *Hell and destruction are before the Lord: how much more then the hearts of the children of men?* "[542] It is to be known, that by *hell and destruction*, which two in the Scriptures are often joined together, the state of the dead

[540] Clem. Stromat. lib. vi.

[541] Herodot. Histor. lib. iii.

[542] Sciendum quod per infernum (pro quo dictio Hebraica proprie significat sepulchrum) et perditionem, quæ duo in scripturis sæpe conjunguntur, significatur status mortuorum; et non solum damnatorum, ut nos fere ex his vocibus auditis concipimus, sed in genere status defunctorum. Cornel. Jansen. in Proverb. xv.

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is signified, and not of the damned only, as we commonly do conceive when we hear these words, but the state of the deceased in general." So [543] Sanctius the Jesuit, with Sà his fellow, acknowledgeth that hell in Scripture is frequently taken for death. Therefore are these two joined together, Rev. i. 18, *I have the keys of hell and of death*, or, as other Greek copies read, agreeably to the old Latin and Æthiopian translation, *of death and of hell;* and Isaiah xxviii. 15, *We have made a covenant with death, and with hell we are at agreement.* Where the Septuagint, to shew that the same thing is meant by both the words, do place the one in the room of the other after this manner: *We have made a covenant with hell, and with death an agreement.* The same things likewise are indifferently attributed unto them both; as that they are unsatiable and never full, spoken of hell, Proverbs xxvii. 20, and of death, Habakkuk ii. 5. So *the gates of hell*, Isaiah xxxviii. 10, are *the gates of death*, Psalm ix. 13, and cvii. 18. The not being justified until hell, or *hades*, Ecclesiastic. ix. 17, the same with not having their iniquity remitted until death, Isaiah xxii. 14. And therefore where we read in the Book of Wisdom, [544] *Thou leadest to the gates of hell and bringest back again*, the vulgar Latin translateth it, [545] *Thou leadest to the gates of death and bringest back again.* So *the sorrows of death*, Psalm xviii. 4, are in the verse following termed *the sorrows of hell*: and therefore the Seventy, as hath been shewed, translating the selfsame words of David, do in the Psalm render them *the sorrows of hell*, and in the history, 2 Sam. xxii. 6, where the same Psalm is repeated, *the sorrows of death.* Whence also that difference of reading came, Acts ii. 24, as well in the copies of the text as in the citations of the ancient Fathers; which was the less regarded, because that variety in the words bred little or no difference at all in the sense. Therefore Epiphanius in one place, having respect to the beginning of the verse, saith that Christ loosed [546] *ὠδῖνας θανάτου, the sorrows of death;* and yet in another, citing the latter end of the verse,

[543] Gasp. Sanct. in Act. ii. sect. 56.

[544] Κατάγεις εἰς πύλας ᾅδου, καὶ ἀνάγεις. Sapient. xvi. 13.

[545] Deducis ad portas mortis et reducis. Latin. ibid.

[546] Epiphan. in Anacephalcosi, p. 531, edit. Græc.

because it was not possible he should be holden by it, addeth this explication thereunto, [547]τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ᾅδου, *that is to say, by hell.* And the author of the sermon upon Christ's passion, among the works of Athanasius, one where saith, that he loosed *the sorrows of* [548]*hell*, and other where, that he loosed *the sorrows of* [549]*death.* Unto whom we may adjoin Bede, [550]who is in like manner indifferent for either reading.

In the Proverbs, where it is said, *There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death*, Proverbs xiv. 12, and xvi. 25, the Seventy in both places for death put πυθμένα ᾅδου, *the bottom of hell;* and on the other side, where it is said, *Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell*, Proverbs xxiii. 14, they read, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου ῥύσῃ, *Thou shalt deliver his soul from death.* So in Hosea xiii. 14, where the Hebrew and Greek both read, *I will deliver them from the hand of hell*, the vulgar Latin hath, *De manu mortis liberabo eos*, "I will deliver them from the hand of death;" which St Cyril of Alexandria sheweth to be the same in effect; for "[551]he hath redeemed us," saith he, "from the hand of hell," that is to say, "from the power of death." So out of the text, Matth. xvi. 18, Eusebius noteth that the Church doth "[552]not give place to the gates of DEATH, for that one saying which Christ did utter, *Upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of* HELL *shall not prevail against it.*" St Ambrose also from the same text collecteth thus, that "[553]faith is the foundation of the Church; for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of the faith, that *the gates of* DEATH *should not prevail against it;* but the confession (of the faith) over-

[547] Id. in Anchorato, p. 484. Vide etiam eund. contra Ariomanit. Hæres. LXIX. p. 337.

[548] Athanas. Oper. Græco-Lat. Tom. I. p. 801.

[549] Ibid. p. 805.

[550] Solutos per Dominum dicit dolores inferni, sive mortis. Bed. Retract. in Act. cap. ii.

[551] Λελύτρωται δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ᾅδου, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θανάτου καταδυναστείας. Cyril. in Hoseam, p. 371.

[552] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῖς τοῦ θανάτου πύλαις ὑποχωροῦσα, διὰ μίαν ἐκείνην, ἣν αὐτὸς ἀπεφήνατο λέξιν, εἰπὼν, Ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. Euseb. Præparat. Evangelic. lib. i. p. 7.

[553] Fides ergo est ecclesiæ fundamentum. Non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt; sed confessio vicit infernum. Ambros. de Incarnat. Sacrament. cap. 5.

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came HELL." The "[554]dissolution of the soul from the body," saith Chrysostom, "is not only called death, but hell (or *hades*) also. For listen to the Patriarch Jacob saying, *Ye shall bring mine old age with sorrow to hell*, Gen. XLII. 38; and the Prophet again, *Hell hath opened her mouth*, Isaiah v. 14; and again, another Prophet saying, *He will deliver me from the lowest hell*, Psalm LXXXVI. 13; and in many places shall you find in the Old Testament that our translation from hence is called death and hell."

So Theodoret noteth that the [555]name of hell is given unto death in that place, Cantic. viii. 6, *Love is strong as death, jealousy is hard* or *cruel as hell;* which in the writings of the Fathers is a thing very usual. Take the poems of Theodorus Prodromus for an instance, where, delivering a history out of the life of St Chrysostom of a woman that had lost four of her sons, he saith that they four were gone unto *hades*,

πέντ' ἔτεκες, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδοσδε
Οἱ πίσυρες μετέβαν, καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἀγχόθι πότμου.

And relating how St Basil had freed the country of Cappadocia from a famine, thus he expresseth it:

Ἄγξε σε, Καππαδόκη, πείνης βρόχος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖλος
Βάψε λυγροῦ θανάτοιο· χέρες δ' ἁγναὶ Βασιλείου
Ἅρπασαν ἔκ σ' Ἀΐδαο.

And shewing how Gregory Nazianzen, when he was a child, was recovered from death by being brought to the Communion Table, he saith he was brought unto the sun from *hades*:

Καὶ τάχ' ἂν ἐξ Ἀΐδαο μεθίζεται ἠέλιόνδε.

[554] Οὐ μόνον δὲ θάνατος ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ διάλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾅδης. Ἄκουε γὰρ τοῦ μὲν πατριάρχου Ἰακὼβ λέγοντος, Κατάξετε τὸ γῆράς μου μετὰ λύπης εἰς ᾅδου· τοῦ δὲ προφήτου πάλιν, Ἔχανεν ὁ ᾅδης τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρου προφήτου λέγοντος, Ῥύσεταί με ἐξ ᾅδου κατωτάτου. καὶ πολλαχοῦ εὑρήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς θάνατον καὶ ᾅδην καλουμένην τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μετάστασιν. Chrysost. Serm. II. in Pascha. Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 58. h. Vide et Serm. LXXXI. in nomen Cœmiterii et Crucem, ibid. p. 563. lin. 35, 36.

[555] Infernum autem ex opinione, quæ invaluit, usurpavit; hoc etiam morti nomen imponens. Theod. in Cantic. viii.

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Gregory himself likewise in his poems, setting out the dangers of a seafaring life, saith that "[556]the greater part of them that sail the seas is in *hades*;" and the Grecians, in their prayer for the time of the plague, complain that "[557]all are taken together miserably, and sent unto *hades*." Basil of Seleucia, speaking of the translation of Enoch and Elias, saith in one place, that "[558]Enoch remained out of death's net, Elias obeyed not the laws of nature;" and in another, that "[559]Elias remained superior to death, Enoch by translation declined *hades*," making death and *hades* to be one and the same thing. So he maketh Elias to pray thus at the raising of the widow's son: "[560]Shew, O Lord, that death is made gentle towards men; let it learn the evidences of thy humanity; let the documents of thy goodness come even to *hades*." And as he there noteth that [561]death received an overthrow from Elias, so in another place he noteth, that [562]*hades* received a like overthrow by Christ's raising of the dead. Whereupon he bringeth in St Peter using this speech unto our Saviour: "[563]Shall death make any youthful attempt against thee, whose voice *hades* could not endure? The other day thou didst call the widow's son that was dead, and death fled, not being able to accompany him unto the grave whom he had overcome: how shall death therefore lay hold on him whom it feareth?" and our Saviour himself speaking thus unto his disciples: "[564]I will arise out of the grave, renewing the resurrection;

[556] Ποντοπόρων τὸ πλέον εἰν ἀΐδῃ. Nazianz. Carm. XV. de Vitæ Itinerib. Tom. II. edit. Græco-Lat. p. 91.

[557] Πάντων ἁπλῶς ὁμοῦ φθειρομένων ἐλεεινῶς, καὶ παραπεμπομένων τῷ ᾅδῃ. Græc. Euchológ. fol. 197.

[558] Ἐνὼχ ἔμενεν ἔξω τῆς τοῦ θανάτου σαγήνης, Ἡλίας τοῖς τῆς φύσεως οὐχ ὑπήκουσε νόμοις. Basil. Seleuc. in Jonam, Orat. II. p. 114.

[559] Ἡλίας ἀνωτέρω θανάτου μεμένηκεν, Ἐνὼχ μεταθέσει τὸν ᾅδην ἐξέκλινε. Id. in illud, *Ecce ascendimus Hierosolym.* p. 268.

[560] Δεῖξον, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ θάνατον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερούμενον, μανθανέτω τὰ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας γνωρίσματα, φθανέτω καὶ ἄχρις ᾅδου τὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος δόγματα. Id. in Eliam, p. 97.

[561] Ὁ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἀήττητος θάνατος, τὴν ἧτταν διὰ τὸν Ἡλίαν ἐμάνθανε. Ibid.

[562] Νεκρὸς ἐξωριγνεῖτο τοῦ ᾅδου τὴν ἧτταν. Id. in illud, *Ecce ascendimus Hierosolym.* p. 265.

[563] Κατὰ σοῦ νεανιεύσεται θάνατος, οὗ φώνην οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ᾅδης; πρώην ἐκάλεσας τεθνηκότα τὸν τῆς χήρας υἱὸν, ὁ θάνατος ἔφυγεν, οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ τάφου παροδεῦσαι τῷ κεκρατημένῳ δυνάμενος. πῶς οὖν ὃν πεφόβηται, δέξεται θάνατος; Ibid. p. 268.

[564] Ἀναστήσομαι τάφου καινουργῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν· διδάξω τὸν ᾅδην διάδοχον περιμένειν ἀνάστασιν· ἐν ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ θάνατος παύεται, καὶ ἀθανασία φυτεύεται. Ib. p. 267.

I will teach *hades* that it must expect the resurrection to succeed it. For in me both death ceaseth and immortality is planted." So saith St Cyril of Alexandria: "[565]Christ was raised up for us; for he could not be detained by the gates of *hades*, nor taken at all by the bonds of death." And therefore Cyril of Jerusalem, having said that our Saviour did "[566]descend into *hades*," doth presently add as an explanation thereof, *κατῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸν θάνατον*, "for he did descend into death." "[567]He descended into death as a man," saith Athanasius. "[568]The divine nature," saith Ruffinus, meaning the divine Person, "by his flesh descended into death, not that according to the law of mortal men he should be detained of death, but that rising again by himself he might open the gates of death." "[569]When thou didst descend into death, O immortal Life," say the Grecians in their Liturgy, "thou didst then mortify *hades*, or hell, with the brightness of thy divinity."

And thus, if my memory do not fail me, (for at this present I have not the book which I used), is the article expressed in the Hebrew Creed which is printed with Potken's [570]Æthiopian Syllabary, ירד לצל מום, *He descended into the shadow of death:* where the Hebrew interpreter doth render *hades* by *the shadow of death*, as the Greek interpreters in that text, which by the [571]Fathers is applied to our Saviour's descent into hell, Job xxxviii. 17, do render *the shadow of death* by *hades*. For where the Hebrew hath שערי צל מות, *the gates of the shadow of death*, they render Πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπτηξαν, *the keepers of the gates of hades, seeing*

[565] Ἐγήγερται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστός· οὐ γὰρ γέγονε κάτοχος ταῖς ᾅδου πυλαῖς, οὔτε μὲν εἰς ἅπαν ἡλωτοῖς (*leg.* ἥλω τοῖς) τοῦ θανάτου δεσμοῖς. Cyril. Alexand. Glaphyr. in Genes. lib. v. p. 121.

[566] Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. XIV.

[567] Ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν θάνατον καταβάς. Athan. de Incarnat. Verbi, contra Gentes, p. 77.

[568] Divina natura in mortem per carnem descendit, non ut lege mortalium detineretur a morte, sed ut per se resurrecturus januas mortis aperiret. Ruffin. in Exposit. Symbol.

[569] Ὅτε κατῆλθες πρὸς θάνατον, ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ἀθάνατος, τότε τὸν ᾅδην ἐνέκρωσας τῇ ἀστραπῇ τῆς θεότητος. Octoëch. Anastas. Græc. et Evang. Chrysostom. Latin. a Leone Thusco edit.

[570] Syllabar. Æthiopic. quod habetur in quibusdam exemplaribus Psalterii, edit. Hebraic. Græc. Latin. et Æthiopic. in fol.

[571] Athanas. Orat. IV. contra Arian. Tom. I. edit. Græco-Lat. p. 291; Serm. in Passion. et Cruc. Dom. ibid. p. 80; Quæst. I. ad Antioch. Tom. II. p. 321; Euseb. lib. v. Demonstrat. Evangelic. p. 155, et lib. x. p. 313, edit. Græc.; Cæsarius, Dial. III. p. 1132, edit. Basil. See before, p. 268.

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thee, shrunk for fear. "[572]The resurrection from the dead," therefore, being "the end" of our Saviour's "suffering," as Eusebius noteth, and so the beginning of his glorifying, the first degree of his exaltation would thus very aptly answer unto the last degree of his humiliation; that, as his resurrection is an "arising from the dead," so his descending unto *hades*, or *ad inferos*, should be no other thing but "a going to the dead." For further confirmation whereof let it be considered that St Jerome, in the vulgar Latin translation of the Bible, hath *ad inferos deducentur*, Ecclesiastes ix. 3, where the Hebrew and Greek read *to the dead;* and in like manner, Proverbs ii. 18, he hath *ad inferos* again, where רפאים is in the Hebrew, which being a word that sometimes signifieth *the dead*, and sometimes *giants*, the Seventy do join both together and read *παρὰ τῷ ᾅδῃ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν*, *in hades with the giants.* So in the Sibylline Verses cited by [573]Lactantius,

ἵνα φθινομένοισι λαλήσῃ,

"that he may speak unto the dead," is in [574]Prosper translated *Ut inferis loquatur;* and those other verses touching our Saviour's resurrection,

[575]Καὶ τότ᾽ ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀνακύψας εἰς φάος ἥξει
Πρῶτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας,

"Then coming forth from the dead, &c." are thus turned into Latin in Prosper: [576]*Tunc ab inferis regressus, ad lucem veniet primus resurrectionis principio revocatis ostenso,* "Then returning from hell, he shall come unto the light, first shewing the beginning of the resurrection unto those whom he shall call back" from thence. For "[577]Christ returning back a conqueror from *hades* unto life," as Basil of Seleucia writeth, "the dead were taught the reviving again unto life." His "[578]rising from the dead was the

[572] Τέλος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἦν. Eusebius, Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. x. p. 307.

[573] Lactant. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 18.

[574] Prosper. de Promiss. et Prædict. part. III. cap. 20.

[575] Lactant. ut supra, cap. 19.

[576] Prosper. ut supra, cap. 29.

[577] Δι᾽ ἧς (σαρκὸς) οἱ νεκροὶ τὴν εἰς βίον ἀναβίωσιν ἐδιδάχθησαν, δι᾽ ἧς ἐξ ᾅδου νικηφόρος πρὸς ζωὴν ἀνελήλυθε. Basil. Seleuc. in Jonam, Orat. II.

[578] Ἡ δὲ (*leg.* δ᾽ ἐκ) νεκρῶν ἔγερσις ἐξ ᾅδου λύσις. Gregor. Nazianz. in Definitionib. Iambic. XV. Tom. II. edit. Græco-Lat. p. 201.

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loosing of us from *hades*," saith Gregory Nazianzen. "[579]He was raised from *hades*, or from the dead, and raised me being dead with him," saith Nectarius, his successor in the see of Constantinople. Therefore is he called "[580]the first-begotten of the dead, because he was the first that rose from *hades*, as we also shall rise at his second coming," saith the author of the Treatise of Definitions amongst the works of Athanasius.

To lay down all the places of the Fathers wherein our Lord's rising again from the dead is termed his rising again from *hades*, *inferi*, or *hell*, would be a needless labour: for this we need go no further than to the Canon of the Mass itself, where in the prayer that followeth next after the consecration, there being a commemoration made of Christ's passion, resurrection, and ascension, the second is set out by the title *ab inferis resurrectionis*, "of the resurrection from hell." For as the [581]Liturgies of the Eastern churches do here make mention τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, of *the resurrection from the dead;* so those of the [582]West retain that other title of the resurrection *ab inferis*, that is, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ᾄδου ἐγέρσεως, as it is in the Liturgy that goeth under the name of St Peter, or τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ᾄδου ἀναστάσεως, as it is in the Gregorian Office translated into Greek by Codinus. If then the resurrection from the dead be the same with the resurrection from *hades*, *inferi*, or *hell*, why may not the going unto *hades*, *inferi*, or *hell*, be interpreted, by the same reason, to be the going unto the dead? whereby no more is understood than what is intimated in that phrase, which the Latins use of one that hath left this world, *abiit ad plures*, or in that of the Hebrews so frequent in the word of God, he [583]*went, or was gathered unto his people*, he *went*, or *was gathered unto his fathers*, which being applied unto a whole generation, Judges ii. 10, as well as in other places unto particular persons, must of

[579] Excitatus est ab inferis, meque mortuum simul excitavit. Nectar. Orat. in Theodor. Martyr. a Perionio convers.

[580] Προτότοκος γενόμενος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, διότι ἀνέστη πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ ᾄδου, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν ἀνίστασθαι ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ. Tract. de Definit. II. Oper. Athanas. Græco-Lat. p. 59.

[581] Liturg. Jacobi, Marci, Clementis, Basilii, et Gregorii Theologi.

[582] Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. iv. cap. 6; Offic. Ambrosian. Tom. I.; Liturgic. Pameli, p. 302; Sacramentar. Gregorian. Tom. II. p. 181.

[583] Gen. xxv. 8, compared with xv. 15, Numb. xx. 24, and xxvii. 13, &c.

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necessity denote the common condition of men departed out of this life.

Now, although death and *hades*, dying and going to the dead, be of near affinity one with the other, yet be they not the same thing properly, but the one a consequent of the other, as it appeareth plainly by the vision, Rev. vi. 8, where *hades* is directly brought in as a follower of death. [584]Death itself, as wise men do define it, "is nothing else but the separation of the soul from the body," which is done in an instant; but *hades* is the continuation of the body and soul in this state of separation, which lasteth all that space of time which is betwixt the day of death and the day of the resurrection. For as the state of "[585]life is comprehended betwixt two extremes, to wit, the beginning thereof and the ending," and there be "[586]two motions in nature answerable thereunto, the one whereby the soul concurreth to the body," which we [587]call generation, "the other whereby the body is severed from the soul," which we call death; so the state of death in like manner is contained betwixt two bounds, the beginning, which is the very same with the ending of the other, and the last end, the motion whereunto is called the resurrection, whereby the body and soul, formerly separated, are joined together again. Thus there be three terms here, as it were in a kind of a continual proportion, the middlemost whereof hath relation to either of the extremes; and by the motion to the first a man may be said to be *natus*, to the second *denatus*, to the third *renatus*. The first and the third have a like opposition unto the middle, and therefore are like betwixt themselves, the one being a generation, the other a regeneration; for that our Lord doth "call the last resurrection the *regeneration*," Matt. xix. 28, [588]St Augustine supposeth that "no man doubteth." Neither would our

[584] Mortem nihil aliud esse definiunt sapientes, nisi separationem animæ a corpore. Origen. Tractat. xxxv. in Matt. cap. xxvii. Vide Tertullian. de Anima, cap. 27 et 51, et August. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xiii. cap. 6.

[585] Τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δύο πέρασιν ἑκατέρωθεν διειλημμένης, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φημὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. Catechetic. cap. 27.

[586] Τὸν δὲ Θεὸν φαμὲν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ γεγενῆθαι τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν κινήσει, δι' ἧς ἥ τε ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συντρέχει, τό τε σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διακρίνεται. Ibid. cap. 16.

[587] Ἡ πρώτη κίνησις ἣν γένεσιν ὀνομάζομεν. Ibid.

[588] Regenerationem quippe hoc loco, ambigente nullo, novissimam resurrectionem vocat. Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. lib. iii. cap. 3.

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Lord himself have been styled [589]Ὁ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, *the first-born from the dead*, unless the resurrection were accounted to be a kind of a new nativity, whereof he himself was in the first place to be made partaker, [590]*that among all*, or *in all things, he might have the pre-eminence*, the rest of [591]*the sons of God* being to be *children of the resurrection* also, but in their due time, and in the order of *post-nati*.

The middle distance betwixt the first and second term, that is to say, the space of life which we lead in this world betwixt the time of our birth and the time of our death, is opposite to the distance that is betwixt the second and third term, that is to say, the state of death under which man lieth from the time of his departure out of this life unto the time of his resurrection; and see, what difference there is betwixt our birth and the life which we spend here after we are born, the same difference is there betwixt death and *hades* in that other state of our dissolution. That which properly we call death, which is the parting asunder of the soul and the body, standeth as a middle term betwixt the state of life and the state of death, being nothing else but the ending of the one and the beginning of the other, and as it were a common mere between lands, or a *communis terminus* in a geometrical magnitude, dividing part from part, but being itself a part of neither, and yet belonging equally unto either. Which gave occasion to the question moved by Taurus the philosopher, "[592]When a dying man might be said to die; when he was now dead, or while he was yet living?" Whereunto Gellius returneth an answer out of Plato, [593]that his dying was to be attributed neither to the time of his life nor of his death, (because repugnances would arise either of those ways), but to the time which was in the confine betwixt both, which Plato calleth [594]τὸ ἐξαίφνης, *a moment* or *an instant*, and

[589] Rev. i. 5.

[590] Ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων. Coloss. i. 18.

[591] Luke xx. 36.

[592] Quando moriens moreretur; cum jam in morte esset, an tum etiam cum in vita foret. Taur.

[593] Plato neque vitæ id tempus, neque morti dedit (vidit quippe utrumque esse pugnans), sed tempori in confinio. Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. 13.

[594] Τὸ γὰρ ἐξαίφνης τοιοῦτόν τι ἔοικε σημαίνειν, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου μεταβάλλον εἰς ἕτερον (*al.* ἑκάτερον). Plato in Parmenide, p. 67.

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denieth to be properly any part of time at all. Therefore death doth his part in an instant, as hath been said; but *hades* continueth that work of his, and holdeth the dead as it were under conquest until the time of the resurrection, [595] wherein shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, *O death, where is thy sting? O hades, where is thy victory?* For "[596] these things shall rightly be spoken then," saith Irenæus, "when this mortal and corruptible flesh, (about which death is, and which is holden down by a certain dominion of death), rising up unto life, shall put on incorruption and immortality; for then shall death be truly overcome, when the flesh that is holden by it shall come forth out of the dominion thereof." Death, then, as it importeth the separation of the soul from the body, which is the proper acception of it, is a thing distinguishable from *hades*, as an antecedent from its consequent; but as it is taken for the whole state of death, and the domination which it hath over the dead, (*τῶν νεκρῶν δεσποτείαν*, Basilius Seleuciensis calleth it in his Oration upon Elias), it is the selfsame thing that *hades* is, and in that respect, as we have seen, the words are sometimes indifferently put the one for the other.

As therefore our Saviour, (that we may apply this now unto him), after he was fastened and lifted up on the cross, if he had come down from thence, (as [597] the standers-by in mocking wise did wish him to do), might be truly said to have been crucified, but not to have died; so when he gave up the ghost and laid down his life, if he had presently taken it up again, he might truly be said to have died, but not to have gone to the dead, or to have been in *hades*. His remaining under the power of death until the third day made this good. *Whom God did raise up, loosing the sorrows of death,* [598] *forasmuch as it was not possible that he should be holden of it,* saith St Peter; and *Christ being raised from the dead, dieth now no more:* [599] *death*

[595] 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55.

[596] Hæc juste dicentur tunc, quando mortalis hæc et corruptibilis caro, circa quam et mors est, quæ et quodam dominio mortis pressa est, in vitam conscendens, induerit incorruptelam et immortalitatem. Tunc enim vere erit victa mors, quando ea quæ continetur ab ea caro exierit de dominio ejus. Irenæus, lib. v. cap. 13.

[597] Matt. xxvii. 40—42.

[598] Καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Acts ii. 24.

[599] Θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔτι κυριεύει. Rom. vi. 9.

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hath no more dominion over him, saith St Paul; implying thereby, that during the space of time that passed betwixt his death and his resurrection he was holden by death, and death had some kind of domination over him. And therefore Athanasius, (or whoever else was author of that writing to Liberius, the Roman Bishop,) having reference unto the former text, affirmeth that "[600]he raised up that buried" body of his, and "presented it to his Father, having freed it from death, of which it was holden." And Maximus, or he that collected the Dialogues against the Marcionites under the name of Origen, out of him, expounding the other text: "[601]Over whom, then, had death dominion?" saith he: "for the saying that it *hath no more dominion*, sheweth that before it had dominion over him." Not that death could have any dominion over [602]*the Lord of life*, further than he himself was pleased to give way unto it: but as, when death did at the first seize upon him, [603]*his life* indeed *was taken from the earth*, yet [604]*none could take it from him, but he laid it down of himself*; so his continuing to be death's prisoner for a time was a voluntary commitment only, unto which he freely yielded himself for our sakes, not any yoke of miserable necessity that death was able to impose upon him. For [605]*he had power to lay down his life, and he had power to take it again*; yet would he not take it again before he had first not *laid himself down* only upon death's bed, but *slept* also upon it, that arising afterward from thence he might become [606]*the first-fruits of them that slept*. In which respect the [607]Fathers apply unto him that text of the Psalm, *I laid me down and slept, I awaked, for the Lord sustained me*, (Psalm iii. 5); and Lactantius that verse of Sibyl,

[600] Ἐγείρας ἐκεῖνο τὸ ταφὲν, προσήνεγκε τῷ πατρὶ, ἐλευθερώσας οὗ ἐκρατεῖτο θανάτου. Athanas. Rescript. ad Liberium, Tom. I. p. 397.

[601] Τίνος οὖν ἐκυρίευσεν ὁ θάνατος; τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν, Οὐκ ἔτι κυριεύει, ἔδειξεν ὅτι πρότερον ἐκυρίευσεν. Origen. Dialog. III.

[602] Acts iii. 15.

[603] Acts viii. 33.

[604] John x. 18.

[605] Ibid.

[606] 1 Cor. xv. 20.

[607] Cyprian. Testimon. advers. Judæos, lib. ii. sect. 24; Lactant. Institut. lib. iv. cap. 19; Ruffin. in Exposit. Symbol.; Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvii. cap. 18; Cyrillus, cujus in hunc locum (in Catena MS. Nicetæ Serronii) verba sunt ista: Ἐκοιμήθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ πατέρι παραθέμενος, καὶ ὕπνωσεν ὕπνον τριήμερον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κατατεθείς. ἀνέστη δὲ τοῦ πατέρος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ θανάτου ὑψώσαντος.

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Καὶ θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἦμαρ ὑπνώσας·

"The term of death he shall finish
When he hath slept unto the third day."

His dying, or his burying at the farthest, is that which here is answerable unto his lying down; but his ταφὴ τριήμερος, or τριημερόνυκτος, as [608]Dionysius calleth it, his *three days' burial*, and his *continuing* for that time *in the state of death*, is that which answereth unto his [609]*sleeping*, or being in *hades*. And therefore the Fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo, declaring how in baptism "[610]the death and resurrection of Christ is signified," do both affirm, that "the dipping in the water is as it were a descension into hell, and the rising out of the water again a resurrection;" and add likewise out of Gregory, with whom many other [611]doctors do herein agree, that [612]the "threefold dipping" is used to signify the "three days' burial." Which differeth as much from the simple burial, or putting into the earth, as μετοικισμὸς doth from μετοικία, the *transportation* or leading into captivity from the detaining in bondage, the committing of one to prison from the holding of him there, and the sowing of the seed from the remaining of it in ground.

And thus have I unfolded at large the general acceptions of the word *hades* and *inferi*, and so the ecclesiastical use of the word *hell* answering thereunto; which being severally applied to the point of our Saviour's descent, make up these three propositions, that by the universal consent of Christians are acknowledged to be of undoubted verity: His dead body, though free from corruption, yet did descend

[608] Dionys. Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 2.

[609] Τὸ δὲ ὑπνώσω, τῆς κατακλίσεως ἐπίτασις ἐστίν. Euthym. in Psal. iv. 9.

[610] Et ne forte cuiquam sit dubium hujus simpli mysterium sacramenti, videat in eo mortem et resurrectionem Christi significari. Nam in aquis mersio quasi in infernum descensio est; et rursus ab aquis emersio resurrectio est. Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. 5 (*al.* 6).

[611] Dionys. ut supra; Cyril. vel Johan. Hierosolymitan. Cateches. II. Mystagogic.; Petrus Chrysologus, Serm. CXIII.; Leo I. Epist. IV. cap. 3; Paschasius de Spiritu Sanct. lib. ii. cap. 5; Johan. Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. iv. cap. 10; Germanus in Rer. Ecclesiast. Theoria; Walafrid. Strab. de Reb. Ecclesiast. cap. 26; Theophylact. in Johan. cap. iii.

[612] Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus; ut dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio triduani temporis exprimatur. Concil. Toletan. ex Gregorio, lib. i. Registri, Epist. XLI.

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into the place of corruption, as other bodies do. His soul, being separated from his body, departed hence into the other world, as all other men's souls in that case use to do. He went unto the dead and remained for a time in the state of death, as other dead men do. There remaineth now the vulgar acception of the word *hell*, whereby it is taken for the place of torment prepared for the devil and his angels; and touching this also all Christians do agree thus far, that Christ did descend thither, at leastwise in a virtual manner, as God "[613]is said to descend when he doth any thing upon earth, which being wonderfully done beyond the usual course of nature, may in some sort shew his presence," or when he otherwise "[614]vouchsafeth to have care of human frailty." Thus when Christ's "[615]flesh was in the tomb, his power did work from heaven," saith St Ambrose. Which agreeth with that which was before cited out of the Armenians' confession: "[616]According to his body, which was dead, he descended into the grave; but according to his DIVINITY, which did live, he overcame hell in the meantime;" and with that which was cited out of Philo Carpathius, upon Cantic. v. 2, *I sleep, but my heart waketh*, "[617]in the grave spoiling hell;" for which in the Latin collections that go under his name, we read thus: "[618]*I sleep*, to wit on the cross, *and my heart waketh*, when my DIVINITY spoiled hell, and brought rich spoils from the triumph of everlasting death overcome and the devil's power overthrown." The author of the imperfect work upon Matthew attributeth this to the divinity, not clothed with any part of the humanity, but naked, as he speaketh. Seeing the devils "[619]feared him," saith he,

[613] Descendere dicitur, cum aliquid facit in terra, quod præter usitatum naturæ cursum mirabiliter factum præsentiam quodammodo ejus ostendat. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 5.

[614] Descendere dicitur Deus, quando curam humanæ fragilitatis habere dignatur. Aug. Serm. LXX. de Tempore.

[615] Erat caro ejus in monumento, sed virtus ejus operabatur e cœlo. Ambros. de Incarnat. cap. 5.

[616] Supr. p. 307.

[617] Supr. p. 302.

[618] Ego dormio, in cruce scilicet, et cor meum vigilat, cum divinitas Tartara spoliavit, et opima spolia retulit de triumpho superatæ mortis æternæ atque dejectæ diabolicæ potestatis. Philo Carpath. in Cantic. v.

[619] Quem in corpore constitutum timuerunt, dicentes, *Quid nobis et tibi, Jesu fili Dei excelsi? venisti ante tempus torquere nos?* quomodo nudam ipsam divinitatem contra se descendentem poterunt sustinere? Ecce post tres dies mortis suæ revertetur ab inferis, quasi victor de bello. Op. Imperf. in Matth. Homil. XXXV. Tom. II. Chrysost.

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"while he was in the body, saying, *What have we to do with thee, Jesus the Son of the High God? art thou come to torment us before our time?* how shall they be able to endure his NAKED DIVINITY descending against them? Behold, after three days of his death he shall return from hell, as a conqueror from the war."

This conquest others do attribute to his cross, others to his death, others to his burial, others to the real descent of his soul into the place of the damned, others to his resurrection; and extend the effect thereof, not only to the delivery of the Fathers of the Old Testament, but also to the freeing of our souls from hell. From whence how men may be said to have been delivered who never were there, St Augustine declareth by these similitudes: "[620]Thou sayest rightly to the physician, Thou hast freed me from this sickness, not in which thou wast, but in which thou wast like to be. Somebody else having a troublesome business, was to be cast into prison; there cometh another and defendeth him. What saith he when he giveth thanks? Thou hast delivered me from prison. A debtor was in danger to be hanged; the debt is paid for him; he is said to be freed from hanging. In all these things they were not; but because such were their deserts that unless they had been holpen there they would have been, they say rightly that they were freed thence, whither by those that freed them they were not suffered to be brought." That Christ destroyed the power of hell, [621]*spoiled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them*, is acknowledged by all Christians. Neither is there any who will refuse to subscribe unto that which Proclus delivered in his sermon before Nestorius, then Bishop of Constantinople, inserted into the acts of the Council of Ephesus: "[622]He was shut up in the grave

[620] Recte dicis medico, Liberasti me ab ægritudine; non in qua jam eras, sed in qua futurus eras. Nescio quis habens causam molestam, mittendus erat in carcerem; venit alius, defendit eum. Gratias agens, quid dicit? Eruisti animam meam de carcere. Suspendendus erat debitor: solutum est pro eo; liberatus dicitur de suspendio. In his omnibus non erant: sed quia talibus meritis agebantur, ut nisi subventum esset, ibi essent; inde se recte dicunt liberari, quo per liberatores suos non sunt permissi perduci. August. in Psal. LXXXV.

[621] Ephes. ii. 15.

[622] Ἐν τάφῳ κατεκλείετο, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξέτεινεν ὡσεὶ δέῤῥιν· ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλογίζετο, καὶ τὸν ᾅδην ἐσκύλευεν. Procli. Cyziceni Episc. Homil. de Nativit. Domin. in Act. Concil. Ephes. part. I. cap. i. edit. Rom.

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who stretched out the heavens like a skin; he was reckoned among the dead and spoiled hell;" and that which St Cyril and the Synod of Alexandria wrote unto the same Nestorius concerning the confession of their faith, approved not only by the [623]third general Council held at Ephesus, but also by the [624]fourth at Chalcedon, and the [625]fifth at Constantinople: "[626]To the end that by his unspeakable power treading down death in his own, as the first and principal, flesh, he might become the firstborn from the dead, and the firstfruits of those that slept; and that he might make a way to man's nature for the turning back again unto incorruption; by the grace of God he tasted death for all men, and revived the third day, spoiling hell:" all, I say, do agree that Christ spoiled, or, as they were wont to speak, harrowed hell; whether you take hell for that which keepeth the soul separated from the body, or that which separateth soul and body both from the blessed presence of him who is our true life; the one whereof our Saviour hath conquered by bringing in the *resurrection of the body*, the other he hath abolished by procuring for us *life everlasting*.

Touching the manner and the means whereby hell was thus spoiled, is all the disagreement: the manner, whether our Lord did deliver his people from hell by way of prevention, in saving them from coming thither, or by way of subvention, in helping those out whom at the time of his death he found there: the means, whether this were done by his divinity, or his humanity, or both; whether by the virtue of his sufferings, death, burial, and resurrection, or by the real descending of his soul into the place wherein men's souls were kept imprisoned. That he descended not into the hell of the damned by the essence of his soul, or locally, but virtually only, by extending the effect of his power thither, is the common doctrine of [627]Thomas Aquinas and the rest of the school. Cardinal

[623] Act. Concil. Ephes. part. I. cap. xxvi. edit. Rom.

[624] Concil. Chalced. Act. v.

[625] Quint. Synod. Constantinop. Collat. vi.

[626] Ἵνα γὰρ ἀῤῥήτῳ δυνάμει πατήσας τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔν γε δὴ πρώτῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ, γένηται πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ὁδοποιήσῃ τε τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσει τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναδρομὴν, χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θάνατον, τριήμερος δὲ ἀνεβίω σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην. Synod. Alexandrin. Epist. ad Nestor.

[627] Thom. in Sum. part. III. Quæst. LII. Art. 2.

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Bellarmine at first held it to be [628] probable that Christ's soul did descend thither, not only by his effects, but by his real presence also; but afterwards, "[629] having considered better of the matter, he resolved that the opinion of Thomas and the other schoolmen was to be followed." The same is the judgment of [630] Suarez, who concerning this whole Article of Christ's descent into hell doth thus deliver his mind: "[631] If by an article of faith we understand a truth which all the faithful are bound explicitly to know and believe, so I do not think it necessary to reckon this among the articles of faith, because it is not a matter altogether so necessary for all men, and because that for this reason, peradventure, it is omitted in the Nicene Creed; the knowledge of which Creed seemeth to be sufficient for fulfilling the precept of faith. Lastly, for this cause, peradventure, Augustine and other of the Fathers expounding the Creed, do not unfold this mystery unto the people." And to speak the truth, it is a matter above the reach of the common people to enter into the discussion of the full meaning of this point of the descension into hell; the determination whereof dependeth upon the knowledge of the learned tongues and other sciences that come not within the compass of their understanding; some experiment whereof they may observe in this, that whereas in the other questions here handled they might find themselves able in some reasonable sort to follow me; here they leave me, I doubt, and let me walk without their company.

It having here likewise been further manifested, what different opinions have been entertained by the ancient doctors of the Church concerning the determinate place wherein our Saviour's soul did remain during the time of the separation of it from his body, I leave it to be considered by

[628] Bellarm. de Christo, lib. iv. cap. 16.

[629] Re melius considerata, sequendam esse existimo sententiam S. Thomæ, quæ est aliorum scholasticorum in Sent. III. Dist. XXII. Id. in Recognitione Operum.

[630] Suarez. Tom. II. in part. III. Thom. Disput. XLIII. sect. 4.

[631] Si nomine articuli intelligamus veritatem quam omnes fideles explicite scire ac credere teneantur, sic non existimo necessarium hunc computare inter articulos fidei; quia non est res admodum necessaria singulis hominibus, et quia ob hanc fortasse causam in symbolo Niceno omittitur; cujus symboli cognitio videtur esse sufficiens ad præceptum fidei implendum. Denique propterea forte Augustinus et alii patres in principio citati, exponentes symbolum, non explicant populo hoc mysterium. Id. ibid. sect. 2.

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the learned, whether any such controverted matter may fitly be brought in to expound the "[632]rule of faith by," which being "common both to the great and the small ones in the Church," must contain such verities only as are generally agreed upon by the common consent of all true Christians; and if the words of the Article of Christ's going to *hades* or hell may well bear such a general meaning as this, that he went to the dead, and continued in the state of death until the time of his resurrection, it would be thought upon, whether such a truth as this, which findeth universal acceptance among all Christians, may not safely pass for an Article of our Creed, and the particular limitation of the place unto which our Saviour's soul went, whether to the place of bliss, or to the place of torment, or to both, be left, as a number of other theological points are, unto further disputation. In the articles of our faith common agreement must be required, which we are sure is more likely to be found in the general than in the particular. And this is the only reason which moved me to enlarge myself so much in the declaration of the general acceptions of the word *hades*, and the application of them to our Saviour's descent spoken of in the Creed. Wherein if the zeal which I bear to the peace of the Church, and the settlement of unity among brethren, hath carried me too far, I entreat the reader to pardon me; and so ceasing to be further troublesome unto him in the prosecution of this intricate argument, I pass to the next question

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OF PRAYER TO SAINTS.

THAT one question of St Paul, Rom. x. 14, *How shall they call upon him in whom they have not believed?* among such as lust not to be contentious will quickly put an end unto this question. For if none can be invocated but such as must be believed in, and none must be believed in but

[632] Regulam fidei pusillis magnisque communem in ecclesia perseveranter tenent. Augustin. Epist. LVII. ad Dardanum.

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God alone, every one may easily discern what conclusion will follow thereupon. Again, all Christians have been taught that no part of divine worship is to be communicated unto any creature: for [1]*it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* But prayer is such a principal part of this service, that it is [2]usually put for the whole; and the public place of God's worship hath from hence given it the denomination of [3]*the house of prayer.* Furthermore, he that heareth our prayers must be able to search the secrets of our hearts, and discern the inward disposition of our souls. For the pouring out of good words, and the offering up of external sighs and tears, are but the carcase only of a true prayer; the life thereof consisteth in the [4]pouring out of the very soul itself, and the sending up of those secret [5]groans of the spirit *which cannot be uttered.* But [6]*he that searcheth the hearts,* and only he, *knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit;* he [7]*heareth in heaven his dwelling-place, and giveth to every man according to his ways, whose heart he knoweth; for he, even he* ONLY, *knoweth the hearts of all the children of men,* as Solomon teacheth us in the prayer which he made at the dedication of the temple, whereunto we may add that golden sentence of his father David for a conclusion: [8]*O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.*

If it be further here objected by us, that we find neither precept nor example of any of the Fathers of the Old Testament whereby this kind of praying to the souls of the saints departed may be warranted, Cardinal Bellarmine will give us a reason for it: "[9]For therefore," saith he, "the spirits of the patriarchs and the prophets, before the coming of Christ, were neither so worshipped nor invocated as we do now worship and invocate the apostles and martyrs,

[1] Matth. iv. 10.

[2] Jerem. x. 25; Joel ii. 32; Acts ix. 14; 1 Cor. i. 2. Sic apud Optatum, lib. iii. contr. Donatist. Ut negaretur Christus et Idola rogarentur. Item, Testamentum divinum legimus pariter; unum Deum rogamus.

[3] Isaiah LVI. 7; Matth. xxi. 13.

[4] Psalm LXII. 8; 1 Sam. i. 13, 15.

[5] Rom. viii. 26. [6] Rom. viii. 27.

[7] 1 Kings viii. 39; 2 Chron. vi. 30.

[8] Psalm LXV. 2.

[9] Nam idcirco ante Christi adventum non ita colebantur neque invocabantur spiritus patriarcharum et prophetarum, quemadmodum nunc apostolos et martyres colimus et invocamus, quod illi adhuc inferni carceribus clausi detinebantur. Bellarm. fin. Præfat. in Controvers. de Ecclesia triumphante, in Ord. Disputat.

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because that they were detained as yet shut up in the prisons of hell." But if this reason of his be grounded upon a false foundation, as we have already shewed it be, and the contrary supposition be most true, that the spirits of the patriarchs and prophets were not thus shut up in the prisons of hell, then have we four thousand years' prescription left unto us to oppose against this innovation. We go further yet, and urge against them, that in the New Testament itself we can descry no footsteps of this new kind of invocation, more than we did in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. For this Salmeron doth tell us, that "[10]the Scriptures which were made and published in the primitive Church ought to found and explain Christ, who, by the tacit suggestion of the Spirit, did bring the saints with him; and that it would have been a hard matter to enjoin this to the Jews, and to the Gentiles an occasion would be given thereby to think that many gods were put upon them instead of the multitude of the gods whom they had forsaken." So this new worship, you see, fetcheth its original neither from the Scriptures of the Old nor of the New Testament, but from I know not what "tacit suggestion," which smelt so strongly of idolatry, that at first it was not safe to acquaint either the Jews or the Gentiles therewith. But if any such sweet tradition as this were at first delivered unto the Church by Christ and his Apostles, we demand further how it should come to pass, that for the space of 360 years together after the birth of our Saviour we can find mention nowhere of any such thing? For howsoever our Challenger giveth it out, "that prayer to saints was of great account" amongst the Fathers of the primitive Church for the first 400 years after Christ, yet for nine parts of that time, I dare be bold to say, that he is not able to produce as much as one true testimony out of any Father, whereby it may appear that any account at all was made of it; and for the tithe, too, he shall find perhaps, before we have done, that he is not like to carry it away so clearly as he weeneth.

[10] Quia scripturas conditas et publicatas in primitiva ecclesia oportebat Christum fundare et explicare, qui per tacitam suggestionem Spiritus sanctos secum adducebat; et durum esset id Judæis præcipere, et occasio daretur gentibus putandi sibi exhibitos multos Deos pro multitudine deorum quos relinquebant. Alphons. Salmer. in 1 Tim. ii. Disput. VIII.

Whether those blessed spirits pray for us, is not the question here, but whether we are to pray unto them. That God only is to be prayed unto, is the doctrine that was once delivered unto the saints, for which we so earnestly contend; the saints praying for us doth no way cross this, (for to whom should the saints pray but to the [11] *King of saints?*) their being prayed unto is the only stumblingblock that lieth in this way. And therefore in those first times the former of these was admitted by some as a matter of probability, but the latter no way yielded unto, as being derogatory to the privilege of the Deity. Origen may be a witness of both, who touching the former writeth in this sort: "[12] I do think thus, that all those Fathers who are departed this life before us do fight with us and assist us with their prayers; for so have I heard one of the elder masters saying:" and in another place, "[13] Moreover, if the saints that have left the body and be with Christ, do any thing and labour for us in like manner as the angels do, who are employed in the ministry of our salvation, let this also remain among the hidden things of God and the mysteries that are not to be committed unto writing." But because he thought that the angels and saints prayed for us, did he therefore hold it needful that we should direct our prayers unto them? Hear, I pray you, his own answer, in his eighth book against Celsus the philosopher: "[14] We must endeavour to please God alone, who is above all things,

[11] Rev. xv. 3.

[12] Ego sic arbitror, quod omnes illi qui dormierunt ante nos patres, pugnent nobiscum et adjuvent nos orationibus suis. Ita namque etiam quendam de senioribus magistris audivi dicentem. Origen. in Jos. Homil. XVI.

[13] Jam vero si etiam extra corpus positi sancti, qui cum Christo sunt, agunt aliquid, et laborant pro nobis ad similitudinem angelorum, qui salutis nostræ ministeria procurant, &c. habeatur hoc quoque inter occulta Dei nec chartis committenda mysteria. Id. lib. ii. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. ii.

[14] Ἕνα οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἐξευμενιστέον, καὶ τοῦτον ἵλεω ἑκτέον, ἐξευμενιζόμενον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς βούλεται μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι Θεὸν, κατανοησάτω, ὅτι ὥσπερ τῷ κινουμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτοῦ κίνησις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν ἕπεται εὐμενεῖς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας φίλους ἀγγέλους, καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα· συναίσθονται γὰρ τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐμενισμοῦ· καὶ οὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς ἀξίοις γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἐξευμενίζονται, καὶ συνεύχονται, καὶ συναξιοῦσιν· ὥστε τολμᾷν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις, μετὰ προαιρέσεως προτιθεμένοις τὰ κρείττονα, εὐχομένοις τῷ Θεῷ, μυρίαι ὅσαι ἄκλητοι συνεύχονται δυνάμεις ἱεραί. Origen. contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 432, 433.

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and labour to have him propitious unto us, procuring his goodwill with godliness and all kind of virtue. And if Celsus will yet have us to procure the goodwill of any others after him that is God over all, let him consider, that as when the body is moved, the motion of the shadow thereof doth follow it, so in like manner having God favourable unto us who is over all, it followeth that we shall have all his friends, both angels and souls and spirits, loving unto us. For they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to find favour from God. Neither are they only favourable unto such as be thus worthy; but they work with them also that are willing to do service unto him who is God over all, and are friendly to them, and pray with them, and entreat with them. So as we may be bold to say, that when men, which with resolution propose unto themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them UNSPOKEN to."

Celsus had said of the angels, "[15]That they belong to God, and in that respect we are to put our trust in them, and make oblations to them according to the laws, and pray unto them, that they may be favourable to us." To this Origen answereth in this manner: "[16]Away with Celsus's counsel, saying that we must pray to angels; and let us not so much as afford any little audience to it. For we must pray to him alone who is God over all; and we must pray to the Word of God, his only begotten and the first-born of all creatures, and we must entreat him that he as High Priest would present our prayer, when it is come to him, unto his God and our God, and unto his Father and the Father of them that frame their life according to the word of God." And whereas Celsus had further said, that we "[17]must offer firstfruits" unto angels, "and prayers

[15] Ὅτι καὶ οἱ δαίμονές εἰσι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστευτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καλλιερητέον κατὰ νόμους, καὶ προσευκτέον ἵν' εὐμενεῖς ὦσι. Cels. ibid. p. 406.

[16] Ἄπαγε δὴ τὴν τοῦ Κέλσου συμβουλὴν, λέγοντος προσευκτέον εἶναι δαίμοσι, καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀκουστέον αὐτῆς. Μόνῳ γὰρ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως λόγῳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀξιωτέον αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσασαν ἡμῶν εὐχὴν ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα τῶν βιούντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Origen. ibid.

[17] Ἀπαρχὰς καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοτέον, ἕως ἂν ζῶμεν, ὡς ἂν φιλανθρώπων αὐτῶν τυγχάνοιμεν. Cels. ibid. p. 411.

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as long as we live, that we may find them propitious unto us;" answer is returned by Origen in the name of the Christians, that they held it rather fit to offer "firstfruits" unto him which said, *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind.* [18]And "to whom we give the firstfruits," saith he, "to him also do we send our prayers, having *a great High Priest that is entered into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God:* and we hold fast this confession while we live, having God favourable unto us, and his only begotten Son Jesus being manifested among us; but if we have a desire unto a multitude whom we would willingly have to be favourable unto us, we learn that thousand thousands stand by him, and millions of millions minister unto him: who beholding them that imitate their piety towards God as if they were their kinsfolks and friends, help forward their salvation who call upon God and pray sincerely; appearing also and thinking that they ought to do service to them; and as it were upon one watchword, to set forth for the benefit and salvation of them that pray to God, unto whom they themselves also pray. For *they are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation.*" Thus far Origen, in his eighth book against Celsus; to which for a conclusion we will add that place of the fifth book: "[19]All prayers, and supplications, and intercessions,

[18] Ὧι δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδομεν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπομεν, ἔχοντες ἀρχιερέα μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ κρατοῦμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἕως ἂν ζῶμεν, φιλανθρώπου τυγχάνοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν φανερουμένου. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ποθοῦμεν ὧν φιλανθρώπων τυγχάνειν θέλομεν, μανθάνομεν ὅτι χίλιαι χιλιάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ· αἵτινες ὡς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς μιμουμένους τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν ὁρῶντες, συμπράττουσιν αὐτῶν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸν Θεὸν καὶ γνησίως εὐχομένων, ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ οἰόμενοι αὐτοῖς δεῖν ὑπακούειν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς συνθήματος ἐπιδημεῖν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν εὐχομένων Θεῷ, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ εὔχονται. καὶ γὰρ πάντες εἰσὶ λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν. Origen. ibid. p. 411, 412.

[19] Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν καὶ προσευχὴν καὶ ἔντευξιν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ, &c. Ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλέσαι, μὴ ἀναλαβόντας τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην, οὐκ εὔλογον. Ἵνα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμη, θαυμάσιός τις οὖσα καὶ ἀπόῤῥητος, καταληφθῇ, αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη, παραστήσασα τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, οὐκ ἐάσει ἄλλῳ θαῤῥεῖν εὔχεσθαι, ἢ τῷ πρὸς πάντα διαρκεῖ (fort. διαρκοῦντι) ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Id. lib. v. p. 239.

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and thanksgivings, are to be sent up unto God, the Lord of all, by the High Priest, who is above all angels, being the living Word and God. For to call upon angels, we not comprehending the knowledge of them, which is above the reach of man, is not agreeable to reason. And if by supposition it were granted that the knowledge of them, which is wonderful and secret, might be comprehended; this very knowledge, declaring their nature unto us and the charge over which every one of them is set, would not permit us to presume to pray unto any other but unto God, the Lord over all, who is abundantly sufficient for all, by our Saviour the Son of God."

Tertullian and Cyprian, in the books which they purposely wrote concerning prayer, deliver no other doctrine, but teach us to regulate all our prayers according unto that perfect pattern prescribed by our great Master, wherein we are required to direct our petitions unto *Our Father which is in heaven*, Matt. vi. 9, Luke xi. 2. "[20]These things," saith Tertullian, in his Apology for the Christians of his time, "I may not pray for from any other but from him of whom I know I shall obtain them; because both it is he who is alone able to give, and I am he unto whom it appertaineth to obtain that which is requested, being his servant who observe him alone, who for his religion am killed, who offer unto him a rich and great sacrifice which he himself hath commanded, prayer proceeding from a chaste body, from an innocent soul, from a holy spirit;" where he accounteth prayer to be the chief sacrifice wherewith God is worshipped, agreeably to that which Clemens Alexandrinus wrote at the same time: "[21]We do not without cause honour God by prayer, and with righteousness send up this best and holiest sacrifice."

And therefore where the brethren of the church of Smyrna, relating the martyrdom of Polycarpus their bishop,

[20] Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecuturum; quoniam et ipse est qui solus præstat, et ego sum cui impetrare debetur, famulus ejus qui eum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam ejus occidor, qui ei offero opimam et majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam. Tertul. Apologetic. cap. 30.

[21] Οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἡμεῖς δι' εὐχῆς τιμῶμεν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν ἀρίστην καὶ ἁγιωτάτην μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἀναπέμπομεν. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. vii.

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whereof they were eye-witnesses, some 70 years after the decease of St John, who had encouraged them by a letter taken from their Saviour's own mouth, to continue [22]*faithful unto the death*; where these, I say, do constantly profess that they "[23]can never be induced either to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the saved, (or, the saved of the whole world), or to WORSHIP ANY OTHER," the Latin edition of that writing of theirs, which was wont to be publicly read in these churches of the West, doth express their meaning in this manner: "[24]We Christians can never leave Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer so great things for our sins, nor impart the supplication of PRAYER UNTO ANY OTHER." Then, to shew the difference of this high worship proper to the Master from the honour of love and imitation due unto his best servants, it presently followeth in that golden epistle: "[25]Him, being the Son of God, we do adore; but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love worthily for their exceeding great affection toward their own King and Master, of whom we wish that we may be partners and disciples." Hereunto may be added the direction given unto virgins in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians: "[26]Ye virgins, have Christ alone before your eyes, and his Father in your prayers, being enlightened by the Spirit." For explication whereof that may be taken, which we read in the exposition of the faith attributed unto St Gregory of Neocæsarea: "[27]Whosoever rightly prayeth unto God, prayeth by the Son; and whosoever cometh as he ought to do, cometh by Christ; and to the Son he cannot come without the Holy Ghost."

[22] Rev. ii. 10.

[23] Οὔτε τὸν Χριστόν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβειν. Eccles. Smyrn. apud Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. κεφ. ιε.

[24] Nunquam Christum relinquere possumus Christiani, qui pro peccatis nostris pati tanta dignatus est; neque alteri cuiquam precem orationis impendere. Ex Passionario Ms. VII. Kalend. Februar. in Bibliotheca Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis, et D. Roberti Cottoni.

[25] Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μιμητὰς, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ μαθητὰς γενέσθαι. Euseb. ut supra.

[26] Αἱ παρθένοι, μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, φωτιζόμεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. Ignat. Epist. VI.

[27] Qui recte invocat Deum, per Filium invocat, et qui proprie accedit, per Christum accedit; accedere autem ad Filium non potest sine Spiritu sancto. Gregor. Neocæsar. in Ἐκθέσει τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως, a Fr. Turriano convers.

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Neither is it to be passed over, that one of the special arguments whereby the writers of this time do prove our Saviour Christ to be truly God, is taken from our praying unto him, and his accepting of our petitions. "[28] If Christ be only man," saith Novatianus, "how is he present being called upon every where, seeing this is not the nature of man, but of God, that he can be present at every place? If Christ be only man, why is a man called upon in our prayers as a mediator, seeing the invocation of a man is judged of no force to yield salvation? If Christ be only man, why is their hope reposed in him, seeing hope in man is said to be cursed?" So is it noted by Origen, that St Paul, [29] in the beginning of the former Epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith, *With all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours*, (1 Cor. i. 2,) doth thereby "pronounce Jesus Christ, whose name is called upon, to be God. And if to call upon the name of the Lord," saith he, "and to adore God, be one and the selfsame thing, as Christ is called upon, so is he to be adored; and as we do offer to God the Father *first of all prayers*, (1 Tim. ii. 1,) so must we also to the Lord Jesus Christ; and as we do offer supplications to the Father, so do we offer supplications also to the Son; and as we do offer thanksgivings to God, so do we offer thanksgivings to our Saviour."

In like manner Athanasius, disputing against the Arians, by that prayer which the Apostle maketh, 1 Thess. iii. 11, *God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you*, doth prove the unity of the Father

[28] Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur spes in illum ponitur, cum spes in homine maledicta referatur? Novatian. de Trinitat. cap. 14.

[29] Sed et in principio epistolæ quam ad Corinthios scribit, ubi dicit, Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini Jesu Christi in omni loco, ipsorum et nostro, eum, cujus nomen invocatur, Deum Jesum Christum esse pronunciat. Si ergo et Enos et Moses et Aaron et Samuel invocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos, sine dubio Christum Jesum Dominum invocabant; et si invocare Domini nomen et adorare Deum unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Christus et adorandus est Christus; et sicut offerimus Deo Patri primo omnium orationes, ita et Domino Jesu Christo; et sicut offerimus postulationes Patri, ita offerimus postulationes et Filio; et sicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita gratias offerimus Salvatori. Origen. lib. viii. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. x.

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and the Son. "[30]For no man," saith he, "would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the angels, or from any of the other creatures, neither would any man say, God and the angel give me this." And whereas it might be objected that Jacob, in the blessing that he gave unto Ephraim and Manasseh, Gen. XLVIII. 15, 16, did use this form of prayer, *The God which fed me from my youth unto this day, the angel which delivered me from all evils, bless those children*, (which Cardinal [31]Bellarmine placeth in the forefront of the forces he bringeth forth to establish the invocation of saints;) Athanasius answereth, that "[32]he did not couple one of the created and natural angels with God that did create them, nor omitting God that fed him, did desire a blessing for his nephews from an angel; but saying, *Which delivered me from all evils*, he did shew that it was not any of the created angels, but the WORD of God," that is to say, the Son, "whom he coupled with the Father and prayed unto." And for further confirmation hereof he allegeth, among other things, that neither [33]Jacob nor David did "pray unto any other but God himself for their deliverance."

The place wherein we first find the spirits of the deceased to be called unto, rather than called upon, is that in the beginning of the former of the Invectives which Gregory Nazianzen wrote against the Emperor Julian, about the 364th year of our Lord: Ἄκουε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίου ψυχὴ (εἴ τις αἴσθησις) ὅσαι τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων φιλόχριστοι, "Hear, O thou soul of great Constantius (if thou hast any understanding of these things), and as many souls of the kings before him as loved Christ." Where the [34]Greek Scholiast upon that parenthesis putteth

[30] Οὐκ ἂν γοῦν εὔξαιτό τις λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ παρά τινος τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων· οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις, Δῴη σοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος. Athanas. Orat. IV. contra Arian. p. 259.

[31] Bellarm. de Eccles. Triumph. lib. i. cap. 19.

[32] Οὐ τῶν κτισθέντων καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀγγέλων ὄντων ἕνα συνῆπται τῷ κτίσαντι αὐτοὺς Θεῷ· οὐδὲ ἀφεὶς τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν Θεὸν, παρ' ἀγγέλου τὴν εὐλογίαν ᾔτει τοῖς ἐγγόνοις· ἀλλ' εἰρηκὼς, Ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἔδειξε μὴ τῶν κτισθέντων τινὰ ἀγγέλων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν τῷ πατρὶ συνάπτων ηὔχετο. Athanas. ut supra, p. 260.

[33] Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Θεὸν παρεκάλει, &c. καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν παρεκάλει περὶ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι. Id. ibid.

[34] Schol. Græc. in priorem Nasianzeni Invectivam, p. 2, edit. Etonens.

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this note: Ἰσοκράτικον, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Ἐάν τις αἴσθησίς ἐστι τῶν τῆδε ἀκούειν, "He speaketh according to the manner of Isocrates," meaning, "If thou hast any power to hear the things that are here." And therein he saith rightly; for Isocrates useth the same form of speech both in his Evagoras and in his Ægineticus: Εἴ τις ἐστὶν αἴσθησις τοῖς τεθνεῶσι (or τετελευτηκόσι) περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε, "If they which be dead have any sense of the things that are done here." The like limitation is used by the same Nazianzen toward the end of the funeral oration which he made upon his sister Gorgonia, where he speaketh thus unto her: "[35] If thou hast any care of the things done by us, and holy souls receive this honour from God, that they have any feeling of such things as these, receive this oration of ours instead of many and before many funeral obsequies." So doubtful the beginnings were of that which our Challenger is pleased to reckon among the chief articles, not of his own religion only, but also of the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church, who, if his word may be taken for the matter, did generally hold the same touching this point that the Church of Rome doth now. But if he had either himself read the writings of those Saints and Fathers with whose minds he beareth us in hand he is so well acquainted, or but taken so much information in this case as the books of his own new masters were able to afford him, he would not so peremptorily have avouched, that prayer to saints was generally embraced by the doctors of the primitive Church, as one of the chief articles of their religion.

His own Bellarmine, he might remember, in handling this very question of the invocation of saints, had wished him to "[36] note, that because the saints which died before the coming of Christ did not enter into heaven, neither did see God, nor could ordinarily take knowledge of the prayers of such as should petition unto them; therefore it was not the use in the Old Testament to say, St Abraham, pray

[35] Εἰ δέ τις σοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστὶ λόγος, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ὁσίαις ψυχαῖς ἐκ Θεοῦ γέρας, τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαισθάνεσθαι, δέχοιο καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐνταφίων. Greg. Nazian. Orat. XI. in Gorgon.

[36] Notandum est, quia ante Christi adventum sancti qui moriebantur, non intrabant in cœlum, nec Deum videbant, nec cognoscere poterant ordinarie preces supplicantium; ideo non fuisse consuetum in Testamento Veteri, ut diceretur, Sancte Abraham, ora pro me, &c. Bellarm. de Sanct. Beat. lib. i. cap. 19.

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for me, &c." For at that time, saith Suarez, "[37]we read nowhere that any man did directly pray unto the saints departed, that they should help him or pray for him; for this manner of praying is proper to the law of grace, wherein the saints, beholding God, are able to see in him the prayers that are poured out unto them." So doth Salmeron also teach, "[38]that therefore it was not the manner in the Old Testament to resort unto the saints as intercessors, because they were not as yet blessed and glorified, as now they be, and therefore so great an honour as this is was not due unto them." And "[39]in vain," saith Pighius, "should their suffrages have been implored, as being not yet joined with God in glory, but until the reconciliation and the opening of the kingdom by the blood of Christ the Redeemer, waiting as yet in a certain place appointed by God, and therefore not understanding the prayers and desires of the living, which the blessed do behold and hear, not by the efficacy of any proper reason reaching from them unto us, but in the glass of the divine Word, which it was not as yet granted unto them to behold. But after the price of our redemption was paid, the saints now reigning with Christ in heavenly glory do hear our prayers and desires, forasmuch as they behold them almost clearly in the Word as in a certain glass."

Now, that divers of the chief doctors of the Church were of opinion, that the saints in the New Testament are in the same place and state that the saints of the Old Testament were in, and that before the day of the last judgment they are not admitted into heaven and the clear sight

[37] Quod autem aliquis directe oraverit sanctos defunctos, ut se adjuvarent vel pro se orarent, nusquam legimus. Hic enim modus orandi est proprius legis gratiæ, in quo sancti, videntes Deum, possunt etiam in eo videre orationes quæ ad ipsos funduntur. Fr. Suarez. in part. III. Thom. Tom. II. Disput. XLII. sect. 1.

[38] Dicendum est, ideo non fuisse morem in Veteri Testamento adeundi sanctos intercessores, quia nondum erant beati et glorificati, ut modo sunt; ideo non debebatur eis tantus honos quantus est iste. Alphons. Salmer. in 1 Tim. ii. Disput. VIII.

[39] Antea frustra fuissent implorata ipsorum suffragia, utpote nondum conjunctorum cum Deo in gloria, sed ad reconciliationem usque et regni apertionem per sanguinem Redemptoris Christi, loco quodam ordinato a Deo, adhuc exspectantium; et propterea non percipientium orationes et vota viventium, ut quæ non propriæ rationis ad nos usque pertingentis efficacia, sed in verbi divini speculo, quod intueri ipsis nondum datum erat, beati intuentur et audiunt. At post persolutum redemptionis nostræ pretium, sancti jam regnantes cum Christo in cœlesti gloria etiam nostras preces votaque exaudiunt, ut quæ universa in verbo clarissime intuentur, velut quodam speculo. Albert. Pigh. Controvers. XIII.

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of God, wherein this metaphysical speculation of the saints' seeing of our prayers is founded, hath been [40]before declared out of their own writings, where that speech of St Augustine, [41]*Nondum ibi eris; quis nescit?* "Thou shalt not as yet be there; who knoweth it not?" sheweth that the opinion was somewhat general, and apprehended generally too as more than an opinion. By the Romanists' own grounds, then, the more generally this point was held by the ancient Fathers and the more resolvedly, the less generally of force and the more doubtfully must the Popish doctrine of praying to saints have been entertained by them. And if our Challenger desire to be informed of this doubt that was among the ancient divines, touching the estate of the saints now in the time of the New Testament, by the report of the doctors of his own religion, rather than by our allegations, let him hear from Franciscus Pegna what they have found herein: "[42]It was a matter in controversy," saith he, "of old, whether the souls of the saints before the day of judgment did see God and enjoy the divine vision; seeing many worthy men and famous, both for learning and holiness, did seem to hold that they do not see nor enjoy it before the day of judgment, until, receiving their bodies together with them, they should enjoy divine blessedness. For Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus, Origen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Lactantius, Victorinus, Prudentius, Theodoret, Aretas, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and Euthymius, are said to have been of this opinion; as Castrus and Medina and Sotus do relate." To whom we may adjoin one more, of no less credit among our Romanists than any of the others, even Thomas Stapleton himself, who taketh it for granted, that "[43]these so

[40] See above, from p. 199 to 210, item p. 244, 245, 250, 251, 256, 329, &c.

[41] August. in Psal. xxxvi. con. 1.

[42] Olim controversum fuit, num animæ sanctorum usque ad diem judicii Deum viderent, et divina visione fruerentur; cum multi insignes viri et doctrina et sanctitate clari tenere viderentur, eas nec videre nec frui usque ad diem judicii, donec receptis corporibus una cum illis divina beatitudine perfruantur. Nam Irenæus, Justinus Martyr, Tertullianus, Clemens Romanus, Origenes, Ambrosius, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Lactantius, Victorinus, Prudentius, Theodoretus, Aretas, Œcumenius, Theophylactus, et Euthymius hujus referuntur fuisse sententiæ, ut commemorant Castrus et Medina et Sotus. Fr. Pegna, in part. II. Directorii Inquisitor. Comment. XXI.

[43] Tot illi et tam celebres antiqui patres, Tertullianus, Irenæus, Origenes, Chrysostomus, Theodoretus, Œcumenius, Theophylactus, Ambrosius, Clemens Ro-

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many famous ancient Fathers, Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Ambrose, Clemens Romanus, and Bernard, did not assent unto this sentence, which now," saith he, "in the Council of Florence was at length, after much disputing, defined as a doctrine of faith, that the souls of the righteous enjoy the sight of God before the day of judgment; but did deliver the contrary sentence thereunto."

We would entreat our Challenger, then, to spell these things and put them together, and afterward to tell us whether such a conclusion as this may not be deduced from thence:

Such as held that the saints were not yet admitted to the sight of God, could not well hold that men should pray unto them in such manner as the Romanists use now to do; because the saints not enjoying the sight of God are not able ordinarily to take notice of the prayers that are put up unto them:

But many and very famous doctors too among the ancient did hold, that the saints are not yet admitted to the sight of God:

Therefore many and very famous doctors among the ancient could not well hold, that men should pray unto the saints, in such manner as the Romanists use now to do.

The first proposition is given unto us by Bellarmine and his fellow Jesuits; the second by Stapleton and other doctors of the Romish Church; yet all of them with equal boldness agree in denying the conclusion. "[44] It is a certain and manifest definition of the Councils," saith a Jesuit, "confirmed by perpetual use from the times of the apostles, and by the authority of ALL the Greek and Latin Fathers, that saints are to be prayed unto and invocated." "[45] ALL

manus, D. Bernardus, huic sententiæ, quæ nunc in Concilio Florentino, magna demum conquisitione facta, ut dogma fidei definita est, quod justorum animæ ante diem judicii Dei visione fruuntur, non sunt assensi; sed sententiam contrariam tradiderunt. Stapleton. Defens. Ecclesiastic. Auctorit. contra Whitaker. lib. i. cap. 2.

[44] Certa est et manifesta conciliorum definitio, perpetuo ab apostolorum temporibus usu et omnium Græcorum et Latinorum patrum auctoritate firmata, sanctos esse orandos et invocandos. Jo. Azor. Institut. Moral. Tom. I. lib. ix. cap. 10.

[45] Omnes patres Græci et Latini docent, sanctos esse invocandos. Bellarmin. de Eccles. Triumph. lib. i. cap. 6.

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the Fathers, Greek and Latin, teach this," saith Bellarmine. "[46]ALL the Fathers, as well Greek as Latin, perpetually have called upon the saints," saith Salmeron. And [47]this "is clear by ALL the writers of the first six hundred years," quoth Stapleton. For these kind of men have so inured their tongues to talk of all Fathers and all writers, that they can hardly use any other form of speech; having told such tales as these so often over, that at last they persuade themselves that they be very true in good earnest.

The memory of the martyrs indeed was from the very beginning had in great reverence; and at their memorials and *martyria*, that is to say, at the places wherein their bodies were laid, which were the churches whereunto the Christians did in those times usually resort, prayers were ordinarily offered up unto that God for whose cause they laid down their lives. Where the Lord being pleased to give a gracious answer to such prayers, and to do many wonderful things for the honouring of that Christian profession which those worthy champions maintained unto the death, men began afterwards to conceive that it was at their suit and mediation that these things were granted and effected. Which was the rather believed by reason that the martyrs themselves were thought to have appeared unto divers that were thus relieved, both at the places of their memorials and otherwhere. Notwithstanding, in what sort these things were brought about, St Augustine professeth that it did pass the strength of his understanding to define: "[48]Whether the martyrs themselves were in their own persons present at one time in such divers places, so far distant one from another;" or whether they, remaining in a certain place, removed from all commerce with the affairs of men here, "[49]but praying in general for the necessities of suppliants," God by the ministry of his angels did effect these things when, where, and in what manner

[46] Patres universi, tam Græci quam Latini, perpetuo sanctos interpellarunt. Alphons. Salmer. in 1 Tim. ii. Disput. VII.

[47] Stapleton, Fortress, part I. chap. 9.

[48] Utrum ipsi per seipsos adsint uno tempore tam diversis locis, et tanta inter se longinquitate discretis, &c. Augustin. de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 16.

[49] Et tamen generaliter orantibus pro indigentia supplicantium. Ibid.

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he pleased, but "[50]especially at the memorials of the martyrs, because he knew that to be expedient to us for the building of the faith of Christ, for whose confession they did suffer." "[51]This matter is higher," saith he, "than that it may be touched by me, and more abstruse than that it can be searched into by me; and therefore whether of these two it be, or whether peradventure both of them be, that these things may sometimes be done by the very presence of the martyrs, sometimes by angels taking upon them the person of the martyrs, I dare not define."

The first of these opinions pleased St Jerome best, who allegeth for proof thereof that place in the Revelation, [52]*These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.* Whereupon he inferreth a conclusion which hath need of a very favourable interpretation: "[53]If the Lamb be everywhere, they also that are with the Lamb must be believed to be everywhere. From whom Maximus Taurinensis seemeth not much to differ, when he saith, "[54]although all the saints be everywhere and profit all men, yet they specially do labour for us, who have also suffered punishments for us." So one Eustratius, a priest of Constantinople, made a collection of divers testimonies, both out of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, to prove, "[55]that the souls which oftentimes and in different manners appear unto many, do themselves appear according to their proper existence; and it is not the divine power assuming the shape of the holy souls that sheweth forth these operations." And so strongly did this opinion prevail when superstition had once gotten head, that at length this Canon was discharged

[50] Maximeque per eorum memorias, quoniam hoc novit expedire nobis ad ædificandam fidem Christi, pro cujus illi confessione sunt passi. Ibid.

[51] Res hæc altior est, quam ut a me possit attingi, et abstrusior quam ut a me valeat perscrutari; et ideo quid horum duorum sit, an vero fortassis utrumque sit, ut aliquando ista fiant per ipsam præsentiam martyrum, aliquando per angelos suscipientes personam martyrum, definire non audeo. Ibid.

[52] Rev. xiv. 4.

[53] Si agnus ubique, ergo et hi, qui cum agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Hieronym. advers. Vigilant.

[54] Licet universi sancti ubique sint, et omnibus prosint, specialiter illi tamen pro nobis interveniunt, qui et supplicia pertulere pro nobis. Maxim. Homil. in Natali Taurinorum Martyrum.

[55] "Οτι ἐπιφαινόμεναι πολλοῖς πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους τρόπους αἱ ψυχαί, αὗται κατ' ἰδίαν ὕπαρξιν ἐπιφαίνονται, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δύναμις θεία, εἰς τύπους σχηματιζομένη τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν, τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐπιδείκνυσι. Eustrat. in Photii Bibliotheca, Cod. CLXXI.

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against those that should hold otherwise: "[56]If any man say that the saints themselves do not appear, but their angels only, let him be anathema." The author of the Questions to Antiochus, commonly attributed unto Athanasius, thus determineth the matter on the contrary side: "[57]Those adumbrations and visions which appear at the chapels and tombs of the saints are not made by the souls of the saints, but by holy angels transformed into the shape of the saints. For how otherwise, tell me, can the soul of St Peter or St Paul, being but one, appear at the same instant, being commemorated in a thousand churches of his throughout the whole world? For this can neither one angel do at any time, it being proper unto God alone to be found at the same instant in two places and in the whole world." And Anastasius Sinaita, or Nicænus, in the self-same manner: "[58]It is fit we should know that all the visions which appear at the chapels or tombs of the saints are performed by holy angels by the permission of GOD; for how else should it be possible, that the resurrection of the bodies being not yet made, but the bodies and the flesh of the saints being as yet dispersed, that those should be seen in shape complete men, and oftentimes appear upon horses armed? And if thou thinkest that thou mayest contradict these things, tell me how can Paul, or Peter, or any other apostle or martyr, being but one, appear oftentimes at the same hour in many places? For neither is an angel

[56] Εἴτις οὐκ αὐτοὺς λέγει τοὺς ἁγίους ἡμῖν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶνδε φησὶν ἀγγέλους, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. Canon. Synodi a Michaele Syncello citat. in Ignatii Patriarch. C. P. Encomio.

[57] Αἱ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς καὶ σοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων γενόμεναι ἐπισκιάσεις καὶ ὀπτασίαι οὐ διὰ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἁγίων γίνονται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων ἁγίων μετασχηματιζομένων εἰς τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἁγίων. πῶς γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, μία οὖσα ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ἢ Παύλου δύναται κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥοπὴν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφανῆναι ἐν χιλίοις ναοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ; τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε ἄγγελος εἷς δύναται ποιῆσαί ποτε· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν δυσὶ τόποις καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥοπῇ εὑρίσκεσθαι. Athanas. Quæst. XXVI. ad Antioch.

[58] Εἰδέναι μέντοι προσήκει, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ὀπτασίαι, αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἢ σοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων, δι' ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐπιτελοῦνται δι' ἐπιτροπῆς Θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ πῶς δυνατὸν, μή πω τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν σωμάτων γεγενημένης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν τῶν ἁγίων διεσκορπισμένων, εἰδέσθαι τούτους, εἴδει ὁλοκλήρους ἄνδρας, πολλάκις ἐφ' ἵπποις ὀπτανομένους καθωπλισμένους; Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν νομίζεις, εἰπέ μοι σὺ, πῶς εἷς ὑπάρχων Παῦλος ἢ Πέτρος, ἢ ἄλλος ἀπόστολος ἢ μάρτυς, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ὀπτάνεται; οὔτε γὰρ ἄγγελος δύναται ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥοπῇ, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Θεός. Anastas. Sinait. Quæst. LXXXIX.

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able to be at the same instant in divers places, but God only who is uncircumscriptible."

Whereunto we may further add those judicious observations of St Augustine touching this matter: "[59] If one in his sleep may see me, telling unto him something that is done, or foretelling also something that is to come, when I am altogether ignorant thereof, and have no care at all, not only of what he dreameth, but whether he awaketh I being asleep, or he sleepeth I being awake, or whether both of us at one and the same time do either wake or sleep, when he seeth the dream in which he seeth me; what marvel is it if the dead, not knowing nor perceiving these things, are yet seen in dreams by the living, and say somewhat which they being awake may know to be true?" "[60] But such is man's weakness, that when any one seeth a dead man in his sleep, he thinketh that he doth see his soul; but when he dreameth in like manner of one that is alive, he maketh no doubt that it is neither his soul nor his body, but a similitude of the man that did appear unto him; as if not the souls, but the similitudes of dead men, not knowing it, might not also after the same sort appear." So he telleth of one Eulogius, a rhetorician in Carthage, who lighting upon a certain obscure place in Cicero's Rhetorics, which he was the next day to read unto his scholars, was so troubled therewith that at night he could scarce sleep: "[61] In which night," saith St Augustine, "I expounded unto him, while he was in a dream, that which he did not understand; nay, not I, but my image, I not knowing, and so far beyond the sea, either doing

[59] Si ergo me potest aliquis in somnis videre, sibi aliquid quod factum est indicantem, vel etiam quod futurum est prænunciantem, cum id ego prorsus ignorem, et omnino non curem, non solum quid ille somniet, sed utrum dormiente me vigilet, an vigilante me dormiat, an uno eodemque tempore vigilemus ambo sive dormiamus, quando ille somnium videt et in quo me videt; quid mirum si nescientes mortui, nec ista sentientes, tamen a viventibus videntur in somniis, et aliquid dicunt, quod evigilantes verum esse cognoscant? August. de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 10.

[60] Sic autem infirmitas humana sese habet, ut cum mortuum in somnis quisque viderit, ipsius animam se videre arbitretur; cum autem vivum similiter somniaverit, non ejus animam neque corpus, sed hominis similitudinem sibi apparuisse non dubitet, quasi non possint et mortuorum hominum, eodem modo nescientium, non animæ, sed similitudines, apparere dormientibus. Ibid. cap. 11.

[61] Qua nocte somnianti ego illi quod non intelligebat exposui; imo non ego, sed imago mea, nesciente me, et tam longe trans mare aliquid aliud sive agente sive somniante, et nihil de illius curis omnino curante. Ibid.

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or dreaming some other thing, and nothing at all caring for his cares." The like he doth also note to happen unto those that are in raptures and extasies: "[62]For upon these also do appear images, as well of the living as of the dead; but after they have been restored unto their senses, as many of the dead as they say that they have seen, with them they are truly believed to have been; neither do they mark who hear these things, that the images of some living men, that were absent and ignorant of these things, were in like manner seen by them." And for the confession of the devils in parties possessed, he bringeth in a memorable instance of that which fell out in [63]Milan, at the place of the memorial of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius; where the devils did not only make mention of the martyrs that were dead, but also of Ambrose the bishop, then living, "and besought him that he would spare them, he being otherwise employed, and being utterly ignorant of the thing when it was adoing."

But as St Augustine doth put us in mind in that discourse, that "[64]men are sometimes led into great errors by deceitful dreams or visions, and that it is just that they should suffer such things;" so St Chrysostom giveth a good admonition that little heed should be taken of the devils' sayings: "[65]What is it then," saith he, "that the devils do say, I am the soul of such a monk? Surely for this I believe it not, because the devils say it, for they deceive their hearers. And therefore Paul (Acts xvi. 18) silenced them, although they spake truth, lest taking occasion from

[62] Et his enim apparent imagines vivorum atque mortuorum: sed cum fuerint sensibus redditi, quoscunque mortuos vidisse se dixerint, vere cum eis fuisse creduntur; nec attendunt qui hæc audiunt, similiter ab eis absentium atque nescientium quorundam etiam imagines visas esse vivorum. Ibid. cap. 12.

[63] Nam Mediolani apud sanctos Protasium et Gervasium martyres, expresso nomine, sicut defunctorum quos eodem modo commemorabant, adhuc vivum dæmones episcopum confitebantur Ambrosium, atque ut parceret obsecrabant, illo aliud agente, atque hoc cum ageretur omnino nesciente. Ibid. cap. 17.

[64] Aliquando autem fallacibus somniis (*al.* visis) hi homines in magnos mittuntur errores, quos talia perpeti justum est. Ibid. cap. 10.

[65] Τί οὖν, ὅτι οἱ δαίμονες λέγουσι, τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος ἡ ψυχὴ εἰμί, φησι; διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐ πιστεύω, ἐπειδὴ δαίμονες λέγουσιν· ἀπατῶσι γὰρ τοὺς ἀκούοντας. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Παῦλος καίτοιγε ἀληθεύοντας ἐπεστόμισεν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασιν λαβόντες τοῖς ἀληθέσι καὶ ψευδῆ πάλιν ἀναμίξωσι, καὶ ἀξιόπιστοι γένωνται. Chrysost. de Lazaro, Conc. II. Tom. V. p. 235, 236, edit. Savil.

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thence, they might mingle false things again with those truths, and get credit to themselves." And touching dreams and apparitions of the dead, he addeth further: "[66] If at this time the dreams that appear oftentimes in the shapes of them that have departed this life have deceived and corrupted many, much more if this were once settled in men's minds, that many of those that are departed did return again unto us, that wicked devil would plot a thousand guiles, and bring in much deceit into our life. And for this cause God hath shut up the doors, and doth not suffer any of the deceased to return back and tell the things that are there, lest he, taking occasion from thence, should bring in all his own devices." It was the complaint of Synesius in his time, that there were "[67] many, both private men and priests too, who feigned certain dreams, which they called revelations." And in ancient writings we meet with sundry visions, which, if they be truly related, may more justly be suspected to have been illusions of deceitful spirits than true apparitions of blessed either souls or angels.

He that will advisedly read over Basilius Seleuciensis' narration of the miracles of St Thecla, for example, must either reject the work as strangely corrupted, or easily be drawn to yield unto that which I have said. For who can digest such relations and observations as these? that [68] they who watch the night that goeth before her festivity, do at that time yearly see her driving a fiery chariot in the air, and removing from Seleucia unto Dalisandus, as a place which she did principally affect in regard of the commodity and pleasantness of the situation; that both she and other of the saints deceased do "[69] rejoice much in solitary places, and do ordinarily dwell in them;" that after her death she

[66] Εἰ γὰρ νῦν, οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοιούτου, ὄνειροι πολλάκις φανέντες ἐν τύποις τῶν ἀπελθόντων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησαν καὶ διέφθειραν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον, εἰ τοῦτο γεγενημένον ἦν καὶ κεκρατηκὸς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίαις, οἷον ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπανῆλθον πάλιν, μυρίους ἂν ὁ μιαρὸς δαίμων ἐκεῖνος δόλους ἔπλεξε, καὶ πολλὴν ἀπάτην εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσήγαγε. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέκλεισε τὰς θυρὰς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίησί τινα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπανελθόντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκεῖ, ἵνα μὴ λαβὼν ἀφορμὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνος τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα εἰσαγάγῃ. Id. de Lazar. Conc. IV. ibid. p. 256.

[67] Συχνοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ ἱερεῖς, πλαττόμενοί τινας ὀνείρους, οὓς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἀποκαλύψεις. Synes. Epist. LIX.

[68] Basil. Seleuc. de Miraculis S. Theclæ, lib. ii. cap. 10.

[69] Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν ἁγίων ἴδιον, τὸ ἠρεμίαις τε χαίρειν, καὶ ταύταις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐναυλίζεσθαι. Ib. cap. 21.

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should "[70]affect oratory and poetry, and be continually delighted with such as did more accurately set forth her praises," (even as Homer bringeth in Apollo [71]tickled at the heart with hearing the songs that were made unto him in the camp of the Grecians); of which he produceth two special instances, the one of Alypius the grammarian, unto whom, being forsaken of the physicians, Thecla, he saith, did appear in the night, and demanded of him what he ailed, and what he would? He, to shew his art, and to win the virgin's favour with the aptness of the verse, returneth for an answer unto her that verse wherewith Homer maketh Achilles to answer his mother Thetis in the first of the Iliads:

Οἶσθα· τίη τοι ταῦτ' εἰδυίῃ πάντ' ἀγορεύω;

"Thou knowest: why should I tell it thee that knowest all?"

Whereat "[72]the martyr smiling, and being delighted, partly with the man, partly with the verse, and wondering that he had answered so aptly," conveyed a certain round stone unto him, with the touch whereof he was presently set on foot from his long and perilous sickness. For the other instance, the writer reporteth that which happened unto himself. For "[73]the martyr," saith he, "is such a lover of learning, and taketh such a delight in these oratorious praises, that I will tell somewhat of those things that were done to myself and for myself, which the martyr who did it doth know to have been done, and that I lie not." Then he telleth how, having prepared an oration for her anniversary festivity, the day before it should be pronounced he was taken with such an extreme pain in his ear, that the auditory was like to be quite disappointed; but that the martyr the same night appeared unto him, and, shaking him by the ear, took all the pain away. He addeth further,

[70] Φιλόλογος γὰρ, καὶ φιλόμουσος, καὶ ἀεὶ χαίρουσα τοῖς λογικώτερον εὐφημοῦσιν αὐτήν. Ibid. cap. 24.

[71] Μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων. Hom. Iliad. α.

[72] Ἐπιμειδιάσασα γοῦν ἡ μάρτυς, καὶ ἡσθεῖσα ἐπί τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπί τε τῷ ἔπει, θαυμάσασα δὲ καὶ ὡς μάλα ἁρμοδίως ἀπεκρίνατο. Basil. Seleuc. ut supra, cap. 24.

[73] Οὕτω δὲ φιλόλογός ἐστιν ἡ μάρτυς, καὶ χαίρει ταῖς διὰ τῶν λόγων ταύταις εὐφημίαις, ἐρῶ τι καὶ τῶν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γεγονότων, ὅπερ αὐτὴ ἡ παρεσχηκυῖα μοι μάρτυς οἶδεν ὅτι γεγένηται, καὶ οὐ ψεύδομαι. Ibid. cap. 27.

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that the same martyr used often to appear unto him in his study at other times, but once, more especially, while he was in hand with writing this selfsame book. For having begun to be [74]weary of the labour, "the martyr," saith he, "seemed to sit by, close in my sight, where I used to be at my book, and to take the quaternion out of my hand, in which I transcribed these things out of my table-book. Yea, and she seemed unto me to read it, and to rejoice, and to smile, and to shew unto me by her look that she was pleased with the things that were written, and that it behoved me to finish this work, and not to leave it imperfect."

These things do I here repeat, not with any intention to disgrace antiquity, whereof I profess myself to be as great an admirer as any, but to discover the first grounds from whence that invocation of saints did proceed, whereby the honour of God and Christ's office of mediation was afterwards so much obscured. That saying of St Augustine is very memorable, and worthy to be pondered: "[75]Whom should I find that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto the angels? With what prayer? With what sacraments? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themselves, as I hear, have tried these things, and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of illusions." Whether they that had recourse unto the mediation of martyrs, in such sort as these had unto the mediation of angels, deserved to be punished with the like delusions, I leave to the judgment of others. The thing which I observed was this, that such dreams and visions as these, joined with the miraculous cures that were wrought at the monuments of the martyrs, bred first an opinion in men's minds of the martyrs' ability to help them, and so afterward led them to the recommending of themselves unto their prayers

[74] Οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντι ἐμοὶ καὶ χασμιῶντι ἔδοξεν ἡ μάρτυς πλησίον ἐν ὄψει μου παρακαθέζεσθαι, οὗπερ καὶ ἔθος ἦν μοι τὴν πρὸς τὰ βιβλία ποιεῖσθαι συνουσίαν, καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαί μου τῆς χειρὸς τὴν τετράδα, ἐν ᾗπερ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς δέλτου μετεγραφόμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐδόκει μοι, καὶ ἐφήδεσθαι καὶ μειδιᾷν, καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαί μοι τῷ βλέμματι ὡς ἀρέσκοιτό τε τοῖς γραφομένοις, καὶ ὡς δέοι με ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸν πόνον τοῦτον, καὶ μὴ ἀτέλεστον καταλιπεῖν. Ibid. cap. 16.

[75] Quem invenirem qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundum mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? Quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc, et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus. Augustin. Confess. lib. x. cap. 24.

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and protection, where at first they expected only by their intercession to obtain temporal blessings, such as those cures were that were wrought at their tombs, and other like external benefits; but proceeded afterward to crave their mediation for the procuring of the remission of their sins and the furthering of their everlasting salvation. "[76]As often, dear brethren, as we do celebrate the solemnities of the holy martyrs, let us so expect by their intercession to obtain from the Lord TEMPORAL benefits, that by imitating the martyrs themselves we may deserve to receive eternal," saith the author of the Sermon of the Martyrs, which is found among the Homilies of St Augustine and Leo, and in the [77]Roman Breviary is appointed to be read at the common festival days of many martyrs. "[78]Be mindful of the martyr," saith St Basil in his Panegyrical Oration upon Mamas, "as many of you as have enjoyed him by DREAMS; as many of you as, coming to this place, have had him a helper to your praying; as many as to whom, being called by name, he shewed himself present by his works; as many travellers as he hath brought back again; as many as he hath raised from sickness; as many as he hath restored their children unto, having been dead; as many as have received by his means a longer term of life."

Here a man may easily discern the breedings of this disease, and as it were the grudgings of that ague, that afterwards brake out into a pestilential fever. The martyr is here *vocatus* only, not *invocatus* yet; not called upon by being prayed unto, but called to join with others in putting up the same petition unto his and their God. For as here in the Church militant we have our fellow-soldiers [79]*συναγωνίσαντας*, *striving together with us*, and [80]*συνυπουργοῦντας*, *helping together* with their prayers to God for

[76] Quotiescunque, fratres carissimi, sanctorum martyrum solennia celebramus, ita ipsis intercedentibus exspectemus a Domino consequi temporalia beneficia, ut ipsos martyres imitando accipere mereamur æterna. Serm. de Martyrib. ad Calcem Sermonum Leonis I. et Tom. I. Oper. Augustin. Serm. XLVII. de Sanctis.

[77] Breviar. Roman. in Communi plurimorum Martyrum extra tempus Paschale, Lect. IV.

[78] Μνήσθητέ μοι τοῦ μάρτυρος, ὅσοι δι' ὀνείρων αὐτοῦ ἀπελαύσατε· ὅσοι περιτυχόντες τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐσχήκεσαν αὐτὸν συνεργὸν εἰς προσευχήν· ὅσοις ὀνόματι κληθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων παρέστη· ὅσους ὁδοιπόρους ἐπανήγαγεν· ὅσους ἐξ ἀῤῥωστίας ἀνέστησεν· ὅσοις παῖδας ἀπέδωκεν ἤδη τετελευτηκότας· ὅσοις προθεσμίας βίου μακροτέρας ἐποίησεν. Basil. de S. Mamante, Homil. XXVI.

[79] Rom. xv. 30.

[80] 2 Cor. i. 11.

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us; and yet, because we pray one *for* another, we do not pray one *to* another; so the Fathers, which taught that the saints in the Church triumphant do pray for us, might, with St Basil, acknowledge that they had the martyrs *συνέργους εἰς προσευχὴν, fellow-helpers to their prayer*, and yet pray *with* them only, and not *unto* them. For howsoever this evil weed grew apace, among the superstitious multitude especially, yet was it so cropped at first by the skilful husbandmen of the Church, that it got nothing near that height which under the Papacy we see it is now grown unto. Which that we may the better understand, and more distinctly apprehend how far the recommending of men's selves unto the prayers of the saints, which began to be used in the latter end of the fourth age after Christ, came short of that invocation of saints which is at this day practised in the Church of Rome, these special differences may be observed betwixt the one and the other. ***First***, in those elder times he that prayed silently was thought to honour God in a singular manner, as one that "[81]brought faith with him, and confessed that God was the searcher of the heart and reins, and heard his prayer before it was poured out of his mouth;" the understanding of the present secrets of the heart, by the general judgment of the Fathers, [82]being no more communicated by him unto the creatures than the knowledge of things to come; for before the day wherein the secrets of the heart shall be manifested, "[83]Almighty God alone doth behold the hidden things," saith St Jerome, alleging for proof of this the text, Matt. vi. 4, *Thy Father that seeth in secret;* Psalm vii. 9, *God searcheth the hearts and reins;* and 1 Kings viii. 39,

[81] Qui in silentio orat fidem defert, et confitetur quod Deus scrutator cordis et renis sit, et orationem tuam ante ille audiat, quam tuo ore fundatur. Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. vi. cap. 4.

[82] Προγνώστης καὶ καρδιογνώστης μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἢ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπίστανται. Quæst. XCIX. ad Antioch. Oper. Athanasii, Tom. II. p. 303, edit. Græco-Lat.

[83] Et prius quidem solus omnipotens Deus cernit occulta, dicente sermone evangelico, Et Pater qui videt in abscondito; et in alio loco, Scrutans corda et renes Deus; et in Regum volumine, Tu solus nosti corda cunctorum filiorum hominum. Hieronym. lib. v. in Ezech. cap. xvi. Vide eundem lib. iv. in Ezech. cap. xiv.; lib. iv. in Jerem. cap. xx.; et lib. i. in Matt. cap. ix. (supra p. 102); Jo. Chrysost. in Matth. Homil. XXIX. edit. Græc. vel XXX. Latin.; Gennadium de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatib. cap. 81; Johan. Cassian. Collat. VII. cap. 13; Sedulium in Rom. ii.; Paschas. de Spiritu Sancto, lib. ii. cap. 1; et alios passim.

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Thou only knowest the hearts of all the children of men. But now in the Church of Rome mental prayers are presented to the saints as well as vocal, and they are believed to receive both the one and the other.

Secondly, In the former times "[84]it was a great question, whether at all, or how far, or after what manner, the spirits of the dead did know the things that concerned us here;" and consequently whether they pray for us only "[85]in general," and for the particulars God answereth us according to our several necessities, where, when, and after what manner he pleaseth. Anselmus Laudunensis, in his interlineal gloss upon that text, *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not*, (Isaiah LXiii. 16,) noteth, that "[86]Augustine saith that the dead, even the saints, do not know what the living do, no, not their own sons." And indeed St Augustine, in his book of the Care for the Dead, maketh this inference upon that place of Scripture: "[87]If such great patriarchs as these were ignorant what was done toward the people that descended from them, unto whom, believing God, the people itself was promised to come from their stock, how do the dead interpose themselves in knowing and furthering the things and acts of the living?" and afterward draweth these conclusions from thence, which [88]Hugo de Sancto Victore, borrowing from him, hath inserted into his book *de Spiritu et Anima*, cap. 29: "[89]The spirits of the dead be there where they do neither see nor hear

[84] Respondeo magnam quidem esse quæstionem, nec in præsentia disserendam, quod sit operis prolixioris, utrum vel quatenus vel quomodo ea quæ circa nos aguntur noverint spiritus mortuorum. Augustin. in Psal. cviii. Enarrat. I.

[85] Vide eundem de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 16, supra citatum, in fin. p. 376. Sanctos in genere sollicitos esse pro ecclesia, et orare posse, atque etiam reipsa orare, fatentur Philippus in Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ, articulo de Invocatione Sanctorum; Brentius in Confessione Wirtembergensi, capite de Invocatione Sanctorum; Kemnitius in tertia parte Examinis Concilii Tridentini: Calvinus quoque libro tertio Institut. cap. 20, sect. 21 et 24, non repugnat huic sententiæ. Bellarm. de Missa, lib ii. cap. 8.

[86] Augustinus dicit, Quia mortui nesciunt, etiam sancti, quid agant vivi, etiam eorum filii. Gloss. Interlineal. in Esai. LXiii.

[87] Si tanti patriarchæ, quid erga populum ex his procreatum ageretur, ignoraverunt, quibus Deo credentibus populus ipse de illorum stirpe promissus est, quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoscendis adjuvandisque miscentur? Augustin. de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 13.

[88] Lib. de Spiritu et Anima, Tom. III. Operum Augustini, qui idem est cum libro ii. de Anima, inter Opera Hugonis Victorini.

[89] Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominibus. Augustin. de Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 13.

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the things that are done or fall out unto men in this life." "[90]Yet have they such a care of the living, although they know not at all what they do, as we have care of the dead, although we know not what they do." "[91]The dead indeed do not know what is done here while it is here in doing, but afterward they may hear it by such as die and go unto them from hence; yet not altogether, but as much as is permitted to the one to tell, and is fit for the other to hear. They may know it also by the angels, which be here present with us and carry our souls unto them. They may know also by the revelation of God's Spirit such of the things done here as is necessary for them to know." Hitherto Hugo out of St Augustine; who is herein also followed by Gratian, in the second part of the Decrees, Caus. XIII. Quæst. II. cap. 29, where the gloss layeth down his resolution thus: "[92]Gratian moveth a certain incident question, whether the dead know the things that are done in this world by the living? and he answereth, that they do not; and this he proveth by the authority of Isaiah, (viz. Isaiah LXIII. 16.)"

The like question is moved by the Master of the Sentences, "[93]Whether the saints do hear the prayers of suppliants, and the desire of petitioners do come unto their notice?" and this answer is returned thereunto: "It is NOT INCREDIBLE that the souls of the saints which in the secret

[90] Ita illi (Diviti) fuit cura de vivis, quamvis quid agerent omnino nesciret, quemadmodum est nobis cura de mortuis, quamvis quid agant omnino utique nesciamus. Ibid. cap. 14.

[91] Proinde fatendum est, nescire quidem mortuos quid hic agatur, sed dum hic agatur; postea vero audire ab eis qui hinc ad eos moriendo pergunt: non quidem omnia, sed quæ sinuntur indicare, qui sinuntur etiam ista meminisse; et quæ illos, quibus hæc indicant, oportet audire. Possunt et ab angelis, qui rebus quæ aguntur hic præsto sunt, audire aliquid mortui, quod unumquemque illorum audire debere judicat, cui cuncta subjecta sunt, &c. Possunt etiam spiritus mortuorum aliqua quæ hic aguntur, quæ necessarium est eos nosse, et quæ necessarium non est eos non nosse, non solum præterita vel præsentia, verum etiam futura Spiritu Dei revelante cognoscere. Ibid. cap. 15.

[92] Facit Gratianus quandam incidentem quæstionem, utrum defuncti sciunt quæ in mundo geruntur a vivis? et respondet, quod non; et hoc probat auctoritate Esaiæ. Gloss. in xiii. Quæst. II. *de Mortuis*.

[93] Sed forte quæris, Numquid preces supplicantium sancti audiunt, et vota postulantium in eorum notitiam perveniunt? Non est incredibile animas sanctorum, quæ in abscondito faciei Dei veri luminis illustratione lætantur, in ipsius contemplatione ea quæ foris aguntur intelligere, quantum vel illis ad gaudium vel nobis ad auxilium pertinet. Sicut enim angelis, ita et sanctis qui Deo assistunt, petitiones nostræ innotescunt in Verbo Dei quod contemplantur. Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. Distinct. XLV.

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of God's presence are joyed with the illustration of the true light, do in the contemplation thereof understand the things that are done abroad, as much as appertaineth either to them for joy or to us for help. For as to the angels, so to the saints likewise which stand before God, our petitions are made known in the Word of God which they contemplate." Upon which place of the Master Scotus disputing groweth to this conclusion: "[94]I say, that it is not necessary in respect of the beatitude that one in bliss should see our prayers, neither regularly or universally, in the Word, because it is not such a thing as is a necessary sequel of beatitude; nor yet that they be revealed, because that neither such a revelation doth necessarily follow upon beatitude." Notwithstanding, for a reason which we shall hear of afterward, he saith, "it is PROBABLE that God doth specially reveal unto him that is in bliss such of our prayers as are offered unto him, or unto God in his name." The same conclusion doth Gabriel Biel make in his Lectures upon the Canon of the Mass: for having shewed, *first*, that "[95]the saints in heaven by their natural knowledge, which is the knowledge of things in their proper kind, know no prayers of ours that are here upon earth, neither mental nor vocal, by reason of the immoderate distance that is betwixt us and them;" *secondly*, that "[96]it is no part of their essential beatitude that they should see our prayers or our other actions in the Word;" and *thirdly*, that "[97]it is not altogether certain whether it do appertain to their accidental beatitude to see our prayers;" he thus at length concludeth: "[98]It is therefore said PROBABLY, that

[94] Dico quod non est necesse ex ratione beatitudinis, quod beatus videat orationes nostras, neque regulariter sive universaliter, in Verbo, quia non est aliquid quasi necessaria sequela beatitudinis; neque quod revelentur, quia neque talis revelatio necessario sequitur beatitudinem, &c. Tamen probabile est quod Deus beatis revelat de orationibus sibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblatis. Jo. Scotus in iv. Dist. XLV. Quæst. IV.

[95] Dicendum quod sancti in patria qui de facto in cœlis sunt, naturali cognitione puta vespertina, quæ est cognitio rerum in proprio genere, nullas orationes nostrum in terra consistentium, neque mentales neque vocales, cognoscunt, propter immoderatam distantiam inter nos et ipsos. Gabr. Biel, in Canon. Miss. Lect. XXXI.

[96] Non est de ratione beatitudinis essentialis, ut nostras orationes, aut alia facta nostra, matutina cognitione videant in Verbo. Ibid.

[97] Utrum autem videre nostras orationes pertineat ad eorum beatitudinem accidentalem, non per omnia certum est. Ibid.

[98] Unde probabiliter dicitur, quod licet non necessario sequitur ad sanctorum beatitudinem, ut orationes nostras audiant

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although it doth not follow necessarily upon the saints' beatitude that they should hear our prayers of congruity, yet that God doth reveal all things which are offered unto them by men, whether in magnifying and praising them, or in praying unto them and imploring their help." Cardinal Bellarmine supposeth, that "[99]if the saints should have need thus of a new revelation, the Church would not so boldly say unto all the saints, Pray for us, but would sometimes entreat of God that he would reveal our prayers unto them." Yet because "[100]it seemeth unto him superfluous to desire ordinarily of them that they should pray for us, which cannot ordinarily understand what we do in particular, but know only in general that we are exposed to many dangers," he resolveth that "[101]although there may be some doubt in what manner the saints may know things that be absent, and which are sometimes delivered by the affection of the heart alone, yet it is certain that they do know them." And you must "[102]note," saith Doctor Pesantius, "that this is to be held for a point of faith, that the saints do know the prayers which we pour unto them;" because "otherwise they should be made in vain." So that to make good the Popish manner of praying unto saints, that which at the first was but probable and problematical, must now be held to be *de fide*, and an undoubted axiom of divinity.

Thirdly, In the Popish invocation formal and absolute prayers are tendered to the saints; but the compellations of them used at first were commonly either wishes only, or requests of the same nature with those which are in this kind usually made unto the living, where the requester is

de congruo; tamen Deus eis revelat omnia quæ ipsis ab hominibus offeruntur, sive ipsos magnificando et laudando, sive eos orando et auxilia implorando. Ibid.

[99] Si indigerent sancti nova revelatione, ecclesia non diceret ita audacter omnibus sanctis, Orate pro nobis; sed peteret aliquando a Deo ut eis revelaret preces nostras. Bellarm. de Eccles. Triumph. lib. i. cap. 20.

[100] Superfluum videtur ab eis (*qui sunt in purgatorio*) ordinarie petere, ut pro nobis orent, quia non possunt ordinarie cognoscere quid agamus in particulari, sed solum in genere sciunt nos in multis periculis versari. Id. de Purgator. lib. ii. cap. 15.

[101] Etsi dubitatio esse possit, quemadmodum cognoscant absentia, et quæ solo cordis affectu interdum proferuntur, tamen certum est eos cognoscere. Id. de Eccles. Triumph. lib. i. cap. 20.

[102] Et notandum, quod est de fide, beatos cognoscere orationes, quas ad illos fundimus, alias frustra fierent; sed quod illas videant in verbo, non est certum de fide; credo tamen esse probabile, magisque pium et rationi consonum. Alexand. Pesant. in part. I. Thom. Quæst. XII. Artic. 10, Disput. VII. Conclus. VI.

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oftentimes superior to him whose prayers he desireth; which standeth not well with the condition of [103]prayer properly so called; and they that are requested be evermore accounted in the number of those that *pray for us*, but not of those that are *prayed unto by us*. Of this you may hear, if you please, what one of the more moderate Romanists writeth: "[104]If it were lawful for the Prophet to call to the angels and the whole host of heaven, and to exhort them that they would praise God, which notwithstanding they do continually without any one admonishing them, whereby nothing else but a certain abundance of desire of the amplifying of God's glory is declared; why may it not be lawful also, out of a certain abundance of godly desire, to call upon those blessed spirits which by the society of the same body are conjoined with us, and to exhort them that they should do that which we believe they otherwise do of themselves? That to say, *All ye saints, pray unto God for me*, should import as much as if it were said, *Would to God that all the saints did pray unto God for me! I wish earnestly that all the saints should pray to God for me!*" Thus writeth Cassander, in his notes upon the ancient Ecclesiastical Hymns, published by him in the year 1556, who, being challenged for this by some others of that side, added this further to give them better satisfaction: "[105]When I did see that it was not necessary that we should hold that the

[103] Est enim oratio actus quidam rationis, quo unus alteri supplicat, inferior videlicet superiori. Bellarm. de Bonis Operib. in particulari, lib. i. cap. 7.

[104] Si prophetæ licuit appellare angelos et universum cœlestem exercitum, eosque hortari ut Deum laudent, quod tamen nullo etiam monente assidue faciunt, quo sane nihil aliud quam abundantia quædam studii divinæ gloriæ amplificandæ declaratur; cur etiam non liceat beatos illos spiritus, ejusdem corporis societate nobiscum conjunctos, ex quadam pii desiderii redundantia compellare, atque exhortari, uti id faciant, quod eos ultro facere credimus? ut perinde valeat, Omnes sancti, orate Deum pro me; ac si dicatur, Utinam omnes sancti Deum orent pro me! quam velim ut omnes sancti Deum orent pro me! Georg. Cassand. Schol. in Hymn. Ecclesiastic. Operum, p. 242.

[105] Cum viderem non necessarium ut statuamus sanctos intelligere nostras preces, credebam ad calumnias nonnullorum repellendas satis esse, si dicamus per modum desiderii eas interpellationes explicari posse; quod minus habet absurditatis, et divinarum literarum exemplis congruit. Si quis autem hujusmodi compellationes pro intimatione quoque desiderii et directa, ut ita loquamur, allocutione haberi velit, non repugno. Crediderim tamen hujusmodi intimationi tacitam conditionem subesse debere; qualem Gregorius Nazianzenus in oratione funebri sororis Gorgoniæ exprimit, cum ait, Proinde si nostri sermones vel parumper tibi curæ sint, honorque talis sanctis a Deo debetur animabus, ut talia resciscant, suscipe et tu sermonem nostrum. Id. Epist. XIX. ad Jo. Molinæum, p. 1109.

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saints do understand our prayers, I thought it was sufficient to put back the calumnies of some, if we should say that these interpellations might be expounded by way of wishing or desiring; which hath less absurdity in it, and is agreeable to the examples of the Holy Scriptures. But if any man would have such compellations as these to be taken also for an intimation of the desire and a direct speaking unto them, I do not gainsay it. Notwithstanding, I would think that a tacit condition ought to be understood in such an intimation; such as Gregory Nazianzen doth express in the Funeral Oration of his sister Gorgonia, when he saith, If thou hast any care at all of our speeches, and holy souls receive this honour from God, that they have notice of such things as these, do thou accept this oration of ours."

Yea, in the very darkest times of the Papacy there wanted not some who for certain reasons, recited by Gulielmus Altissiodorensis and Gabriel Biel, resolved that neither the saints do pray for us, neither are we to pray unto them. "[106]With these and such like reasons," saith Biel, "were the heretics deceived, and some Christians in our time are now deceived."* "[107]For these and the like reasons," saith Altissiodorensis, "MANY do say, that neither we pray unto the saints, nor they pray for us, but improperly; in respect

[106] His et similibus rationibus decepti sunt dicti hæretici: decipiuntur et nunc nonnulli nostro tempore Christiani. Gabr. Biel, in Canon. Miss. Lect. XXX.

[107] Propter istas rationes et consimiles dicunt multi, quod nec nos oramus sanctos, nec ipsi orant pro nobis, nisi improprie; ideo scilicet quia oramus Deum ut sanctorum merita nos juvent. Unde: Adjuvent nos eorum merita, &c. Gulielm. Altissiodor. in Summ. part. IV. lib. iii. Tract. VII. cap. de Orat. Quæst. VI.

[* In the third edition, 1631, "corrected and enlarged by the Author," it is added: "Which moved John Scharpe in the University of Oxford publicly to dispute the two questions, of praying to Saints and praying for the dead; *especially because it was esteemed by some famous men, and not without probability, that such suffrages and prayers were superfluous in the Church of God, although some other wise men thought the contrary.* In this particular question now in hand Altissiodorensis telleth us, that MANY," &c. And in the margin: "Præsertim cum a quibusdam famosis verisimiliter æstimatur, quod hujusmodi suffragia et orationes in ecclesia Dei superfluunt; quibusdam vero sapientibus videtur contrarium. Jo. Scharpe, Procem. in Quæstiones de orationibus auctorum et suffragiis viatorum. MS. in bibliotheca Collegii Mertonensis Oxon." It seems probable that in the copy which the learned Author left "corrected under his own hand" he intentionally restored the passage to the form in which it had stood in the former editions. ED.]

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we pray unto God that the merits of the saints may help us." For which he referreth us unto the versicle used to be sung at the feast of All-Saints, which in the breviary of Sarum I find laid down in this manner:

[108] Adjuvent nos eorum merita,
Quos propria impediunt scelera;
Excuset intercessio,
Accusat quos actio;
Et qui eis tribuisti
Cœlestis palmam triumphi,
Nobis veniam non deneges peccati.

"Let their merits help us, whom our own sins do hinder; let their intercession excuse us, whose own action doth accuse us; and thou, who hast bestowed upon them the palm of the heavenly triumph, deny not unto us the pardon of our sin." Where, if any poison do remain hidden under the name of merits, we will prepare an antidote against it in its proper place.

And, in the meantime, observe here a *fourth* difference betwixt the Popish prayers and the interpellations used in the ancient time. For by the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, the saints in heaven are not only made joint petitioners with us, as the saints are upon earth, but also our attorneys and advocates, who carry the suit for us, not by the pleading of Christ's merits alone, but by bringing in their own merits likewise; upon the consideration of the dignity or condignity whereof it is believed that God yieldeth to the motions they make unto him in our behalf. "[109] We pray unto the saints," saith the Master of the Sentences, "that they may intercede for us, that is to say, that their merits may help us, and that they may will our good; for they willing it, God doth will it, and so it will be effected." [110] We "ought to entreat the apostles and

[108] Breviar. secundum usum Sarum. in Omnium Sanctorum officio. Whence I correct the error of Illyricus, in Catalogo testium veritatis, edit. Basil. ann. 1562, p. 390, cited by me in the former editions of this treatise, who allegeth this out of the Breviary of the *Præmonstratensian* Order in a contrary sense, reading the place interrogatively.

[109] Oramus sanctos ut intercedant pro nobis, id est, ut merita eorum nobis suffragentur, et ut ipsi velint bonum nostrum; quia eis volentibus Deus vult, et ita fiet. Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. Distinct. XLV. et Jacobus de Vitriaco, in Litania majori.

[110] Rogare debemus apostolos et alios sanctos in omni necessitate nostra, quia ipsi sunt advocati nostri, et medii inter nos et Deum, per quos Deus ordinavit

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the other saints," saith Hugo de Prato, "in all our necessities, because they are our advocates and the means betwixt us and God, by whom God hath ordained to bestow all things upon us." [111]Because "it is a thing fitting," saith Scotus, "that he that is in bliss should be a coadjutor of God in procuring the salvation of the elect, according to such manner as this may agree unto him; and to this it is requisite, that our prayers which are offered unto him should specially be revealed unto him, because they lean specially upon the merits of him as of a mediator bringing us to the salvation which is sought for; therefore it is probable that God doth specially reveal unto him that is in bliss such of our prayers as are offered unto him or unto God in his name." But this is an open derogation to the high prerogative of our Saviour's meritorious intercession, and a manifest encroachment upon the great office of mediation, which the most religious and learned among those Fathers, who desired to be recommended unto the prayers of the saints, were so careful to preserve entire unto him. "[112]For what is so proper to Christ," saith St Ambrose, "as to stand by God the Father for an advocate of the people?" "[113]He is the Priest," saith St Augustine, "who being now entered within the veil, ALONE there of them that have been partakers of flesh doth make intercession for us; in figure of which thing, in that first people and in that first temple the priest only did enter into the holy of holies, and all the people stood without." And therefore where St John saith, *These things write I unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous*, 1 John ii. 1, St Augus-

omnia nobis largiri. Hug. de Prat. Sermon. XXXV. Luc. XXII. Ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi pater meus regnum. i. Sicut Deus pater dedit mihi regnum et omnia in manus, ita et ego concedo vobis.

[111] Quia congruum est beatum esse coadjutorem Dei in procurando salutem electi, eo modo quo hoc sibi potest competere; et ad istud requiritur sibi revelari orationes nostras specialiter quæ sibi offeruntur, quia illæ specialiter innituntur meritis ejus, tanquam mediatoris perducentis ad salutem quæ petitur; ideo probabile est, quod Deus beatis revelat de orationibus sibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblatis. Jo. Scot. in IV. Sent. Dist. XLV. Quæst. IV.

[112] Quid enim tam proprium Christi, quam advocatum apud Deum patrem adstare populorum? Ambros. in Psal. xxxix.

[113] Ipse sacerdos est, qui nunc ingressus in interiora veli, solus ibi ex his qui carnem gestaverunt interpellat pro nobis. In cujus rei figura in illo primo populo et in illo primo templo unus sacerdos intrabat in sancta sanctorum, populus omnis foras stabat. August. in Psalm. LXIV.

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tine, in his exposition upon that place, maketh this observation thereupon: that St John being so great a man as he was, "[114]did not say, Ye have, nor Ye have ME, nor Ye have Christ himself; but did both put in Christ, not himself; and also said, We have, not Ye have;" because "he had rather put himself in the number of sinners, that he might have Christ to be his advocate, than put himself for an advocate instead of Christ, and be found among the proud that should be damned;" and from thence draweth this conclusion against Parmenian the Donatist: "[115]If he had said thus: I have written this unto you that you sin not; and if any man sin, you have me a mediator with the Father; I make intercession for your sins; (as Parmenian in one place doth make the Bishop a mediator betwixt the people and God;) what good and faithful Christian would endure him? who would look upon him as the apostle of Christ, and not as antichrist rather?" The doctrine therefore and practice of the Church of Rome in this point, by this learned Father's judgment, must needs be held to be ungodly and antichristian.

Fifthly, The recommendation of men's selves unto the prayers of the saints deceased, which was at first admitted in the ancient Church, did no way impeach the confidence and boldness which we have gotten in Christ to make our immediate approach unto the throne of grace, which by the invocation of saints, now taught in the Church of Rome, is very much impaired. For to induce men to the practice of this, the great majesty of God and the severity of his justice is propounded unto poor sinners on the one hand, and the consideration of their own baseness and unworthiness on the other; whereupon it is inferred, that as well for the manifesting of their reverence to God's majesty, as the testifying of their submissiveness and humility, they

[114] Non dixit, habetis, nec me habetis dixit, nec ipsum Christum habetis, dixit; sed et Christum posuit, non se, et habemus dixit, non habetis. Maluit se ponere in numero peccatorum, ut haberet advocatum Christum, quam ponere se pro Christo advocatum et inveniri inter damnandos superbos. Id. Tractat. I. in 1 Epist. Johan. cap. ii.

[115] Si ita diceret, Hoc scripsi vobis ut non peccetis, et si quis peccaverit, mediatorem me habetis apud patrem, ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, (sicut Parmenianus quodam loco mediatorem posuit episcopum inter populum et Deum,) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Christianorum? Quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut antichristum intueretur? Id. lib. ii. contr. Epist. Parmenian. cap. 8.

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should seek to God by the mediation of his saints, like as men do seek to the king by the mediation of his servants; which motives can have no more force to encourage men to the invocation of saints, than they have to discourage them from the immediate invocation of God and his Christ. So, among the causes alleged by Alexander of Hales why we ought to pray unto the saints, one is, "[116]in respect of our want in contemplating, that we, who are not able to behold the highest light in itself, may contemplate it in his saints;" another, "in respect of our want in loving, because we, miserable men," (miserable men, indeed, that do so,) "or some of us at least, are more affected sometimes unto some saint than unto our Lord himself, and therefore God, having compassion on our misery, is pleased that we should pray unto his saints;" and a third, "[117]in respect of the reverence of God, that a sinner who hath offended God, because he dareth not to come unto him in his own person, may have recourse unto the saints by imploring their patronage." The like we read in Gabriel Biel, handling the same argument: "[118]This is a singular consolation," saith he, "to sinners, who have oftentimes more mind to the interpellation of the saints than of the Judge, whose defect of holiness also other men's goodness is able to supply;" and it maketh "[119]for the reverence of God, that a sinner who hath offended God, as it were not daring for the dross of his sin to appear in his proper person before the most high and dreadful Majesty, should have recourse unto the saints, who are most pure and

[116] Ulterius propter nostram inopiam in contemplando; ut qui non possumus summam lucem in se aspicere, eam in suis sanctis contemplemur. Tertio propter inopiam in amando; quia nos miserabiles homines, vel plerique nostrum, magis afficimur circa sanctum aliquem aliquando, quam etiam circa Dominum; et ideo Dominus compassus nostræ miseriæ, vult quod oremus sanctos suos. Alexand. de Hales. Sum. part. IV. Quæst. XXVI. Memb. 3, Artic. 5.

[117] Propter Dei reverentiam, ut peccator qui Deum offendit, quia non audet in propria persona adire, recurrat ad sanctos, eorum patrocinia implorando. Id. ibid.

[118] Peccatoribus singularis est consolatio, qui ad sanctorum interpellationem quandoque magis animantur quam judicis, quorum etiam sanctitatis defectum supplere potest probitas aliena. Gabriel Biel, in Canon. Miss. Lect. XXX.

[119] Propter Dei reverentiam, ut scilicet peccator qui Deum offendit, quasi non audens in persona propria, propter peccati scoriam, coram Majestate altissima pariter et tremenda apparere, recurreret ad sanctos purissimos et Deo gratos, qui peccatoris preces altissimo præsentarent, easque suis adjunctis meritis et precibus magis redderent exaudibiles, placidas, atque gratas. Ibid. Lect. XXXI.

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grateful to God, who may present the sinner's prayers unto the Most High, and by adjoining their merits and prayers thereunto might make the same more fit for audience, more pleasing and more grateful." Therefore Salmeron the Jesuit sticketh not to deliver his opinion plainly, that the praying unto God by the saints seemeth to be better than the praying unto him immediately; as for other reasons, "[120]so because the Church, which hath the Spirit of Christ," (though St Augustine surely would have judged such a Church to be led by the spirit of antichrist rather than of Christ,) "most frequently hath recourse unto God by the saints, but cometh more rarely unto God by itself;" and also because "the praying of God by the invocation of saints doth argue greater humility, as may be seen in the Centurion, Luke vii. 6, 7." Whereunto he applieth also the saying of David, [121]*He hath had respect to the prayer of the humble, and did not despise their prayers;* and of Judith, [122]*The prayer of the humble and meek hath always pleased thee.*

Thus in the days of the Apostles themselves, under the pretence of [123]*humility,* some laboured to bring into the Church the *worshipping of angels,* which carried with it [124]*a shew of wisdom,* as St Paul speaketh of it, and such a shew as was not far unlike unto that wherewith our Romish doctors do cozen simple people now-a-days. For "[125]this," saith Theodoret, "did they counsel should be done," namely, that men should pray unto angels, "pretending humility, and saying, that the God of all things was invisible, and inaccessible, and incomprehensible, and that it was fit we should procure God's favour by the means of angels." Whereas St Chrysostom, treating of Christian humility, sheweth that the faithful, who are furnished with that grace, do notwithstanding "[126]ascend beyond the highest

[120] Tertio, quia ecclesia, quæ Christi Spiritum habet, frequentissime per sanctos recurrit ad Deum, rarius per se ad Deum accedit. Quarto, precatio Dei per invocationem sanctorum arguit majorem humilitatem, sicut videri est in Centurione. Alphons. Salmer. in 1 Tim. ii. Disput. VII. sect. ult.

[121] Psalm cii. 17. [122] Judith ix. 16.

[123] Coloss. ii. 18. [124] Ibid. ver. 23.

[125] Τοῦτο τοίνυν συνεβούλευον ἐκεῖνοι γίνεσθαι, ταπεινοφροσύνῃ δῆθεν κεχρημένοι καὶ λέγοντες, ὡς ἀόρατος ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἀνέφικτός τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτος, καὶ προσήκει διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὴν θείαν εὐμένειαν πραγματεύεσθαι. Theodoret. in Coloss. cap. ii.

[126] Οἱ καὶ αὐτὰς ὑπερβαίνουσι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀψίδας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παρερχόμενοι παρεστήκασιν αὐτῷ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ. Chrysostom. in Matth. Homil. LXV. edit. Græc. LXVI. Latin.

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tops of heaven, and passing by the angels, present themselves before the regal throne itself;" yea, [127]by learning thus to speak with God in prayer, he sheweth that the man himself is made a kind of an "angel; the soul is so set loose from the bonds of the body, the reasoning is raised up so high, he is so translated into heaven, he doth so overlook these worldly things, he is so placed by the regal throne itself, although he be a poor man, although a servant, although a simple man, although an unlearned." Neither is it to be forgotten that the heathen idolaters also, to cover "[128]the shame of their neglecting of God, were wont to use this miserable excuse, that by these they might go to God, as by officers we go to the king;" which is the very selfsame rag our Romanists have borrowed from them to cover their superstition with, that the nakedness thereof might not appear. But St Ambrose, or whoever else was author of those commentaries upon St Paul's Epistles that are found among his works, hath met well with them, and sufficiently discovered the vanity of these gross and carnal imaginations: "[129]Go to," saith he, "is there any man so mad or so unmindful of his salvation, as to give the king's honour to an officer? whereas if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they are justly condemned as guilty of high treason. And yet these men think themselves not guilty, who give the honour of God's name to a creature, and leaving the Lord, adore their fellow-servants, as though there were any thing more that could be reserved to God. For therefore do men go to the king by tribunes or officers,

[127] Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ Θεῷ παιδευθεὶς διαλέγεσθαι, ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν τῷ Θεῷ διαλεγόμενον, ἄγγελος ἔσται λοιπόν. οὕτως ἀπολύεται τῶν δεσμῶν τοῦ σώματος ἡ ψυχὴ, οὕτω μετάρσιυς αὐτῷ γίνεται ὁ λογισμός· οὕτω μετοικίζεται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν· οὕτως ὑπερορᾷ τῶν βιωτικῶν· οὕτω παρ' αὐτὸν ἵσταται τὸν θρόνον βασιλικὸν, κἂν πένης ᾖ, κἂν οἰκέτης, κἂν ἰδιώτης, κἂν ἀμαθής. Id. in Psal. iv.

[128] Solent tamen, pudorem passi neglecti Dei, misera uti excusatione, dicentes per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem. Ambros. in Rom. cap. i.

[129] Age, numquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti? cum de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majestatis. Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et relicto Domino conservos adorant; quasi sit aliquid plus quod servetur Deo. Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum, ante quem utique nihil latet, (omnium enim merita novit,) promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota. Ubicunque enim talis locutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi. Ibid.

because the king is but a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit the state of the commonwealth. But to procure the favour of God, from whom nothing is hid, (for he knoweth the merits or works of all men,) we need no spokesman but a devout mind; for wheresoever such a one shall speak unto him, he will answer him."

But of all others St Chrysostom is most plentiful in setting out the difference of the access which we may have to God and to the great ones in this world: "[130] When we have suit unto men," saith he in one place, "we have need of cost and money, and servile adulation, and much going up and down, and great ado. For it falleth out oftentimes that we cannot go straight unto the lords themselves, and present our gift unto them and speak with them; but it is necessary for us first to procure the favour of their ministers and stewards and officers, both with paying and praying and using all other means unto them, and then by their mediation to obtain our request. But with God it is not thus; for there is no need of intercessors for the petitioners, neither is he so ready to give a gracious answer, being entreated by others, as by our own selves praying unto him." "[131] When thou hast need to sue unto men," saith he in another place, "thou art forced first to deal with door-keepers, and to entreat parasites and flatterers, and to go a long way. But with God there is no such matter: without an intercessor he is entreated, without money, without cost, he yieldeth unto thy prayer. It sufficeth only that thou cry in thine heart, and bring tears with thee,

[130] Ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ δεόμενοι, καὶ δαπάνης χρημάτων δεόμεθα, καὶ κολακείας δουλοπρεποῦς, καὶ πολλῆς περιόδου καὶ πραγματείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ εὐθείας αὐτοῖς τοῖς κυρίοις δοῦναι τὴν χάριν ἔνι, καὶ διαλεχθῆναι πολλάκις· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πρότερον διακόνους καὶ οἰκονόμους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ παντὶ θεραπεῦσαι τρόπῳ, καὶ τότε δι' ἐκείνων δυνηθῆναι τὴν αἴτησιν λαβεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως. οὐ γὰρ δεῖται μεσιτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀξιούντων, οὐδὲ οὕτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλούμενος, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δεομένων ἐπινεύει τῇ χάριτι. Chrysost. in Matt. citat. a Theodoro Daphnopat. in Eclogis (Tom. VII. edit. Savil. p. 768,) Maximo, in loc. commun. Serm. xv. et Jo. Damasceno in Parallel. lib. ii. cap. 15, ubi ab editore Pontificio ad marginem appositum est hoc pharmacum: Hæc ὁμιλητικῶς dicuntur, non δογματικῶς.

[131] Ἀνθρώπους μὲν γὰρ ὅταν δέῃ παρακαλέσαι, καὶ πυλωροῖς ἡμᾶς συντυχεῖν ἀνάγκη πρότερον, καὶ παρασίτους καὶ κόλακας παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπελθεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μεσίτου παρακαλεῖται, χωρὶς χρημάτων, χωρὶς δαπάνης ἐπινεύει τῇ δεήσει. ἀρκεῖ μόνον βοῆσαι τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ δάκρυα προσενέγκαι, καὶ εὐθέως εἰσελθὼν αὐτὸν ἐπισπάσῃ. Chrysost. Serm. VII. de Pœnitent. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 802, qui in aliis editionibus est Serm. IV. de Pœnitent.

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and entering in straightway thou mayest draw him unto thee." "[132]Amongst men," saith he in a third place, "it behoveth him that cometh unto one to be a man of speech, and it is required that he should flatter all those that are about the prince, and to think upon many other things, that he may find acceptance. But here there is need of nothing save of a watchful mind only, and there is nothing that hindereth us from being near to God." So in his sermon upon the woman of Canaan, which he made in his latter days, after his return from his first banishment: "[133]God is always near," saith he. "If thou wilt entreat man, thou askest what he is a-doing, and he is asleep, he is not at leisure, or the servant giveth thee no answer. But with God there is none of these things. Whithersoever thou goest and callest, he heareth; there is no want of leisure, nor a mediator, nor a servant that keepeth thee off. Say, Have mercy upon me, and presently God is with thee. For while thou art yet a-speaking, saith he, I will say, *Behold, here I am*, Isaiah LVIII. 9." And therefore he biddeth us to "[134]mark the philosophy," as he termeth it, or the wisdom of the "woman of Canaan. She entreateth not James," saith he, "she beseecheth not John, neither doth she come to Peter; but brake through the whole company of them, saying, I have no need of a mediator, but taking repentance with me for a spokesman, I come to the Fountain itself. For this cause did he descend, for this cause did he take flesh, that I might have the boldness to speak unto him. I have no need of a mediator: have thou mercy upon me." Hitherto St Chrysostom.

Sixthly, The Romanists repose such confidence in the

[132] Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν προσιόντα τινὶ καὶ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ κολακεῦσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα πάντας ἱκανὸν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἐπινοῆσαι, ὥστε γενέσθαι εὐπαράδεκτον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ἀλλὰ γνώμης μόνης νηφούσης· καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ κωλύον εἶναι ἐγγὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Id. in Psal. iv.

[133] Θεὸς ἀεὶ ἐγγύς ἐστιν. ἐὰν θέλῃς παρακαλέσαι ἄνθρωπον, ἐρωτᾷς τί ποιεῖ; καθεύδει, ἀσχολεῖται, ὁ διακονῶν οὐκ ἀποκρίνεταί σοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν τούτων. ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς καὶ καλέσῃς, ἀκούει. οὐκ ἀσχολία, οὐ μεσίτης, οὐ διάκονος διατειχίζει. εἰπὲ, Ἐλέησόν με, καὶ παρευθὺ Θεὸς παραγίνεται· Ἔτι γὰρ, φησὶ, λαλοῦντος σου ἐρῶ, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πάρειμι. Id. in Dimission. Chananææ, Tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 195.

[134] Καὶ ὅρα γυναικὸς φιλοσοφίαν· οὐ παρακαλεῖ Ἰάκωβον, οὐ δέεται Ἰωάννου, οὐδὲ προσέρχεται Πέτρῳ, ἀλλὰ διέτεμε τὸν χορόν· Οὐκ ἔχω μεσίτου χρείαν, ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα τὴν μετάνοιαν συνήγορον, αὐτῇ τῇ πηγῇ προσέρχομαι· διὰ τοῦτο κατέβη, διὰ τοῦτο σάρκα ἀνέλαβεν, ἵνα κἀγὼ αὐτῷ διαλεχθῶ, &c. οὐ χρείαν ἔχω μεσίτου, ἐλέησόν με. Ibid. p. 190.

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intercession of the saints, that they look to receive far greater benefit by them than by their own prayers. Which conceit, how distasteful it was unto the ancient doctors, St Chrysostom may be a sufficient witness, who laboured exceedingly to root out this erroneous opinion, when it first began to shew itself in his time. And therefore he is bold to affirm, not only that "[135] we have no such need of others that we may entreat by them," but also, that God "[136] then doeth most when we do not use the entreaty of others." For "as a kind friend," saith he, "then blameth he us most, as not daring to trust his love, when we entreat others to pray unto him for us. Thus use we to do with those that seek to us; then we gratify them most, when they come unto us by themselves and not by others. But, thou wilt say, what if I have offended him? Cease offending, and shed tears, and so come, and thou shalt quickly make him appeased for the things that are past. Say only, I have offended; say it from thy soul and a sincere mind, and all is loosed. Thou dost not so much desire thy sins to be forgiven thee, as he doth desire to forgive thy sins unto thee." Thus doth St Chrysostom write upon the 16th of the Acts; and upon the fourth Psalm to the same effect: "[137] Thou mayest always and continually solicit him, and thou shalt meet with no difficulty. For thou shalt have no need of any door-keepers to bring thee in, nor stewards, nor procurators, nor keepers, nor friends; but when thou thyself comest

[185] Μὴ ἑτέρων δεῖσθαι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων ἀξιώσῃς. Chrysost. in Acts xvi. Homil. XXXVI.

[186] Οὗτος γὰρ τότε μάλιστα ποιεῖ, ὅταν μὴ ἑτέρων δεηθῶμεν. καθάπερ φίλος γνήσιος, τότε μάλιστα ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖ, ὡς οὐ θαῤῥοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ φιλίᾳ, ὅταν ἑτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν δεηθῶμεν τῶν ἀξιούντων. οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμᾶς ἀξιούντων. τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς χαριζόμεθα, ὅταν δι' ἑαυτῶν ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐ δι' ἑτέρων, προσίωσι. Τί οὖν, φησιν, ἂν προσκεκρουκὼς ὦ; παῦσαι προσκρούων καὶ δάκρυσον, καὶ οὕτω πρόσελθε, καὶ ταχέως ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτὸν ἵλεων ποιήσεις. εἰπὲ μόνον, ὅτι προσέκρουσα· εἰπὲ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ γνησίας διανοίας, καὶ πάντα λέλυται. οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖς οὕτως ἀφεθῆναι σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἀφεῖναί σου τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. Id. ibid.

[187] Ἀεὶ καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐντυγχάνειν δύνασαι, καὶ δυσκολία οὐδεμία πρόσεστιν. οὔτε γὰρ χρεία τῶν προσαγόντων θυρωρῶν, οἰκονόμων, ἐπιτρόπων, φυλάκων, ἢ φίλων. ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσέλθῃς, τότε μάλιστα ἀκούσεταί σου, τότε, ὅταν μηδενὸς δεηθῇς. οὐχ οὕτως οὖν αὐτὸν δυσωποῦμεν δι' ἑτέρων ἀξιοῦντες, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐρᾷ φιλίας, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ θαῤῥεῖν, ὅταν ἴδῃ δι' ἑαυτῶν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, τότε μάλιστα ἐπινεύει. οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Χαναναίας ἐποίησε· καὶ Πέτρου μὲν καὶ Ἰακώβου προσιόντων, οὐκ ἐπένευσεν· ἐπιμενούσης δὲ ταύτης, τὸ αἰτηθὲν ταχέως ἔδωκεν. Id. in Psalm. iv.

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by thyself, then will he most of all hear thee, even then, when thou entreatest no man. We do not therefore so pacify him when we entreat him by others, as when we do it by our ownselves. For by reason he loveth our friendship, and doth all things that we may put our confidence in him, when he beholdeth us to do this by ourselves, then doth he most yield unto our suits. Thus did he deal with the woman of Canaan: when Peter and James came for her, he did not yield; but when she herself did remain, he presently gave that which was desired."

The same lesson doth he repeat in his 44th Homily upon Genesis, that "[138]our Lord being merciful doth not so yield when he is entreated for us by others, as he doth when he is by our ownselves;" and for proof thereof telleth us again of the woman of Canaan, that "[139]having the disciples petitioning for her, she could obtain nothing until she by herself being instant drew forth the clemency of the Lord;" to the end we might thereby "learn, that we do not so prevail when we entreat by others as when by ourselves, if we come with fervour and with a vigilant mind." The like observation is made by him and by Theophylact, in their expositions upon that part of the Gospel wherein this history is related: "[140]Mark me," saith the one, "how the apostles being put down and not prevailing, she herself prevailed; of so great force is the assiduity of prayer: for God would be petitioned unto by us that are guilty in our own cause, rather than by others for us:" and "[141]observe," saith the other, "that although the saints do pray for us as the apostles did for her, yet we praying for ourselves do prevail much more." One place more I will yet lay down

[138] 'Επειδὴ γὰρ φιλάνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἡμέτερος, οὐχ οὕτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλούμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπινεύει, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Id. in. Gen. cap. xix. Homil. XLIV.

[139] Ταύτην δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς μέσον παραγαγεῖν ἠναγκάσθημεν, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι οὐχ οὕτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλοῦντες ἀνύομεν, ὡς αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἐπειδὰν μετὰ θερμότητος προσίωμεν καὶ διεγηγερμένης διανοίας. ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔχουσα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἱκετεύσαντας οὐδὲν πλέον ἀνύσαι ἠδυνήθη, μέχρις ὅτε αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς παραμείνασα τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπεσπάσατο τοῦ δεσπότου. Id. ibid.

[140] Σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει, πῶς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡττηθέντων καὶ οὐκ ἀνυσάντων, αὐτὴ ἤνυσε· τοσοῦτόν ἐστι προσεδρία εὐχῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρ' ἡμῶν βούλεται μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀξιοῦσθαι, ἢ παρ' ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Id. in Matt. xv. Homil. LII. edit. Græc. vel LIII. Latin.

[141] Σημείωσαι δὲ, ὅτι κἂν ἅγιοι αἰτῶσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν αἰτοῦντες πλέον ἀνύομεν. Theophylact. in Matt. cap. xv.

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out of Chrysostom's Sermon of the Profiting of the Gospel, and so make an end of this observation: "[142]With God," saith he, "thou hast need of no intercessors, nor of much running about, nor to flatter others; but although thou be alone and hast no patron, thou by thyself praying unto God shalt certainly obtain thy request. He useth not to yield so soon being prayed unto by others for us, as when we ourselves do pray unto him, although we be replenished with a thousand evils." And to prove that "[143]praying by our ownselves we prevail more with God than praying unto him by others," he bringeth in again the history of the woman of Canaan, and wisheth us to observe, "[144]how when others entreated he put her back, but when she herself cried out praying for the gift, he yielded;" and at last concludeth with this exhortation: "[145]Seeing then we have learned all these things, although we be in sin and unworthy to receive, let us not despair, knowing that by perseverance and constancy of mind we may obtain our request; although we be solitary and without patrons, let us not be discouraged, knowing that this is a great patronage, that thou by thine ownself mayest come to God with much alacrity.

Seventhly, and principally, it is to be considered, that invocation is attributed unto the saints in the Church of Rome as a part of the worship due unto them; yea, as *eximium adorationis genus*, for so doth [146]Cardinal Bellarmine pronounce it to be, "an eminent kind of adoration." For "[147]we do not honour the saints," saith Azorius the

[142] Οὐ χρεία σοι μεσιτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ πολλῆς τῆς περιδρομῆς, καὶ τοῦ κολακεῦσαι ἑτέρους· ἀλλὰ κᾂν ἔρημος ῇς, κᾂν ἀπροστάτευτος, αὐτὸς διὰ σαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιτεύξῃ πάντως. οὐχ οὕτω δι' ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παρακαλούμενος ἐπινεύειν εἴωθεν, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν δεομένων, κᾂν μυρίων ὦμεν γέμοντες κακῶν. Chrysost. Serm. in Philip. i. 18, de profectu Evangel. Tom. v. p. 416, edit. Savil.

[143] Δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλυύμενος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπινεύει. Ibid. p. 416, et paullo post: Βούλει μαθεῖν καὶ ὅτι δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀνύομεν; p. 418.

[144] Εἶδες πῶς, ὅτε μὲν ἐκεῖνοι παρεκάλουν, διεκρούσατο· ὅτε δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ δεομένη τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐβόησεν, ἐπένευσε. Ib. p. 417.

[145] Ταῦτ' οὖν ἅπαντα μαθόντες, κᾂν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασιν ὦμεν, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀνάξιοι, μὴ ἀπογινώσκωμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι τῇ προσεδρίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνησόμεθα γενέσθαι τῆς αἰτήσεως ἄξιοι· κᾂν ἀπροστάτευτοι καὶ ἔρημοι ὦμεν, μὴ ἀπαγορεύωμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλη προστασία, τὸ αὐτὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσελθεῖν τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ προθυμίας πολλῆς. Ibid.

[146] Bellarmin. Præfat. in Controvers. de Eccles. Triumphant. in Ordine Disputat.

[147] Sanctos non solum honoramus eo cultu, quo viros virtute, sapientia, potentia, aut qualibet alia dignitate præ-

Jesuit, "with that worship only wherewith we do men that excel in virtue, wisdom, power, or any other dignity, but also with DIVINE worship and honour, which is an act of religion; for that worship which is given to men of excellency is an act and office not of religion, but of other inferior virtue, which is called observance." And whereas it is as clear as the noon-day that the giving of divine honour and worship unto any creature is flat idolatry, the poor man weeneth that he and his fellows may be excused from being idolaters, because they "do not give divine worship and honour unto the saints for themselves, but for God who hath made them saints;" as if God, who cannot endure that his [148]*glory should be given unto another*, would be mocked with such toys as these. Indeed they were wont heretofore to delude men commonly with an idle distinction of [149]*Dulia* and *Latria*; but now "[150]it is the opinion of the most and the wisest of them, that it is one and the selfsame virtue of religion which containeth both Latria and Dulia." Whereas it hath been the constant doctrine of the ancient Church, that all religious worship, whereof prayer by the judgment of all men, as well [151]heathen as Christian, hath been always esteemed to be an especial part, is so properly due unto God alone, that without committing of idolatry it cannot be communicated unto any creature. For "[152]in the Catholic Church it is divinely and singularly delivered, that no creature is to be worshipped by the soul, but he only who is the Creator of all things," saith St Augustine. And

stantes, sed etiam divino cultu et honore, qui est religionis actus. Nam ille cultus qui viris primariis defertur non est religionis, sed alterius longe inferioris virtutis, quæ observantia vocatur, actus et officium. Sed divinos cultus et honores sanctis non damus propter ipsos; sed propter Deum, qui eos sanctos effecit. Jo. Azor. Institut. Moral. Tom. I. lib. ix. cap. 10.

[148] Isaiah XLii. 8, and XLviii. 11.

[149] Clem. Constitut. lib. iii. cap. 7. Ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρεύει τῷ Μαμωνᾶ, τουτέστι, δουλεύει τῷ κέρδει.

[150] Quid si et una religionis virtus sit, quæ latriam duliamque contineat? Certe plurimis atque sapientissimis ea est opinio. Nicol. Serarius, in Litaneutico ii. Quæst. XXVII. in fine.

[151] Virgil. Æneid. III. Junonis magnæ primum prece numen adora. Ovid. Trist. lib. i. Eleg. III. Hac prece adoravi superos ego, pluribus uxor. Donatus in Terentii Phormion. Act. II. scen. 1, ad illud, *At ego Deos penateis hinc salutatum domum Devortar.* Salutatum] Adoratum prima post reditum prece.

[152] Ideoque divine ac singulariter in ecclesia Catholica traditur, nullam creaturam colendam esse animæ (libentius enim loquor his verbis quibus mihi hæc insinuata sunt) sed ipsum tantummodo rerum quæ sunt omnium creatorem. Augustin. lib. de Quantitate Animæ, cap. 34. Vide eund. de Morib. Eccles. Catholicæ, et Manich. lib. i. cap. 30.

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therefore the ancient doctors, who thought it not amiss that men should recommend themselves unto the prayers of the saints departed, held it a thing intolerable, notwithstanding, to impart unto any man or angel the worship of invocation: for to request the help of the prayers of our fellow-servants is one thing, and to worship them with the service of invocation is another; as may be seen in the case of our brethren upon earth, who may not refuse the former without the violation of charity, nor accept the latter at our hands without an open breach of piety.

Now, that the Fathers judged no otherwise of prayer than as hath been said, this may be one good argument, that when they define it, they do it with express reference to God, and no other; as may be seen in those five several definitions thereof which [153] Bellarmine himself repeateth out of them: the first whereof is that of Basil: "[154] Prayer is a request of some good thing which is made by pious men unto God." The second, of Gregory Nyssen: "[155] Prayer is a conversing" or "a conference with God." The third, of the same Father: "[156] Prayer is a request of good things, which is offered with supplication unto God." The fourth, of John Chrysostom: "[157] Prayer is a colloquy" or "discourse with God." The fifth, of John Damascen: "[158] Prayer is an ascension of the mind unto God, or a request of things that are fit from God." Whereunto the order set down by the Fathers of the Council of Carthage may be added, "[159] That none in their prayers should direct their speech unto any but the Father." And therefore, where [160] the

[153] Bellarmin. de Bonis Operib. in particular. lib. i. cap. 1.

[154] Προσευχή ἐστιν αἴτησις ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς Θεὸν γινομένη. Basil. Orat. in Julitiam Martyr.

[155] Προσευχὴ Θεοῦ ὁμιλία. Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. I. de Oratione.

[156] Προσευχὴ αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν, μεθ' ἱκετηρίας προσαγομένη Θεῷ. Id. Orat. II. de Orat. Dominic. vel, Προσευχὴ ἱκετηρία ἐστὶν περί τινος τῶν συμφερόντων προσαγομένη Θεῷ. Id. Tractat. II. de Inscriptionib. Psalmor. cap. 3.

[157] Ἡ εὐχὴ διάλεξις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Chrysost. in Gen. Homil. XXX. Vide ejusd. lib. i. de Orando Deum, Tom. VI. p. 754, edit. Savil.

[158] Προσευχή ἐστιν ἀνάβασις τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν, ἢ αἴτησις τῶν προσηκόντων παρὰ Θεοῦ. Damascen. de Fide Orthodox. lib. iii. cap. 24.

[159] Ut nullus in precibus nisi ad patrem dirigat orationem. Fulgent. Ferrand. in Breviat. Canon. sect. 219, ex Concil. Carthag. tit. 31.

[160] Ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 10.

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names of the martyrs were solemnly rehearsed in the public Liturgy of the Church, St Augustine interpreteth it to be done for an honourable remembrance of them, but utterly denieth that the Church therein had any intention to *invocate* them. So for other particular prayers: "[161] Thou alone art to be invocated, O Lord," saith St Ambrose in his Funeral Oration upon Theodosius the Emperor; "thou art to be requested to supply the miss of him in his sons." And, "[162] To whom else should I cry besides thee?" saith St Augustine; and it is God's pleasure,

Esse nihil prorsus se præter ubique rogandum,

"That nothing beside himself should everywhere be prayed unto," saith Dracontius in his Book of the Creation, revised by Eugenius, Bishop of Toledo, at the command of Chindasuindus, King of Spain. In Nicetas Serronius's Catena upon the Psalms, not yet printed, one of the Greek doctors maketh this observation upon that place of the fifth Psalm, *Attend unto the voice of my petition, my King and my God: for unto thee will I pray,* that [163] the petition is here presented as to a King, but the prayer as to God. For "unto God ALONE do we pray," saith he. From whence that also doth not much differ, which we read in the Catena translated into Latin by Daniel Barbarus; only where it is there said that "[164] prayer is offered to God ALONE," the translator or the publisher of that work giveth us warning in the margin, "that we should [165] understand this well." But how it may be so understood that praying to saints may well stand with it, this he leaveth to the favourable construction of the gentle reader; and to save that pains too, Aloysius Hippomanus, in his Catena, thought it best to break off that link of the chain, and not to trouble his reader with it at all. St Chrysostom, unto whom, in the Chain set out by Barbarus, this sentence is assigned, upon

[161] Sed tamen tu solus, Domine, invocandus es; tu rogandus, ut eum in filiis repræsentes. Ambros. de Obitu Theodos.

[162] Cui alteri præter te clamabo? August. Confess. lib. i. cap. 5.

[163] Προσάγει τὴν μὲν δέησιν ὡς βασιλεῖ· δέεται γάρ τις τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὰ ἐνδέοντα (τουτέστι τὰ λείποντα) λάβῃ· τὴν δὲ προσευχὴν ὡς Θεῷ. μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ προσευχόμεθα. Nicet. Caten. in Psalm v. 3. Πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου, ὁ βασιλεύς μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι πρὸς σὲ προσεύξομαι.

[164] Oratio enim soli Deo offertur. Aurea Catena in L. Psalmos, edit. Venet. ann. 1569, p. 53.

[165] Bene intelligas.

those words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. i. 2, *With all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*, giveth the like exposition: "[166]Not of this man and that man, but upon the name of the Lord." And he elsewhere telleth us, that it was the DEVIL's doing to draw men unto the calling upon angels, as envying them the honour of their immediate access and admittance unto God's own presence: "[167]For this cause," saith he, "did the devil bring in this of the angels, envying us this honour. These be the enchantments of devils: though he be an angel, though an archangel, though they be cherubims, endure it not. For neither will these powers themselves admit it, but reject it, when they see their Lord dishonoured. I have honoured thee, saith he, and have said, Call upon me; and dost thou dishonour him?"

Therefore did the Fathers in the Council of Laodicea directly conclude, that this invocation of angels was a secret kind of idolatry, by the practice whereof the communion both of Christ and of his Church was forsaken. [168]For "Christians," say they, "ought not to forsake the Church of God, and depart aside, and invocate angels, and make meetings, which are things forbidden. If any man therefore be found to give himself to this privy idolatry, let him be accursed, because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and betaken himself to idolatry." Pope Adrian, in the epitome of the Canons which he delivered to Charles the Great at Rome, in the year of our Lord 773, doth thus abridge this decree: *Ut anathema sit, quicunque, relicta ecclesia, angelos colere vel congregationes facere præsumpserit*, "That whosoever leaving the Church, did presume to worship angels or to make meetings, should

[166] Οὐ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Homil. I.

[167] Διὰ ταῦτα ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε, βασκαίνων ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς. τῶν δαιμόνων τοιαῦται αἱ ἐπῳδίαι. κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, κἂν ἀρχάγγελος, κἂν τὰ χερουβὶμ, μὴ ἀνέχου. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὗται αἱ δυνάμεις καταδέξονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποσείσονται, ὅταν ἴδωσι τὸν δεσπότην ἀτιμαζόμενον. Ἐγώ σε ἐτίμησά, φησι, καὶ εἶπον, Ἐμὲ κάλει, καὶ σὺ ἀτιμάζεις αὐτόν; Id. in Coloss. iii. Homil. IX.

[168] Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν· ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴ τις οὖν εὑρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσῆλθεν. Concil. Laodicen. Canon. XXXV. Non oportet Christianos, &c. (ut infr. p. 407, in marg.) Concil. MSS. in Bibliotheca Regia et Cottoniana.

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be accursed." Where Henricus Canisius, who was the first publisher of this Abridgment, in the sixth tome of his Ancient Reading, fearing belike that the curse not only of the Fathers of Laodicea, but, which was more dreadful, of Pope Adrian also, might light upon him and his companions, who acknowledge themselves to be of the number of those that "worship angels," giveth us warning in his margin, that instead of *angelos* here "[169]peradventure should be read *angulos*," that is to say, *corners* instead of *angels*; which although it be a note that evil beseemeth a man who would be thought to be conversant in Ancient Reading, and such a one especially as professeth himself to be a "chief professor of the Canons," yet in that he leaveth the text untouched, and contenteth himself with a *peradventure* too in his marginal annotation, he is more to be excused than his fellows before him, Carranza, Sagittarius, and Joverius, who, setting forth the Canons of the Councils, without all *peradventure* corrupted the text itself, removing the *angels* out of their place and hiding them in *corners*.

Notwithstanding this also may be alleged in some part of their excuse too, that they were not the first authors of this corruption of the Canon: that blame must light either upon Isidorus Mercator, the crafty merchant with whose dealings I acquainted you [170]before, or upon James Merlin, the Popish doctor, who first caused his [171]collection of decrees to be printed. But Friar Crabbe deserveth no excuse at all; who, having store of good copies to direct him, did not only content himself with the retaining of *angulos* in the text of Isidorus, as he found it printed before him, but plucked out *angelos* and chopped in [172]*angulos* into the old translation of Dionysius Exiguus also, which afforded no room for any such *corners* as these. For howsoever in that version, or perversion rather, of the Canon which is extant in the text of Isidorus, it might stand with some reason to read, [173]*Non oportet Christianos, derelicta*

[169] Angulos forte legendum, p. 424, Tom. VI. Antiquæ Lectionis Henr. Canisii, SS. Canonum in Academ. Ingolstad. Professoris primarii.

[170] Supra p. 12.

[171] Tom. I. Concil. edit. Colon. ann. 1530, et Paris. ann. 1535.

[172] Tom. I. Concil. edit. Colon. ann. 1538.

[173] In MS. Bibliothecæ Regiæ, et altero Cottoniano, ita legitur: Non oportet Christianos, ecclesia Dei relicta, abire atque angelos nominare et congregationes facere; quæ interdicta noscuntur. Si

ecclesia, abire et ad angulos idololatriæ abominandæ congregationes facere, "It is not lawful for Christians, forsaking the Church, to go and make assemblies of abominable idolatry in corners;" yet in the old translation of Dionysius, where the Canon was rightly rendered, *Quod non oporteat ecclesiam Dei relinquere et abire, atque angelos nominare, et congregationes facere,* it was contrary to all sense to thrust this reading upon us, "It is not lawful for Christians to forsake the Church of God, and go and nominate" or "invocate CORNERS," a wise speech, no doubt, "and make meetings."

But *veritas non quærit angulos,* "the truth will admit of none of these corners." For the Greek verity, as well in all the editions of the Canons that have come forth by themselves, as in the collections of Harmenopulus, Zonaras, and Balsamon likewise, expressly readeth ἀγγέλους, which in that tongue hath no affinity at all with corners; and the ancient collectors of the Canons among the Latins, [174] Cresconius and Dionysius and [175] Fulgentius Ferrandus, have *angelos;* and Theodoret, in his exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians, doth twice make mention and declare the meaning of this Canon: once, upon those words of the Apostle in the third chapter, *Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him:* [176] For "because they commanded men to worship angels," saith Theodoret, "he enjoineth the contrary, that they should adorn their words and their deeds with the commemoration of our Lord Christ, and send up thanksgiving to God and the Father by him," saith he, "and not by the angels. The Synod of Laodicea also following this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease,

quis igitur inventus fuerit huic occultæ idololatriæ serviens, sit anathema; quia dereliquit dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium Dei, et se idololatriæ tradidit.

[174] De his qui angelos colunt. Crescon. Breviar. Canon. sect. 90. Dionys. Exig. in Codice Canonum, num. 138.

[175] Ut nullus ad angelos congregationem faciat. Fulgent. Ferrand. Breviat. Canon. sect. 184.

[176] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοὺς ἀγγέλους σέβειν ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παρεγγυᾷ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοσμῆσαι τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ· καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν δι' αὐτοῦ, φησιν, ἀναπέμπετε, μὴ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. Τούτῳ ἑπομένη τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδος, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος θεραπεῦσαι βουλομένη, ἐνομοθέτησε μὴ εὔχεσθαι ἀγγέλοις, μηδὲ καταλιμπάνειν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Theodoret. in Coloss. iii.

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made a law that they should not pray unto angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ." And again, upon the second chapter of the same Epistle: "[177]This vice continued in Phrygia and Pisidia for a long time; for which cause also the Synod assembled in Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia, forbad them by a law to pray unto angels. And even to this day among them and their borderers there are oratories of St Michael to be seen." The like hath Œcumenius after him, upon the same place: "[178]This custom continued in Phrygia, insomuch that the Council of Laodicea did by a law forbid to come unto angels and to pray unto them. From whence it is also, that there be many churches of Michael, the chief captain of God's host, among them." This Canon of the Laodicean Fathers Photius doth note to have been made against the [179]Angelites, or the Angelics rather: for so doth St Augustine name those heretics that were "[180]inclined to the worship of angels;" being from thence "[181]called Angelici," as Isidorus noteth, "because they did worship angels."

To transcribe here at large the several testimonies of the Fathers which condemn this worshipping of angels, or any other creature whatsoever, would be an endless work. Gregory Nyssen in the beginning of his fourth, or fifth book rather, against Eunomius, layeth this down for an undoubted principle: "[182]That none of those things which have their being by creation is to be worshipped by men, the word of God hath by law ordained; as almost out of all the holy Scripture we may learn. Moses, the Tables, the Law, the Pro-

[177] Ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ· οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἡ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας, νόμῳ κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι. καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν. Id. in Coloss. ii.

[178] Ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ Φρυγίαν τὸ ἔθος, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδον νόμῳ κωλῦσαι τὸ προσιέναι ἀγγέλοις καὶ προσεύχεσθαι. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ναοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ πολλοί. Œcumen. MSS. in Coloss. ii. ab Hœschelio citatus in notis ad Origenis libros contra Celsum, p. 483.

[179] Περὶ Ἀγγελιτῶν Phot. Nomocanon. tit. 12. cap. 9.

[180] Angelici, in angelorum cultu inclinati. Augustin. de Hæres. cap. 39.

[181] Angelici vocati, quia angelos colunt. Isidor. Origen. lib. viii. cap. 5.

[182] Οὐδὲν τῶν διὰ κτίσεως γεγονότων σεβάσμιον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁ θεῖος ἐνομοθέτησε λόγος, ὡς ἐκ πάσης μικροῦ δεῖν ἐστι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς τὸ τοιοῦτο μαθεῖν· ὁ Μωϋσῆς, αἱ πλάκες, ὁ νόμος, οἱ καθεξῆς προφῆται, τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὰ δόγματα πάντων, ἐπίσης ἀπαγορεύουσι τὸ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν βλέπειν. Gregor. Nyssen. contr. Eunom. Orat. IV. Tom. II. edit. Græco-Lat. p. 144.

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phets afterward, the Gospels, the determinations of all the Apostles, do equally forbid the looking unto the creature." Then having shewed that the neglect of this was the cause of the bringing in of a multitude of gods among the heathen; "[183]lest the same things should happen unto us," saith he, "who are instructed by the Scripture to look unto the true Deity, we are taught to understand, that whatsoever is created is a different thing from the Divine nature, and that we are to worship and adore that nature only which is uncreated; whose character and mark is, that it neither at any time began to be, nor ever shall cease to be." But our Romanists have long since overthrown this principle, and so altered Moses, and the Tables, and the Law, that of the [184]twenty-four mortal sins, whereby they say the first commandment is broken, they reckon the first to be committed by him,

Qui colit extra Deum vel sanctos quodque creatum,

"who worshippeth any created thing beside God and the saints." And whereas [185]Antonius in his Melissa had set down the aforesaid sentence of Nyssen, that "we have learned to worship and adore that nature ONLY which is uncreated;" the Spanish Inquisitors have taken order that a piece of his tongue should be cut off, and given commandment that "[186]the word ONLY should be blotted out" of his writing; not considering that this was the principal word upon which the whole sentence of Nyssen mainly did depend, and that Nyssen was not the only man that had taught us this lesson.

Athanasius before him had used the very same argument against the Arians, to prove that the Son of God was of an uncreated nature: [187]for "Peter the Apostle," saith he,

[183] Ὡς ἂν οὖν μὴ ταὐτὰ πάθοιμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν θεότητα βλέπειν παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς διδασκόμενοι, πᾶν τὸ κτιστὸν ἔξω τῆς θείας φύσεως νοεῖν ἐπαιδεύθημεν, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν λατρεύειν τε καὶ σεβάζεσθαι, ἧς χαρακτήρ ἐστι καὶ γνώρισμα τὸ μήτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸ εἶναί ποτε μήτε παύεσθαι εἶναι. Id. ibid. p. 146.

[184] Hieronym. Zanetinus, de foro Conscientiæ et Contentioso, sect. 168.

[185] Anton. Meliss. lib. i. Serm. I.

[186] Deleatur dictio SOLUMMODO. Index Expurgator. Gasp. Quirogæ Cardinalis jussu editus, de consilio Supremi Senatus Generalis Inquisit. Madrid. ann. 1584.

[187] Πέτρος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος προσκυνῆσαι θέλοντα τὸν Κορνήλιον κωλύει, λέγων, ὅτι κἀγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι. ἄγγελος δὲ θέλοντα προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει κωλύει, λέγων, &c. οὐκοῦν Θεοῦ ἐστι μόνου τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, ὅτι κἂν τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς δόξαις ὑπερ-

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"did forbid Cornelius, when he would have worshipped him, saying, *Because I myself also am a man*, Acts x. 26. The angel also did forbid John, when he would have worshipped him in the Revelation, saying, *See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God*, Rev. xxii. 9. Wherefore it appertaineth to God only to be worshipped. And this do the angels themselves know well, that although they do surpass others in glory, yet they are all but creatures, and are in the number, not of those that are to be adored, but of them that adore the Lord." So we have heard St Ambrose [188]before reprehending those "that do adore their fellow-servants." And Epiphanius, refuting the heresy of the Collyridians, concludeth, that "[189]neither Elias, nor John, nor Thecla, nor any of the saints, is to be worshipped. For that ancient error," saith he, "shall not prevail over us, to forsake the living God and to worship the things that are made by him; for *they served and worshipped the creature above the Creator, and became fools*. For if he will not have the angels to be worshipped, how much more would he not have her that was born of Anna?" [190]Let "Mary," then, be had "in honour," but let "the Lord be worshipped." Lastly, St Augustine, to omit all others, in the book which he wrote of True Religion, delivereth this for one of the main grounds thereof, that "[191]the worshipping of men that are dead should be no part of our religion; because," saith he, "if they did live piously, they are not held to be such as would seek that kind of honour, but would have him to be worshipped of us, by whose enlightening they do

ἔχωσιν, ἀλλὰ κτίσματα πάντες εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν προσκυνουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν δεσπότην. Athanas. Orat. III. contra Arian.

[188] Ambros. in Rom. cap. i. supra p. 397.

[189] Ἀλλ' οὔτε Ἠλίας προσκυνητὸς, καίπερ ἐν ζῶσιν ὢν, οὔτε Ἰωάννης προσκυνητὸς, &c. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ Θέκλα, οὔτε τις τῶν ἁγίων προσκυνεῖται. Οὐ γὰρ κυριεύσει ἡμῶν ἡ ἀρχαία πλάνη, καταλιμπάνειν τὸν ζῶντα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα· ἐλάτρευσαν γὰρ καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, καὶ ἐμωράνθησαν. Εἰ γὰρ ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαι οὐ θέλει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἄννης γεγεννημένην; Epiphan. Hæres. LXXIX. p. 448.

[190] Ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνείσθω. Id. ibid. p. 450.

[191] Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur ut tales quærant honores; sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. August. de Vera Relig. cap. 55.

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rejoice that we are made partners of their merit. They are to be honoured therefore for imitation, not to be adored for religion." The same doth he also there say of angels, that "[192]we do honour them with love, not with service; neither do we build temples unto them. For it is not their desire that they should be so honoured by us, because they know that we ourselves, if we be good, are the temples of the high God; and therefore it is rightly written, that a man was forbidden by an angel that he should not worship him, but God alone, under whom he was his fellow-servant, Rev. xxii. 9."

But what saith Cardinal Bellarmine now, think you, unto these testimonies of the Fathers? "[193]I say," saith he, not knowing indeed what he saith, nor whereof he affirmeth, "that they speak against the errors of the Gentiles, who of wicked men did make true gods, and did offer sacrifices unto them." Wherein you may discern the just hand of God, confounding the man's wits that would thus abuse his learning to the upholding of idolatry. For had he been here his own man, and not been strangely overtaken with the spirit of slumber, he could not possibly have failed so foully as to reckon the angels and the saints, and the very mother of God herself, of whom these Fathers do expressly speak, in the number of those wicked persons whom the Gentiles did take for their gods. And here also, out of Epiphanius, we may further observe who were the masters, or the mistresses rather, for this was "[194]the women's heresy," from whom our Romanists did first learn their *Hyperdulia*, or that transcendent kind of service wherewith they worship the Virgin Mary, namely, the Collyridians, [195]so called from the *collyrides*, or *cakes*, which at a cer-

[192] Quare honoramus eos caritate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsos, cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ei esset et ille conservus. Id. ibid. Id. in Psal. cxxxv. negat ministerium vel servitium religionis, quæ Græce *liturgia* vel *latria* dicitur, sanctis angelis exhiberi debere.

[193] Dico eos loqui contra errores gentilium qui ex hominibus sceleratis veros deos faciebant, eisque sacrificia offerebant. Bellarm. de Eccles. Triumphant. lib. i. fine cap. 14, collat. cum fine cap. 11.

[194] Ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν αἵρεσις. Epiphan. Hæres. LXXIX. p. 445. Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τοῦτο διδάσκοντες τίνες εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ἢ γυναῖκες; Ibid. p. 446.

[195] Id. in Anacephalæosi, p. 529: Κολλυριδιανοὶ (hoc vocabulum enim ibi addendum) οἱ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους τινὶ ἀποτεταγμένῃ κολλυρίδας τινὰς προσφέροντες· οἷς ἐπεθέ-

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tain time of the year they used to offer unto the blessed Virgin; against whom Epiphanius doth thus oppose himself: "[196]What Scripture hath delivered any thing concerning this? Which of the Prophets have permitted a man to be worshipped, that I may not say a woman? For a choice vessel she is indeed, but yet a woman." "[197]Let Mary be in honour, but let the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be worshipped: let no man worship Mary. This mystery is appointed, I do not say for a woman, nor yet for a man neither, but for God: the angels themselves are not capable of such kind of glorifying." "[198]Let none eat of this error touching holy Mary: for although the tree be beautiful, yet is it not for meat; and although Mary be most excellent, and holy, and to be honoured, yet she is not to be worshipped." "[199]The body of Mary was holy indeed, but not God. The Virgin indeed was a virgin and honourable, but not given unto us for adoration, but one that did herself worship him who was born of her in the flesh, and came from heaven out of the bosom of his Father."

Thus did this learned Father labour to "[200]cut the roots of this idolatrous heresy," when it first began to take hold of the feminine sex, animating all that were of masculine spirits to the extirpation thereof, in this manner: "[201]Go to then, ye servants of God; let us put on a manlike mind, and beat down the madness of these women." But when this disease afterwards had gotten a farther spread, and had once thoroughly seized upon men as well as women, it is

μεθα ὄνομα τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν ἀκόλουθον, Κολλυριδιανοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες.

[196] Ποία δέ τις γραφὴ διηγήσατο περὶ τούτου; ποῖος προφητῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν γυναῖκα λέγειν; ἐξαίρετον μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ σκεῦος, ἀλλὰ γυνή. Id. Hæres. LXXIX. p. 448.

[197] Ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω· τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω. Οὐ λέγω γυναικὶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνδρὶ, Θεῷ προστέτακται τὸ μυστήριον· οὔτε ἄγγελοι χωροῦσι δοξολογίαν τοιαύτην. Id. ibid. p. 449.

[198] Μὴ φαγέτω τις ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τῆς διὰ Μαρίαν τὴν ἁγίαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ὡραῖον τὸ ξύλον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς βρῶμα· καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἁγία, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι. Id. ibid.

[199] Ναὶ μὴν ἅγιον ἦν τὸ σῶμα τῆς Μαρίας, οὐ μὴν Θεός. ναὶ δὲ παρθένος ἦν ἡ παρθένος καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προσκύνησιν ἡμῖν δοθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ προσκυνοῦσα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκὶ γεγεννημένον, ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν δὲ ἐκ κόλπων πατρῴων παραγενόμενον. Id. ibid. p. 447.

[200] Τῆς εἰδωλοποιοῦ ταύτης αἱρέσεως τὰς ῥίζας ἐκτεμόντες. Id. ibid. p. 446.

[201] Ἄγε τοίνυν, Θεοῦ δοῦλοι, ἀνδρικὸν φρόνημα ἐνδυσώμεθα, γυναικῶν δὲ τούτων τὴν μανίαν διασκεδάσωμεν. Id. ibid.

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a most wonderful thing to consider, into what extremity this frenzy brake out, after the time of Satan's loosing especially. For then [202]there wanted not such as would interpret that speech of the angel unto the holy Virgin, *Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee*, of the equality of her empire with her Son's: as if it had been said, "Even as he, so thou also dost enjoy the same most excellent dignity of ruling." "[203]In the redundance and effusion of grace upon the creatures, the Lord's power and will is so accommodated unto thine, that thou mayest seem to be the first in that both diadem and tribunal. *The Lord is with thee:* not so much thou with the Lord, as the Lord with thee, in that function." Then it was taught for good divinity, that "[204]from the time wherein the Virgin-mother did conceive in her womb the Word of God, she hath obtained such a kind of jurisdiction, so to speak, or authority, in all the temporal procession of the Holy Ghost, that no creature hath obtained any grace or virtue from God, but according to the dispensation of his holy mother:" that "[205]because she is the mother of the Son of God, who doth produce the Holy Ghost, therefore all the gifts, virtues, and graces of the Holy Ghost are by her hands administered to whom she pleaseth, when she pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth:" that [206]she hath

[202] De cujus imperii ad similes effectus æqualitate cum Filio, non desunt qui construant illud ab angelo ipsi prænunciatum, Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum; id est, sicut et ipse, ita et tu eadem dominandi excellentissima dignitate perfrueris. Emanuel de Valle de Moura, Doct. Theol. ac Inquisitionis Deputatus Lusitan. Opusc. I. de Incantationib. seu Ensalmis, sect. 1, cap. 1, num. 46. Quantum ex historiis ecclesiasticis compertum habeo, a Concilii Ephesini temporibus animadvertimus magis magisque in dies toto orbe Christiano beatissimæ Virginis cultum auctum amplificatumque fuisse. Baron. in Martyrolog. Rom. Septem. 8.

[203] Ad quem sensum facile accommodari possunt præcitata angeli verba, Dominus tecum, gratia plena; id est, in gratiæ plenitudine redundantiæ, et effusione in creaturas, ita Domini potentia ac voluntas ad tuam accommodatur, ut tu prior in eo et diademate et tribunali esse videaris. Dominus tecum: non tam tu cum Domino, quam tecum Dominus in eo munere. Ibid.

[204] A tempore enim quo Virgo mater concipit in utero Verbum Dei, quandam, ut sic dicam, jurisdictionem seu auctoritatem obtinuit in omni Spiritus sancti processione temporali; ita quod nulla creatura aliquam a Deo obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius piæ matris dispensationem. Bernardin. Senens. Serm. LXI. Artic. 1, cap. 8.

[205] Et quia talis est mater Filii Dei qui producit Spiritum sanctum, ideo omnia dona virtutis et gratiæ ipsius Spiritus sancti, quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, et quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur. Id. ibid.

[206] Nulla gratia de cœlo nisi ea dispensante ad nos descendit. Hoc enim singulariter officium divinitus ab æterno adepta

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singularly obtained of God this office from eternity, as herself doth testify, Proverbs viii. 23, *I was ordained from everlasting*, namely, "a dispenser of celestial graces;" and that [207]in this respect, Cantic. vii. 4, it is said of her, *Thy neck is as a tower of ivory*, because that "as by the neck the vital spirits do descend from the head into the body, so by the Virgin the vital graces are transmitted from Christ the head into his mystical body; the fulness of grace being in him as in the head, from whence the influence cometh, and in her as in the neck, through which it is transfused" unto us; so that "[208]take away the patronage of the Virgin, you stop, as it were, the sinner's breath, that he is not able to live any longer."

Then men stuck not to teach, that unto her "[209]all power was given in heaven and in earth." So that for *heaven*, when our Saviour ascended thither, this might be assigned for one reason, among others, why he left his mother behind him, "[210]lest perhaps the court of heaven might have been in a doubt whom they should rather go to meet, their Lord or their Lady;" and for *earth*, [211]she may rightly apply unto herself that in the 1st of Ezra,

est, sicut Proverb. viii. ipsa testatur, dicens, Ab æterno ordinata sum; scilicet dispensatrix cœlestium gratiarum. Id. ibid. Artic. 3, cap. 3.

[207] In Christo fuit plenitudo gratiæ, sicut in capite influente; in Maria vero, sicut in collo transfundente. Unde Cantic. vii. de Virgine ad Christum Salomon ait, Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Nam sicut per collum vitales spiritus a capite descendunt in corpus, sic per Virginem a capite Christo vitales gratiæ in ejus corpus mysticum transfunduntur. Id. ibid. Artic. 1, cap. 8, et Artic. 2, cap. 10, ex Pseud-Hieronymi Sermone de Assumpt. Mariæ. Sicut enim a capite, mediante collo, descendunt omnia nutrimenta corporis, sic a Christo per beatam Virginem in nos veniunt omnia bona et beneficia, quæ Deus nobis confert. Nam ipsa est dispensatrix gratiarum et beneficiorum Dei. Joan. Herolt. in Sermon. Discipuli de Tempore, Serm. CLXIII. Per collum Virginis apud Deum gratia et intercessio intelligitur, ita ut ejus intercessio sit veluti collum, per quod a Deo omnes gratiæ præsidiaque in homines transfunduntur. Blas. Viegas in Apocalyps. cap. xii. Comment. II. sect. 10, num. 1. Collum enim dicitur, quia per Virginem universa in nos a Deo, tanquam a capite, beneficia derivantur. Id. ibid. num. 2.

[208] Quasi sublato Virginis patrocinio, perinde atque halitu intercluso, peccator vivere diutius non possit. Viegas, ibid. sect. 2, num. 6.

[209] Data est tibi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. Petr. Damian. Serm. I. de Nativitat. B. Mariæ, Tom. v. Surii, Septemb. 8.

[210] Fortassis, Domine, ne tuæ cœlesti curiæ veniret in dubium, cui potius occurreret; tibi videlicet Domino suo regnum tuum in assumpta carne petenti, an ipsi dominæ suæ, ipsum regnum jam suum materno jure effectum ascendenti. Anselm. Cantuar. de Excellentia B. Virginis, cap. 7, et eum secuti Bernard. de Busti in Mariali, part. XI. Serm. I. part. III. et Sebast. Barrad. Jesuit. Concord. Evangel. lib. vi. cap. 11.

[211] O igitur regina nostra serenissima, profecto tu dicere potes illud, 1 Esdræ i.

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All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord given unto me; and we may say unto her again that in Tobit xiii. *Thy kingdom endureth for all ages;* and in the 144th or 145th Psalm, *Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all ages.* That howsoever she was "[212]the noblest person that was or ever should be in the world, and of so great perfection, that although she had not been the mother of God, she ought nevertheless to have been the lady of the world; yet according to the laws whereby the world is governed, by the right of inheritance she did deserve the principality and kingdom of this world." That "[213]Christ never made any legacy of this monarchy, because that could not be done without the prejudice of his mother; and he knew besides that the mother could make void the testament of the Son, if it were made unto her prejudice. And therefore that by all this it appeareth most evidently, that Mary the mother of Jesus, by right of inheritance, hath the regal dominion over all that be under God." That "[214]as many creatures do serve the glorious Virgin Mary as serve the Trinity; namely, all creatures, whatsoever degree they hold among

Omnia regna terræ dedit mihi Dominus; et nos tibi dicere possumus illud, Tobi xiii. In omnia secula regnum tuum; et Psal. CXLIV. Regnum tuum regnum omnium seculorum, &c.; et Dan. ii. Regnum quod in æternum non dissipabitur; Veni ergo, et super nos regnum accipe, Judic. ix. De regno enim tuo dici potest illud, Psal. ciii. Et regnum ipsius omnibus dominabitur; et Luc. i. Et regni ejus non erit finis. Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. XII. Serm. I. part. I.

[212] Quamvis autem benedicta Virgo fuerit nobilior persona quam fuerit vel futura sit in orbe terrarum, tantæque perfectionis, quod etiamsi non fuisset mater Dei, nihilominus debuisset esse domina mundi; tamen secundum leges quibus regitur mundus, jure hæreditario omnem mundi hujus meruit principatum et regnum. Bernardin. Senens. Serm. LXI. Artic. 1, cap. 7.

[213] De monarchia autem universi nunquam Christus testatus est, eo quod sine matris præjudicio nequaquam fieri poterat: insuper noverat, quod potest mater Filii irritare testamentum, si in sui præjudicium sit confectum. Ex his omnibus apertissime claret, quod mater Jesu Maria hæreditario jure omnium qui sunt infra Deum habet regale dominium, et inclytum obtinet principatum. Id. ibid.

[214] Tot creaturæ serviunt gloriosæ Virgini Mariæ, quot serviunt Trinitati. Omnes nempe creaturæ, quemcunque gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut angeli, sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora cœlestia vel elementa, et omnia quæ sunt in cœlo et in terra, sive damnati sive beati, quæ omnia sunt divino imperio subjugata, gloriosæ Virgini sunt subjecta. Ille enim qui Dei Filius est et Virginis benedictæ, volens, ut sic dicam, paterno principatui quodammodo principatum æquiparare maternum, ipse qui Deus erat matri famulabatur in terra. Unde Lucæ ii. scriptum est de Virgine et glorioso Joseph, Erat subditus illis. Præterea hæc est vera, Divino imperio omnia famulantur et Virgo; et iterum hæc est vera, Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur et Deus. Id. ibid. cap. 6.

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the things created, whether they be spiritual as angels, or rational as men, or corporeal as the heavenly bodies or the elements; and all things that are in heaven and in earth, whether they be the damned or the blessed; all which being brought under the government of God, are subject likewise unto the glorious Virgin: forasmuch as he who is the Son of God and of the blessed Virgin, being willing as it were to equal in some sort his mother's sovereignty unto the sovereignty of his Father, even he who was God did serve his mother upon earth. Whence, Luke ii. 51, it is written of the Virgin and glorious Joseph, *He was subject unto them;* that, as this proposition is true, All things are subject to God's command, even the Virgin herself, so this again is true also, All things are subject to the command of the Virgin, even God himself." That "[215]considering the blessed Virgin is the mother of God, and God is her Son, and every son is naturally inferior to his mother and subject unto her, and the mother hath pre-eminence and is superior to her son; it therefore followeth that the blessed Virgin is superior to God, and God himself is subject unto her, in respect of the manhood which he assumed from her." That "[216]howsoever she be subject unto God, inasmuch as she is a creature, yet is she said to be superior and preferred before him, inasmuch as she is his mother."

Then men were put in mind, that "[217]by sinning after baptism they seemed to contemn and despise the passion of Christ, and so that no sinner doth deserve that Christ should any more make intercession for him to the Father, without whose intercession none can be delivered either from the

[215] Cum beata Virgo sit mater Dei, et Deus Filius ejus, et omnis filius sit naturaliter inferior matre et subditus ejus, et mater prælata et superior filio; sequitur, quod ipsa benedicta Virgo sit superior Deo, et ipse Deus sit subditus ejus ratione humanitatis ab ea assumptæ. Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. IX. Serm. II.

[216] Ipsa benedicta Virgo, licet sit subjecta Deo in quantum creatura, superior tamen illi dicitur et prælata, in quantum est ejus mater. Unde Luc. ii. de Christo Deo et homine scriptum est, quod erat subditus illi. O ineffabilis dignitas Mariæ, quæ imperatori omnium meruit imperare! Id. part. XII. Serm. II.

[217] Peccando post baptismum videntur contemnere et despicere passionem Christi; et sic nullus peccator meretur quod Christus amplius intercedat pro ipso apud Patrem, sine cujus intercessione nemo potest liberari a pœna æterna nec temporali, nec culpa quam ipse voluntarie perpetravit: et ideo fuit necesse ut Christus constitueret matrem suam prædilectam mediatricem inter nos et ipsum. Jacob. de Valentia Episc. Christopolitan. in Exposit. Cantic. Virg. Mariæ, *Magnificat.*

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eternal punishment or the temporal, nor from the fault which he hath voluntarily committed; and therefore that it was necessary that Christ should constitute his well-beloved mother a mediatrix betwixt us and him." "[218]And so in this our pilgrimage there is no other refuge left unto us in our tribulations and adversities, but to have recourse unto the Virgin Mary our mediatrix, that she would appease the wrath of her Son." That, "[219]as *he is ascended into heaven to appear in the sight of God for men*, (Heb. ix. 24), so she ought to ascend thither to appear in the sight of her Son for sinners; that so mankind might have always before the face of God a help like unto Christ for the procuring of his salvation." That "[220]this empress is of so great authority in the palace of heaven, that it is lawful to appeal unto her from any grievance, all other intermedial saints omitted; for howsoever, according to the civil law, the due mean must be observed in appeals, yet in her the style of the canon law is observed, wherein the Pope is appealed unto, any intermedial whatsoever omitted." That [221]she "is a

[218] Et sic in hac peregrinatione non relinquitur nobis aliud refugium in nostris tribulationibus et adversitatibus, nisi recurrere ad Virginem Mariam mediatricem, ut velit placare iram Filii. Id. ibid.

[219] Sicut ille ibi ascendit ut continue appareat vultui Dei pro hominibus, (Heb. ix.), ita ego debeo ibi ascendere, ut appaream vultui ipsius Filii pro peccatoribus; et sic humanum genus habeat semper ante faciem Dei adjutorium simile Christo ad procurandam suam salutem. Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. XI. Serm. II. memb. 1.

[220] Tantæ autem auctoritatis in cœlesti palatio est ista imperatrix, quod, omnibus aliis sanctis intermediis omissis, ad ipsam licet ab omni gravamine appellare. Licet enim secundum jura civilia debitum medium servetur in appellationibus, (*l.* Imperatores, *ff. de* appel. reci.), tamen in ipsa servatur stylus juris canonici, quo omisso quolibet medio appellatur ad summum Pontificem. (*C.* si duobus *extra de* appel.) Id. part. III. Serm. III. in Excellent. IV.

[221] Nos autem dicere possumus, quod beatissima Virgo est cancellaria in cœlesti curia. Nam videmus quod in cancellaria Domini Papæ conceduntur tria genera literarum, &c. Istas autem literas misericordiæ dat (B. Virgo) solum in præsenti vita. Nam animabus decedentibus quibusdam dat literas puræ gratiæ, aliis vero simplicis justitiæ, et quibusdam mixtas, scilicet justitiæ et gratiæ. Quidam enim fuerunt sibi valde devoti, et istis dat literas puræ gratiæ, per quas mandat ut detur eis gloria sine aliqua purgatorii pœna. Alii autem fuerunt miseri peccatores et ejus indevoti, et istis dat literas simplicis justitiæ, per quas mandat ut eis fiat condigna vindicta. Alii vero fuerunt in devotione tepidi et remissi, et istis dat literas justitiæ et gratiæ simul, per quas mandat ut et gratia eis fiat, et tamen illis inferatur aliqua purgatorii pœna propter negligentiam et torporem. Et ista significantur in Hester regina, quæ, ut habetur Hest. viii. scripsit literas ut Judæi salverentur, et hostes interficerentur, et pauperibus munuscula darentur. Id. part. XII. Serm. II. memb. 1, in Excellent. XXII.

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chancellor in the court of heaven," and "giveth letters of mercy only in this present life; but for the souls that depart from hence, unto some letters of pure grace, unto others of simple justice, and unto some mixed of justice and grace. For some," say they, "were much devoted unto her, and unto them she giveth letters of pure grace, whereby she commandeth glory to be given them without any pain of purgatory. Others were miserable sinners, and not devoted to her, and unto them she giveth letters of simple justice, whereby she commandeth that condign punishment be taken of them. Others were lukewarm and remiss in devotion, and unto them she giveth letters of justice and grace together, whereby she commandeth that both favour be done unto them, and yet some pain of purgatory be inflicted upon them for their negligence and sluggishness." And these things, they say, "are signified in Queen Esther, who wrote letters that the Jews should be saved, and the enemies should be killed, and to the poor small gifts should be given." Yea, further also, [222] where King Ahasuerus did proffer unto the said Esther even the *half of his kingdom*, (Esther v. 3), thereby, they say, was signified that God bestowed half of his kingdom upon the blessed Virgin; that "having justice and mercy as the chiefest goods of his kingdom, he retained justice unto himself, and granted mercy unto her;" and "[223] therefore that if a man do find himself aggrieved in the court of God's justice, he may appeal to the court of mercy of his mother," she being that [224] *throne of grace* whereof the Apostle speaketh, Heb. iv. 16, *Let us go boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.*

[222] Confugimus autem primo ad beatissimam Virginem, cœlorum reginam, cui Rex regum, Pater cœlestis, dimidium regni sui dedit. Quod significatum est in Hester regina, quæ cum ad placandum Assuerum regem accessisset, dixit ei rex, Etiam si dimidiam partem regni mei petieris, dabitur tibi. Sic Pater cœlestis, cum habeat justitiam et misericordiam tanquam potiora regni sui bona, justitia sibi retenta, misericordiam matri Virgini concessit. Gabr. Biel in Canon. Missæ, Lect. LXXX. Vide Johan. Gerson. Tract. IV. super *Magnificat.*

[223] Ista imperatrix figuravit imperatricem cœlorum, cum qua Deus regnum suum divisit. Cum enim Deus habeat justitiam et misericordiam, justitiam sibi in hoc mundo exercendam retinuit, et misericordiam matri concessit. Et ideo si quis sentit se gravari a foro justitiæ Dei, appellet ad forum misericordiæ matris ejus. Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. III. Serm. III. in Excellent. IV.

[224] Id. ibid. Excellent. V. et part. V. Serm. VII. in fine.

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They tell us, that "[225]it is for the ornament of an earthly kingdom, that it should have both a king and a queen; and therefore, when any king hath not a wife, his subjects often do request him to take one." Hereupon they say, that "the eternal King and omnipotent Emperor, minding to adorn the kingdom of heaven above, did frame this blessed Virgin, to the end he might make her the lady and empress of his kingdom and empire; that the prophecy of David might be verified, saying unto her in the Psalm, *Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in clothing of gold.*" That "[226]she is an empress, because she is the spouse of the eternal Emperor, of whom it is said, John iii. 29, *He that hath the bride is the bridegroom;*" and that "when God did deliver unto her the empire of the world, and all the things contained therein, he said unto her that which we read in the first of the Æneids:

> "His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> Imperium sine fine dedi."

That she is [227]the empress also "of heaven and earth, because she did bear the heavenly emperor; and therefore that she can ask of him what she will, and obtain it." That "this was figured in the history of the kings, where the mother of Solomon said unto him, *I desire one petition of thee, do not confound my face;* for then should he confound her face, if he did deny that which she requested." And that "if in respect of her maternal jurisdiction she hath command of her Son, who was subject unto her, as we read

[225] Ad ornamentum regni terreni est, quod habeat regem et reginam. Et propter hoc quando aliquis rex non habet uxorem, ejus subditi plerumque ei supplicant ut eam accipiat. Supernum ergo cœlorum regnum volens Rex æternus et Imperator omnipotens decorare, fabricavit hanc beatissimam Virginem, ut illam regni et imperii sui faceret dominam et imperatricem, ut verificaretur prophetia David, Psal. XLIV. ei dicentis, Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate. Id. part. IX. Serm. II.

[226] Est etiam imperatrix, quia æterni Imperatoris est sponsa, de quo dicitur Johan. cap. iii. Qui habet sponsam sponsus est. Quando vero Deus illi tradidit imperium orbis et omnium contentorum in eo, dixit ei illud quod habetur Æneid. I. Id. part. III. Serm. III. in Excellent. IV.

[227] Beata virgo est imperatrix cœli et terræ, quia ipsa genuit cœlestem imperatorem. Et ideo potest ab eo petere quicquid vult et obtinere, quod figuratum fuit, 3 Reg. ii. ubi mater Salomonis dixit ei, Petitionem unam peto a te, ne confundas faciem meam: tunc enim faciem suam confunderet quando illud quod peteret denegaret. Si ergo imperat Filio ratione maternalis jurisdictionis, qui fuit subditus illi, ut habetur, Luc. ii. multo magis imperat omnibus creaturis Filio suo subjectis. Id. ibid.

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Luke ii. 51, then much more hath she command over all the creatures that are subject to her Son." That this "[228]Mighty God did, as far as he might, make his mother partner of his Divine majesty and power, giving unto her of old the sovereignty both of celestial things and mortal; ordering at her pleasure, as the patronage of men did require, the earth, the seas, heaven, and nature; at her liking, and by her, bestowing upon mortal men his divine treasures and heavenly gifts: so as all might understand, that whatsoever doth flow into the earth from that eternal and glorious fountain of good things, doth flow by MARY." That "[229]she is constituted over every creature, and whosoever boweth his knee unto Jesus, doth fall down also and supplicate unto his mother; so that the glory of the Son may be judged not so much to be common with the mother, as to be the very same." That "[230]so great is her glory, that she exceedeth the nature of angels and men joined together, as far in glory as the circumference of the firmament exceedeth his centre in magnitude, when she understandeth herself in her Son to be, as his other self, clothed with the Deity." That she, being "[231]the mother of God, doth assume unto herself of the omnipotency of her Son, upon which she leaneth, as much as she pleaseth." And that she "[232]doth come before the golden altar of human

[228] Matrem quippe suam præpotens ille Deus divinæ majestatis potestatisque sociam, quatenus licuit, adscivit. Huic olim cœlestium mortaliumque principatum detulit: ad hujus arbitrium, quoad hominum tutela postulat, terras, maria, cœlum naturamque moderatur; hac annuente et per hanc divinos thesauros mortalibus et cœlestia dona largitur: ut omnes intelligant, quicquid ab æterno illo augustoque bonorum fonte in terras profluat, fluere per MARIAM. Horat. Tursellin. Jesuit. in Epist. Dedicator. Historiæ Lauretanæ ad Cardinalem Aldobrandinum.

[229] Constituta quippe est super omnem creaturam; et quicunque Jesu curvat genu, matri quoque pronus supplicat; et Filii gloriam cum matre non tam communem judico, quam eandem. Arnold. Carnotens. Tract. de Laudib. Virginis.

[230] Tanta est gloria Virginis matris Dei, quod tantum excedit in gloria naturam angelicam et humanam simul junctam, quantum circumferentia firmamenti excedit in magnitudine suum centrum; cum intelligat in Filio suo se, quasi alterum ipsum, Deitate vestitam. Bernard. de Bust. Marial. part. XII. Serm. II. in Excellent. XXI.

[231] Qui enim alicui rei innititur, virtutem ejus sibi assumit, et ea sicut vult utitur. Et similiter ipsa Dei mater de omnipotentia Filii sui, cui est innixa, quantum vult sibi assumit. Id. part. XII. Serm. II. in Excellent. XXVIII.

[232] Accedis ante illud aureum humanæ reconciliationis altare, non solum rogans, sed imperans, domina, non ancilla. Petr. Damian. Serm. I. de Nativit. B. Mariæ.

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reconciliation, not entreating only, but commanding, a mistress, not a maid."

They tell us that the blessed Virgin herself appeared once unto Thomas Becket, and used this speech unto him: "[233]Rejoice and be glad, and be joyful with me, because my glory doth excel the dignity and joy of all the saints and all the blessed spirits; and I alone have greater glory than all the angels and saints together. Rejoice, because that as the sun doth enlighten the day and the world, so my brightness doth enlighten the whole celestial world. Rejoice, because the whole host of heaven obeyeth me, reverenceth and honoureth me. Rejoice, because my Son is always obedient unto me and my will, and all my prayers he always heareth;" (or, as others do relate it, "[234]The will of the blessed Trinity and mine is one and the same; and whatsoever doth please me, the whole Trinity with unspeakable favour doth give consent unto.") "Rejoice, because God doth always at my pleasure reward my servitors in this world and in the world to come. Rejoice, because I sit next to the Holy Trinity, and am clothed with my body glorified. Rejoice, because I am certain and sure that these my joys shall always stand, and never be finished or fail. And whosoever by rejoicing with these spiritual joys shall worship me in this world, at the time of the departure of his soul out of the body he shall obtain my presence; and I will deliver his soul from the malignant enemies, and present it in the sight of my Son, that it may possess joys

[233] Gaude et lætare, ac exulta mecum, quia gloria mea excellit dignitatem et lætitiam omnium sanctorum et cunctorum spirituum beatorum, et majorem gloriam habeo ipsa sola quam omnes simul angeli et sancti. Gaude, quia sicut sol illuminat diem ac mundum, sic claritas mea illuminat totum orbem cœlestem. Gaude, quia tota militia cœli mihi obedit, me veneratur et honorat. Gaude, quia Filius meus mihi semper est obediens, et meam voluntatem et cunctas preces meas semper exaudit. Gaude, quia Deus semper ad beneplacitum meum remunerat servitores meos in hoc seculo et in futuro. Gaude, quia proxima sedeo sanctæ Trinitati, et vestita sum corpore meo glorificato. Gaude, quia certa sum et secura, quod hæc mea gaudia semper stabunt, et nunquam finientur vel deficient. Et quicunque cum his gaudiis spiritualibus lætando in hoc seculo me venerabitur, in exitu animæ suæ de corpore præsentiam meam obtinebit; et ipsam animam ab hostibus malignis liberabo, et in conspectu Filii mei ut mecum gaudia possideat præsentabo. Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part. x. Serm. II. sect. ult.

[234] Quod summæ Trinitatis et mea est una voluntas; et quodcunque mihi placuerit, tota Trinitas ineffabili favore consentit. Promptuar. Discipuli, de Miraculis B. Mariæ. Exempl. XIV. p. 8, edit. Mogunt. anno 1612.

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with me." They tell us "that many ([235]many whores," for example, "that would not sin on Saturday for the reverence of the Virgin," whatsoever they did on the Lord's day,) "seem to have the blessed Virgin in greater veneration than Christ her Son; moved thereunto out of simplicity more than out of knowledge. Yet that the Son of God doth bear with the simplicity of these men and women," because he is not ignorant that "the honour of the mother doth redound to the child," Prov. xvii. 6. They argue further, that "[236]if a Cardinal have this privilege, that if he put his cap upon the head of one that is led unto justice he is freed thereby, then by an argument drawn from the stronger, the cloak of the blessed Virgin is able to deliver us from all evil, her mercy being so large that if she should see any man who did devoutly make her crown," that is to say, repeat the rosary or chaplet of prayers made for her worship, "to be drawn unto punishment in the midst of a thousand devils, she would presently rescue him, and not permit that any one should have an evil end who did study reverently to make her crown." They add, moreover, that "[237]for every of these crowns" a man shall obtain "273,758 days of indulgence;" and that "Pope Sixtus the Fourth granted an indulgence of twelve thousand years for every time that a man in the state of grace should

[235] Multæ meretrices in die Sabbati non peccarent propter reverentiam Virginis. Et multi videntur beatam Virginem in majori veneratione habere quam Christum Filium ejus; magis ex simplicitate moti quam scientia. Sed quia honor matris redundat in filium, Prov. xvii. patientiam habet Filius Dei de hac quorundam virorum et mulierum simplicitate. Bernardin. de Bust. part. VI. Serm. II. memb. 3.

[236] Si hoc privilegium habet Cardinalis, quod si ponat pileum sive capillum suum super caput illius qui ducitur ad justitiam, liberatur; (secundum Baldum et Paulum de Castro, in *l.* addictos. *C.* de appel.) a fortiori pallium beatæ Virginis potest nos ab omnibus malis liberare. Tam lata enim est ejus misericordia, quod si aliquem devote facientem coronam suam videret in medio millium dæmonum trahi ad supplicium, eum protinus liberabit; nec permittet aliquem male finiri, qui ejus coronam reverenter studuerit facere. Id. part. XII. Serm. I. memb. 3.

[237] Sic in summa erunt ducenta septuaginta tria millia septingenti quinquaginta octo dies indulgentiæ pro qualibet corona. Felicis autem recordationis Sixtus Papa quartus, omnibus dicentibus in statu gratiæ infra scriptam orationem sive salutationem ipsius Virginis, quæ a multis dicitur in corona, concessit indulgentiam duodecim millium annorum pro qualibet vice qua dicitur: Ave sanctissima Maria, mater Dei, regina cœli, porta paradisi, domina mundi. Singularis et pura tu es virgo. Tu concepisti Christum sine peccato. Tu peperisti creatorem et salvatorem mundi, in quo non dubito. Libera me ab omni malo, et ora pro peccatis meis. Amen. Ibid.

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repeat this short orison or salutation of the Virgin, which by many is inserted into her crown: Hail most holy Mary, the mother of God, the queen of heaven, the gate of paradise, the lady of the world: thou art a singular and pure Virgin, thou didst conceive Christ without sin; thou didst bear the Creator and Saviour of the world, in whom I do not doubt. Deliver me from all evil, and pray for my sins. Amen."

In the Crown composed by Bonaventure this is one of the orisons that is prescribed to be said: "[238]O empress and our most kind lady, by the authority of a mother command thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would vouchsafe to lift up our minds from the love of earthly things unto heavenly desires;" which is suitable unto that versicle which we read in the 35th Psalm of his lady's Psalter: "[239]Incline the countenance of God upon us; compel him to have mercy upon sinners;" the harshness whereof our Romanists have a little qualified in some of their editions, reading thus: "[240]Incline the countenance of thy Son upon us; compel him by thy prayers to have mercy upon us sinners." The Psalms of this Psalter do all of them begin as David's do, but with this main difference, that where the Prophet in the one aimeth at the advancement of the honour of our Lord, the Friar in the other applieth all to the magnifying of the power and goodness of our lady. So in the first Psalm: "[241]Blessed is the man," quoth Bonaventure, "that loveth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul." And in the others following: "[242]Lady, how are they multiplied that trouble me! with thy tempest shalt thou persecute and scatter them." "[243]Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in the fury of God,

[238] O imperatrix et domina nostra benignissima, jure matris impera tuo dilectissimo Flio Domino nostro Jesu Christo, ut mentes nostras ab amore terrestrium ad cœlestia desideria erigere dignetur. Bonaventur. Corona B. Mariæ Virginis, Operum Tom. VI. edit. Rom. ann 1588.

[239] Inclina vultum Dei super nos; coge illum peccatoribus misereri. Id. in Psalterio B. Mariæ Virg. ibid.

[240] Inclina vultum Filii tui super nos, coge illum precibus nobis peccatoribus misereri. Psalter. Bonaventur. seorsim edit. Parisiis, anno 1596, in Capeleto Dominicæ II.

[241] Beatus vir qui diligit nomen tuum, Maria virgo; gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Psal. i.

[242] Domina, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? in tempestate tua persequeris et dissipabis eos. Psal. iii.

[243] Domina, ne in furore Dei sinas corripi me; neque in ira ejus judicari. Psal. vi.

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nor to be judged in his wrath." "[244]My lady, in thee have I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O lady." "[245]In our lady put I my trust, for the sweetness of the mercy of her name." "[246]How long wilt thou forget me, O lady, and not deliver me in the day of tribulation?" "[247]Preserve me, O lady, for in thee have I put my trust; and impart unto me the drops of thy grace." "[248]I will love thee, O lady of heaven and earth; and I will call upon thy name among the nations." "[249]The heavens declare thy glory, and the fragrance of thine ointments is spread among the nations." "[250]Hear us, lady, in the day of trouble, and turn thy merciful face unto our prayers." "[251]Unto thee, O lady, have I lifted up my soul; in the judgment of God, by thy prayers, I shall not be ashamed." "[252]Judge me, lady, for I have departed from mine innocency; but because I will trust in thee, I shall not be weakened." "[253]In thee, O lady, have I put my trust, let me never be confounded; in thy favour receive me." "[254]Blessed are they whose hearts do love thee, O Virgin Mary; their sins by thee shall mercifully be washed away." "[255]Lady, judge those that hurt me, and rise up against them, and plead my cause." "[256]Waiting have I waited for thy grace, and thou hast done unto me according to the multitude of the mercy of thy name." "[257]Lady, thou

[244] Domina mea, in te speravi; de inimicis meis libera me, domina. Psal. vii.

[245] In domina confido, propter dulcedinem misericordiæ nominis sui. Psal. x.

[246] Usquequo, domina, oblivisceris me, et non liberas me in die tribulationis? Psal. xii.

[247] Conserva me, domina, quoniam speravi in te; mihique tuæ stillicidia gratiæ impertire. Psal. xv.

[248] Diligam te, domina cœli et terræ; et in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Psal. xvii.

[249] Cœli enarrant gloriam tuam, et unguentorum tuorum fragrantia in gentibus est dispersa. Psal. xviii.

[250] Exaudias nos, domina, in die tribulationis; et precibus nostris converte clementem faciem tuam. Psal. xix.

[251] Ad te, domina, levavi animam meam; in judicio Dei tuis precibus non erubescam. Psal. xxiv.

[252] Judica me, domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digressus sum; sed quia sperabo in te, non infirmabor. Psal. xxv.

[253] In te, domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum; in gratia tua suscipe me. Psal. xxx.

[254] Beati quorum corda te diligunt, virgo Maria; peccata ipsorum a te misericorditer diluentur. Psal. xxxi.

[255] Judica, domina, nocentes me, et contra eos exsurge, et vindica causam meam. Psal. xxxiv.

[256] Exspectans exspectavi gratiam tuam, et fecisti mihi secundum multitudinem misericordiæ nominis tui. Psal. xxxix.

[257] Domina, refugium nostrum tu es in omni necessitate nostra, et virtus potentior conterens inimicum. Psal. XLV.

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art our refuge in all our necessities, and the powerful strength treading down the enemy." "[258]Have mercy upon me, O lady, who art called the mother of mercy; and according to the bowels of thy mercies cleanse me from all mine iniquities." "[259]Save me, lady, by thy name, and deliver me from mine unrighteousness." "[260]Have mercy upon me, O lady, have mercy upon me, because my heart is prepared to search out thy will; and in the shadow of thy wings will I rest." "[261]Let Mary arise, and let her enemies be scattered; let them all be trodden down under her feet." "[262]In thee, O lady, have I put my trust, let me never be put to confusion; deliver me in thy mercy, and cause me to escape." "[263]Give the King thy judgment, O God, and thy mercy to the queen his mother." "[264]Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou by thy merits hast confederated unto Christ." "[265]Thy mercies, O lady, will I sing for ever." "[266]God is the Lord of revenges; but thou the mother of mercy dost bow him to take pity." "[267]O come let us sing unto our lady; let us make a joyful noise to Mary our queen that brings salvation." "[268]O sing unto our lady a new song, for she hath done marvellous things." "[269]O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; give thanks unto his mother, for her mercy endureth for ever." "[270]Lady, despise not

[258] Miserere mei, domina, quæ mater misericordiæ nuncuparis; et secundum viscera misericordiarum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. Psal. L.

[259] Domina, in nomine tuo salvum me fac, et ab injustitiis meis libera me. Psal. LIII.

[260] Miserere mei, domina, miserere mei; quia paratum est cor meum exquirere voluntatem tuam; et in umbra alarum tuarum requiescam. Psal. LVI.

[261] Exsurgat Maria, et dissipentur inimici ejus; conterantur omnes sub pedibus ejus. Psal. LXVII.

[262] In te, domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum; in tua misericordia libera me, et eripe me. Psal. LXX.

[263] Deus, judicium tuum regi da, et misericordiam tuam reginæ matri ejus. Psal. LXXI.

[264] Domina, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Dei; quas tu meritis tuis Christo confœderasti. Psal. LXXVIII.

[265] Misericordias tuas, domina, in sempiternum decantabo. Psal. LXXXVIII.

[266] Deus ultionum Dominus; sed tu mater misericordiæ ad miserandum inflectis. Psal. XCIII.

[267] Venite, exultemus dominæ nostræ; jubilemus salutiferæ Mariæ reginæ nostræ. Psal. XCIV.

[268] Cantate dominæ nostræ canticum novum; quia mirabilia fecit. Psal. XCVII.

[269] Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus; confitemini matri ejus, quoniam in seculum misericordia ejus. Psal. CVI. and CXVII.

[270] Domina, laudem meam ne despexeris; et hoc dedicatum tibi Psalterium digneris acceptare. Psal. CVIII.

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my praise; and vouchsafe to accept this Psalter which is dedicated unto thee." "[271]The Lord said unto our lady, Sit thou, my mother, at my right hand." "[272]They that trust in thee, O mother of God, shall not fear from the face of the enemy." "[273]Except our lady build the house of our heart, the building thereof will not continue." "[274]Blessed are all they who fear our lady; and blessed are all they who know to do thy will and thy good pleasure." "[275]Out of the deep have I cried unto thee, O lady; lady, hear my voice." "[276]Lady, remember David, and all that call upon thy name." "[277]O give thanks unto the Lord because he is good; because by his most sweet mother the Virgin Mary is his mercy given." "[278]Blessed be thou, O lady, which teachest thy servants to war, and strengthenest them against the enemy:" and so the last Psalm is begun with, "[279]Praise our lady in her saints; praise her in her virtues and miracles;" and endeth accordingly with *Omnis spiritus laudet dominam nostram*, "Let every spirit, or, every thing that hath breath, praise our lady."

To this we may adjoin the [280]Psalter of the Salutations of the Virgin, framed by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is not yet printed. His Preface he beginneth thus:

Mente concipio laudes perscribere
Sanctæ Virginis; quæ nos a carcere
Solvit per Filium, genus in genere
Miri vivificans effectus opere:

and endeth with a prayer to the blessed Virgin, that she would "release the sins of all those for whom he prayed,

271 Dixit Dominus dominæ nostræ, Sede, mater mea, a dextris meis. Psal. cix.

272 Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt a facie inimici. Psal. cxxiv.

273 Nisi domina ædificaverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit ædificium ejus. Psal. cxxvi.

274 Beati omnes qui timent dominam nostram; et beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem tuam et beneplacitum tuum. Psal. cxxvii.

275 De profundis clamavi ad te, domina; domina, exaudi vocem meam. Psal. cxxix.

276 Memento, domina, David, et omnium invocantium nomen tuum. Psal. cxxxi.

277 Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus est; quoniam per suam dulcissimam matrem Virginem Mariam datur misericordia ejus. Psal. cxxxv.

278 Benedicta sis, domina, quæ instruis servos tuos ad prælium, et eos roboras contra inimicum. Psal. cxliii.

279 Laudate dominam in sanctis ejus; laudate eam in virtutibus et miraculis ejus. Psal. cl.

280 Psalterium meditationum B. Mariæ vocatur a Jo. Pitsio, de Illustr. Angl. Scriptorib. p. 380.

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and cause both his own name and theirs to be written in the Book of Life:"

Nec non et omnibus relaxes crimina,
Pro quibus supplicans fundo precamina;
Nostrumque pariter et horum nomina
Conscribi facias in vitæ pagina.

Then followeth his first Psalm, wherein he prayeth that she would "make us to meditate often God's law," and afterwards "to be made blessed in the glory of God's kingdom:"

Ave Virgo Virginum, parens absque pari,
Sine viri semine digna fœcundari:
Fac nos legem Domini crebro meditari;
Et in regni gloria beatificari.

His other 149 Psalms, which are fraught with the same kind of stuff, I pass over. But Bernardinus de Senis's boldness may not be forgotten, who thinketh that [281] God will give him leave to maintain that "the Virgin Mary did more unto him, or at least as much, as he himself did unto all mankind;" and "that we may say for our comfort," forsooth! "that in respect of the blessed Virgin, whom God himself did make notwithstanding, God after a sort is more bound unto us than we are unto him." With which absurd and wretched speculation Bernardinus de Busti after him was so well pleased, that he dareth to revive again this most odious comparison, and propose it afresh in this saucy manner: "[282] But O most grateful Virgin, didst not thou something to God? didst not thou make him any

[281] Sola benedicta virgo Maria plus fecit Deo vel tantum, ut sic dicam, quam fecit Deus toti generi humano. Credo etenim certe quod mihi indulgebit Deus, si nunc pro Virgine loquar. Congregemus in unum quæ Deus homini fecit; et consideremus quæ Maria virgo Domino satisfecit, &c. Reddendo ergo singula singulis, scilicet quæ fecit Deus homini, et quæ fecit Deo beata Virgo, videbis quod plus fecit Maria Deo, quam homini Deus; ut sic pro solatio dicere liceat, quod propter beatam Virginem, quam tamen ipse fecit, Deus quodammodo plus obligetur nobis, quam nos sibi. Bernard. Senens. Serm. LXI. Art. I. cap. 11.

[282] Sed, o Virgo gratissima, nunquid tu aliquid fecisti Deo? Nunquid vicem ei reddidisti? Profecto, si fas est dicere, tu secundum quid majora fecisti Deo quam ipse Deus tibi et universo generi humano. Volo ergo ego dicere quod tu ex humilitate reticuisti. Tu enim solum cecinisti, quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est; ego vero cano et dico, quia tu fecisti majora ei qui potens est. Bernard. de Bust. Marial. part. VI. Serm. II. membr. 3.

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recompence? Truly, if it be lawful to speak it, thou in some respect didst greater things to God than God himself did to thee and to all mankind. I will therefore speak that which thou out of thy humility hast passed in silence: for thou only didst sing, He that is mighty hath done to me great things; but I do sing and say, that thou hast done greater things to him that is mighty." Neither is that vision much better, which the [283]same author reciteth as shewed to St Francis, or, as [284]others would have it, to his companion Friar Lyon, touching the two ladders which reached from earth unto heaven; the one red, upon which Christ leaned, from whence many fell backward and could not ascend; the other white, upon which the holy Virgin leaned, the help whereof such as used, "were by her received with a cheerful countenance, and so with facility ascended into heaven." Neither yet that sentence which came first from Anselm, and was after him used by Ludolphus Saxo the Carthusian, and Chrysostomus a Visitatione the Cistercian monk; that "[285]more present relief is sometimes found by commemorating the name of Mary, than by calling upon the name of our Lord Jesus, her only Son;" which one of [286]our Jesuits is so far from being ashamed to defend, that he dareth to extend it further to the mediation of other saints also; telling us very peremptorily, that "as our Lord Jesus worketh greater miracles by his saints than by himself, John xiv. 12, so often he sheweth the force of their intercession more than of his own."

All which I do lay down thus largely, not because I take any delight in rehearsing those things which deserve rather to be buried in everlasting oblivion, but, *first*, that the world may take notice, what kind of monster is nourished in the Papacy under that strange name of Hyperdulia; the bare discovery whereof, I am persuaded, will prevail as much with a mind that is touched with any zeal of God's

[283] Id. part. IX. Serm. II. Assimilat. II.

[284] Speculum Vitæ Francisci et sociorum ejus, part. II. cap. 45, edit. Gulielmi Spoelberch. Item, Speculum Exemplorum, Dist. VII. Exempl. XLI.

[285] Velocior est nonnunquam salus memorato nomine Mariæ, quam invocato nomine Domini Jesu unici Filii sui. Anselm. de Excellentia B. Virginis, cap. 6. Ludolph. Carthusian. de Vita Christi, part. II. cap. 68, et Chrysostom. a Visitatione de Verbis Dominæ, Tom. II. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[286] Henr. Fitz-Simon of the Mass, part II. lib. ii. chap. 3.

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honour, as all other arguments and authorities whatsoever: *secondly*, that such unstable souls as look back unto Sodom, and have a lust to return unto Egypt again, may be advised to look a little into this sink, and consider with themselves whether the steam that ariseth from thence be not so noisome, that it is not to be endured by one that hath any sense left in him of piety: and *thirdly*, that such as be established in the truth may be thankful to God for this great mercy vouchsafed unto them, and make this still one part of their prayers, From all Romish Dulia and Hyperdulia, good Lord, deliver us.

OF IMAGES.

With Prayer to Saints our Challenger joineth the use of Holy Images; which what it hath been and still is in the Church of Rome, seeing he hath not been pleased to declare unto us in particular, I hope he will give us leave to learn from others. "[1]It is the doctrine, then, of the Roman Church, that the images of Christ and the saints should with pious religion be worshipped by Christians," saith Zacharias Boverius, the Spanish friar, in his late Consultation directed to our most noble Prince Charles, "[2]the hope of the Church of England," and "[3]the future felicity of the world," as even this Balaam himself doth style him. The representations of God, and of Christ, and of angels, and of saints, "[4]are not only painted that they may be shewed as the cherubims were of old in the Temple, but that they may be adored, as the frequent use of the Church doth testify," saith Cardinal Cajetan. So Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Provincial Council held at Oxford in the year 1408, established this

[1] Doctrina est Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Christi et sanctorum imagines pia religione a Christianis colendas esse. Lac. Boverius, in Orthodoxa Consultat. de Ratione Vera Fidei et Religionis amplectenda, part. II. Regul. I. p. 189, edit. Madrid, ann. 1623.

[2] Serenissime Carole, spes Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ. Id. part. I. Regul. IV. p. 58.

[3] Princeps futura orbis felicitas. Id. part. II. Regul. II. p. 196.

[4] Non solum pinguntur ut ostendantur, sicut cherubim olim in templo, sed ut adorentur; ut frequens usus ecclesiæ testatur. Cajetan. in part. III. Thomæ, Quæst. XXV. Art. 3.

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Constitution following: "[5]From henceforth let it be taught commonly and preached by all, that the cross and the image of the crucifix, and the rest of the images of the saints, in memory and honour of them whom they figure, as also their places and relics, ought to be worshipped with processions, bendings of the knee, bowings of the body, incensings, kissings, offerings, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages, together with all other manners and forms whatsoever, as hath been accustomed to be done in our or our predecessors' times." And in the Roman Catechism set out by the appointment of the Council of Trent, [6]the parish priest is required to declare unto his parishioners, "not only that it is lawful to have images in the church, and to give honour and worship unto them, forasmuch as the honour which is done unto them is referred unto the things which they represent, but also that this hath still been done to the great good of the faithful." And that "[7]the images of the saints are put in churches, as well that they may be worshipped, as that we, being admonished by their example, might conform ourselves unto their life and manners."

Now, for the manner of this worship we are told by one of their bishops, that "[8]it must not only be confessed that the faithful in the Church do adore before the images, as some peradventure would cautelously speak, but also adore the image itself, without what scruple you will; yea, they do reverence it with the same worship wherewith they do

[5] Ab omnibus deinceps doceatur communiter atque prædicetur, crucem et imaginem crucifixi ceterasque imagines sanctorum, in ipsorum memoriam et honorem quos figurant, ac ipsorum loca et relliquias, processionibus, genuflexionibus, inclinationibus, thurificationibus, deosculationibus, oblationibus, luminarium accensionibus, et peregrinationibus, nec non aliis quibuscunque modis et formis quibus nostris et predecessorum nostrorum temporibus fieri consuevit, venerari debere. Gulielm. Lyndewode Provincial. lib. v. de Hæretic. cap. *Nullus quoque.*

[6] Non solum autem licere in ecclesia imagines habere, et illis honorem et cultum adhibere, ostendet parochus, cum honos qui illis exhibetur, referatur ad prototypa, verum etiam maximo fidelium bono ad hanc usque diem factum declarabit. Catechism. Roman. part. III. cap. 2. sect. 14.

[7] Sanctorum quoque imagines in templis positas demonstrabit, ut et colantur, et exemplo moniti, ad eorum vitam ac mores nos ipsos conformemus. Ibid.

[8] Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo; quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus: propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa latria; si dulia vel hyperdulia, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. Jacob. Naclantus, in Epist. ad Roman. cap. i. fol. 42, edit. Venet. ann. 1557.

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the thing that is represented thereby. Wherefore," saith he, "if that ought to be adored with Latria, or divine worship, this also is to be adored with Latria; if with Dulia or Hyperdulia, this likewise is to be adored with the same kind of worship." And so we see that Thomas Aquinas doth directly conclude, that "[9]the same reverence is to be given unto the image of Christ and to Christ himself; and by consequence, seeing Christ is adored with the adoration of Latria, or divine worship, that his image is to be adored with the adoration of Latria." Upon which place of Thomas Friar Pedro de Cabrera, a great master of divinity in Spain, doth lay down these conclusions: 1. "[10]It is simply and absolutely to be said, that holy images are to be worshipped in churches and out of churches, and the contrary is an heretical doctrine;" for explication whereof he declareth that by this worshipping he meaneth, "that signs of service and submission are to be exhibited unto images by embracing, lights, oblation of incense, uncovering of the head," &c. and that "this conclusion is a doctrine of faith collected out of the holy Scripture, by which it appeareth that things created, yea, although they be senseless, so that they be consecrated unto God, are to be adored." 2. "[11]Images are truly and properly to be adored, and out of an intention to adore themselves, and not only the samplers that are represented in them." This conclusion, which he maketh to be the common resolution of the divines of that side, he opposeth against Durand and his followers, who held that images are adored only improperly, because they put men in mind of the persons represented by them, who are then adored

[9] Sic sequitur quod eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione latriæ; consequens est, quod ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda. Thom. Summ. part. III. Quæst. XXV. Art. 3.

[10] Simpliciter et absolute dicendum est, sacras imagines esse venerandas in templis et extra templa; et contrarium est dogma hæreticum: hoc est, imaginibus exhibenda esse signa servitutis et submissionis amplexu, luminaribus, oblatione suffituum, capitis nudatione, &c. Hæc conclusio est dogma fidei collectum ex sancta scriptura, ex qua constat, res creatas etiam inanimes, dummodo Deo sint sacratæ, esse adorandas. Petr. de Cabrera, in part. III. Thom. Quæst. XXV. Art. 3. Disput. II. num. 15.

[11] Imagines sunt vere et proprie adorandæ, et ex intentione ipsas adorandi, et non tantum exemplaria in ipsis repræsentata. Hæc conclusio est contra Durandum et sectatores illius; quorum sententia a recentioribus censetur periculosa, temeraria, et sapiens hæresim; et M. Medina hic refert, magistrum Victoriam reputasse illam hæreticam. Sed nostra conclusio est communis Theologorum. Ibid. num. 32.

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before the images, as if they had been there really present. But this opinion, he saith, is censured by the latter divines to be "dangerous, rash, and savouring of heresy;" yea, and by Fr. Victoria to be plainly heretical. For "[12]if images be adored only improperly, they are not to be adored simply and absolutely; which is a manifest heresy," saith Cabrera. And "[13]if images were only to be worshipped by way of rememoration and recordation, because they make us remember the samplers which we do so worship as if they had been then present, it would follow that all creatures should be adored with the same adoration wherewith we worship God; seeing all of them do lead us unto the knowledge and remembrance of God, and God is present in all things." 3. "[14]The doctrine delivered by Thomas, that the image and the sampler represented by it is to be worshipped with the same act of adoration, is most true, most pious, and very consonant to the decrees of faith." This, he [15]saith, is the doctrine not only of Thomas and of "all his disciples," but also of "all the old schoolmen almost;" and particularly he quoteth for it Cajetan, Capreolus, Paludanus, Ferrariensis, Antoninus, Soto, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Ricardus de Mediavilla, Dionysius Carthusianus, Major, Marsilius, Thomas Waldensis, Turrecremata, Angestus, Clichtoveus, Turrian, and Vasquez." In a word, "[16]it is the constant judgment of divines," saith Azorius the Jesuit, "that the image is to be honoured and worshipped with the same honour and worship wherewith that is worshipped whereof it is an image."

Against this use, or rather horrible abuse, of images, to what purpose should we heap up any testimonies of holy Scripture, if the words of the second commandment, uttered

[12] Si imagines improprie tantum adorantur, simpliciter et absolute non adorantur, neque sunt adorandæ; quod est hæresis manifesta. Ibid. num. 34.

[13] Si imagines solum adorantur rememorative et recordative, quia recordari nos faciunt exemplarium, quæ ita adoramus, ac si essent præsentia; sequeretur eadem adoratione, qua colimus Deum, esse adorandas omnes creaturas, cum omnes in Dei cognitionem et recordationem nos ducant, et Deus sit in omnibus rebus. Sed consequens est absurdum. Ergo. Ibid. num. 35.

[14] Sententia divi Thomæ, quatenus docet eodem actu adorationis coli imaginem et exemplar per illam repræsentatum, est verissima, piissima, et fidei decretis admodum consona. Ibid. Disput. III. num. 56.

[15] Id. ibid. num. 30.

[16] Constans est theologorum sententia, imaginem eodem honore et cultu honorari et coli, quo colitur id cujus est imago. Jo. Azor. Instit. Moral. Tom. I. lib. ix. cap. 6.

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by God's own mouth with thundering and lightning upon Mount Sinai, may not be heard? *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* Which thunderclap from heaven the guides of the Romish Church discerning to threaten sore that fearful idolatry which daily they commit, thought fit in wisdom first to conceal the knowledge of this from the people, by excluding those words out of the Decalogue that went abroad for common use, under pretence, forsooth, of including it in the first commandment; and then afterwards to put this conceit into men's heads, that this first commandment was so far from condemning the veneration of images, that it commanded the same, and condemned the contrary neglect thereof. And therefore Laurence Vaux, in his Catechism, unto this question, "Who breaketh the first commandment of God by unreverence of God?" frameth this answer, "[17]They that do not give due reverence to God and his saints, or to their relics and IMAGES." And Jacobus de Graffiis, in his explication of the same commandment, specifieth the "due reverence" here required more particularly, namely, "[18]that we should reverence every image with the same worship that we do him whose image it is; that is to say, that we impart *Latria*, or divine worship, to the image of God, or of Christ, or to the sign of the cross also, inasmuch as it bringeth the passion of our Lord unto our mind; and that we use the adoration of *Hyperdulia* at the image of the holy Virgin, but of *Dulia* at the images of other saints." And can there be found, think you, among men a more desperate impudency than this, that not only the practice of this wretched idolatry should be maintained against the express commandment of Almighty God, but also that he himself should be made the author and commander of it, even in that very place where he doth so severely forbid it, and [19]*reveal his wrath*

[17] Vaux, Catechism, chap. 3.

[18] Ut unamquamque imaginem eodem cultu, quo ille cujus imago est, veneremur, id est, ut imagini Dei vel Christi, vel etiam crucis signo, prout Dominicam passionem ad mentem revocat, latriam impertiamur; ad sacræ Virginis imaginem hyperduliæ, aliorum vero sanctorum duliæ adoratione adoremus. Jacob. de Graffiis, Decision. Aure. Casuum Conscient. part. I. lib. ii. cap. 2, sect. penult.

[19] Rom. i. 18.

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from heaven against the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, which withhold the truth in unrighteousness? The miserable shifts and silly evasions, whereby they labour to obscure the light of this truth, have been detected by others to the full, and touched also in some part by myself in [20]another place, where I have shewed, out of Deuteron. iv. 15, 16, and Rom. i. 23, that the adoring of the very true God himself in or by an image cometh within the compass of that idolatry which the word of God condemneth. And to this truth do the Fathers of the ancient Church give plentiful testimony, in what "great account" soever our Challenger would have us think that the "use of images" was with them.

Indeed, in so *great account* was the use of images among them, that in the ancientest and best times Christians would by no means permit them to be brought into their churches: nay, some of them would not so much as admit the art itself of making them; so jealous were they of the danger, and careful for the prevention of the deceit, whereby the simple might any way be drawn on to the adoring of them. "[21]We are plainly forbidden," saith Clemens Alexandrinus, "to exercise that deceitful art. For the Prophet saith, *Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing, either in heaven, or in the earth beneath.*" "[22]Moses commandeth men to make no image that should represent God by art." "[23]For in truth an image is a dead matter, formed by the hand of an artificer. But we have no sensible image made of any sensible matter, but such an image as is to be conceived with the understanding." So his scholar Origen, writing against Celsus the philosopher: "[24]Who having his right wits," saith he, "will not laugh at him who, after

[20] Sermon at Westminster before the House of Commons.

[21] Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπηγόρευται ἡμῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἀπατηλὸν ὁρίζεσθαι τέχνην. οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω. Clemens Alexand. Protreptic. ad Gentes.

[22] Οὐδεμίαν εἰκόνα ὁ Μωῦσης παραγγέλλει ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀντίτεχνον τῷ Θεῷ. Pædagog. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[23] Ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα ὕλη νεκρὰ, τεχνίτου χειρὶ μεμορφωμένη. ἡμῖν δὲ, οὐχ ὕλης αἰσθητῆς αἰσθητὸν, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Id. in Protreptic.

[24] Τίς γὰρ νοῦν ἔχων οὐ καταγελάσεται τοῦ μετὰ τοὺς τηλικούτους καὶ τοσούτους ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ περὶ Θεοῦ ἢ θεῶν λόγους ἐνορῶντος τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, καὶ ἤτοι αὐτοῖς ἀναπέμποντος τὴν εὐχὴν, ἢ διὰ τῆς τούτων ὄψεως ἐφ' ὃν φαντάζεται δεῖν ἀναβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βλεπομένου καὶ συμβόλου ὄντος, ἀναφέροντός τε ἐπὶ τὸν νοούμενον; Origen. contra Cels. lib. vii. p. 373.

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such great philosophical discourses of God or gods, doth look on images, and either presenteth his prayer to them, or by the sight thereof offereth it to him who is conceived thereby, unto whom he imagineth that he ought to ascend from that which is seen, and is but a sign or symbol of him?" And whereas Celsus had brought in that speech of Heraclitus, "[25]They pray unto these images, as if a man should enter into conference with his house," and demanded, "[26]Whether any man, unless he were a very child, did think these things to be gods, and not monuments and images of the gods?" Origen replieth, that "[27]it is not a thing possible that one should know God and pray to images;" and that Christians "[28]did not esteem these to be divine images, who used not to describe any figure of God, who was invisible and without all bodily shape;" [29]nor could endure to worship God with any such kind of service as this was. In like manner, when the Gentiles demanded of the ancient Christians, "[30]Why they had no known images?" Minucius Felix returneth them for answer again, "[31]What image shall I make to God, when man himself, if thou rightly judge, is God's image?" [32]These "holy images," saith Lactantius, "which vain men serve, want all sense, because they are earth. Now, who is there that understandeth not, that it is unfit for an upright creature to be

[25] *Καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτέοισιν εὔχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴτις τοῖς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο.* Heraclit. Ephes. ibid. p. 384, et apud Clem. Alexand. in Protreptic. ad Gent. p. 25, edit. Greco-Lat. ubi statim subjungitur, *Ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τερατώδεις οἱ λίθους προστρεπόμενοι;* An non enim sunt prodigiosi qui lapides adorant?

[26] *Τίς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ πάντη νήπιος, ταῦτα ἡγεῖται θεούς; ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἀναθήματα καὶ ἀγάλματα.* Celsus apud Origen.

[27] *Οὐ μὴν δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ γιγνώσκειν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὔχεσθαι.* Origen. ibid.

[28] *Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θείας εἰκόνος* (*lege εἰκόνας*) *ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα,* (*ἅτε*) *μορφὴν ἀοράτου* (*Θεοῦ*) *καὶ ἀσωμάτου μὴ διαγράφοντες Θεοῦ.* Id. ibid.

[29] *Χριστιανοὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπολαμβανομένης εἰς τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας,* hoc est, (ut ex verbis subsequentibus intelligitur) *διὰ τὸ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ κατασπᾷν καὶ κατάγειν τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον θρησκείαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ὕλην οὕτωσι ἐσχηματισμένην, οὐκ ἀνέχονται βωμῶν καὶ ἀγαλμάτων.* Id. ibid.

[30] Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla tota simulacra? Minuc. Felix in Octavio.

[31] Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, cum, si recte existimes, sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? Ibid.

[32] Ipsæ imagines sacræ, quibus inanissimi homines serviunt, omni sensu carent, quia terra sunt. Quis autem non intelligat, nefas esse rectum animal curvari, ut adoret terram? quæ idcirco pedibus nostris subjecta est, ut calcanda nobis, non adoranda sit. Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 17.

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bowed down, that he may worship the earth? which for this cause is put under our feet, that it may be trodden upon, not worshipped by us." "[33] Wherefore there is no doubt, that there is no religion wheresoever there is an image. For seeing religion consisteth of divine things, and nothing divine is to be found but in heavenly things, images therefore are void of religion; because nothing that is heavenly can be in that thing which is made of earth."

When [34] Adrian the Emperor "had commanded that temples should be made in all cities without images," it was presently conceived that he did prepare those temples for Christ, as Ælius Lampridius noteth in the Life of Alexander Severus; which is an evident argument that it was not the use of Christians in those days to have any images in their churches. And for keeping of pictures out of the Church, the Canon of the Eliberine or Illiberitane Council, held in Spain about the time of Constantine the Great, is most plain: "[35] It is our mind that pictures ought not to be in the Church, lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls." Which hath so troubled the minds of our latter Romanists, that Melchior Canus sticketh not to charge the Council "[36] not only with imprudency, but also with impiety," for making such a law as this. "[37] The Gentiles," saith St Ambrose, "worship wood, because they think it to be the image of God; but the image of the invisible God is not in that which is seen, but in that which is not seen." "[38] God would not have himself worshipped in stones," saith the

[33] Quare non est dubium quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est, divini autem nihil est nisi in cœlestibus rebus, carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse cœleste in ea re quæ sit ex terra. Id. ibid. cap. 18.

[34] *Alexander. Imp.* Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri, quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur, sed prohibitus est ab iis qui, consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda. Lamprid. in Alexandro.

[35] Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur. Concil. Elib. cap. 36.

[36] Illa (lex) non imprudenter modo, verum etiam impie a Concilio Elibertino lata est de tollendis imaginibus. Canus, loc. Theologic. lib. v. cap. 4, Conclus. iv.

[37] Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant; sed invisibilis Dei imago non in eo est quod videtur, sed in eo utique quod non videtur. Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. Octonar. x.

[38] Non vult se Deus in lapidibus coli. Id. Epist. xxxi. ad Valentinianum Imp.

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same Father in another place; and "[39]the Church knoweth no vain ideas and divers figures of images, but knoweth the true substance of the Trinity." So St Jerome: "[40]We worship one image, which is the image of the invisible omnipotent God." And St Augustine: "[41]In the first commandment any similitude of God in the figments of men is forbidden to be worshipped; not because God hath not an image, but because no image of him ought to be worshipped, but that which is the same thing that he is, (Coloss. i. 15, Heb. i. 3,) nor yet that for him, but with him." As for the representing of God in the similitude of a man, he resolveth, that "[42]it is utterly unlawful to erect any such image to God in a Christian church." And touching the danger of images in general, and the practice of the Church in this matter, thus he writeth: [43]The Gentiles "worship that which they themselves have made of gold and silver. But even we also have divers instruments and vessels of the same matter or metal for the use of celebrating the Sacraments, which being consecrated by this very ministry, are called holy in honour of him who for our salvation is served thereby. And these instruments and vessels also, what are they else but the work of men's hands? Yet have these any mouth, and

[39] Ecclesia inanes ideas et varias nescit simulacrorum figuras, sed veram novit Trinitatis substantiam. Id. de Fuga Seculi, cap. 5.

[40] Nos unum habemus virum, et unam veneramur imaginem, quæ est imago invisibilis et omnipotentis Dei. Hieronym. lib. iv. in Ezec. cap. xvi.

[41] In primo præcepto prohibetur coli aliqua in figmentis hominum Dei similitudo; non quia non habet imaginem Deus, sed quia nulla imago ejus coli debet, nisi illa quæ hoc est quod ipse, nec ipsa pro illo, sed cum illo. Augustin. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. cap. 11.

[42] Tale simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare. Id. de Fide et Symbol. cap. 7.

[43] Hoc enim venerantur quod ipsi ex auro argentoque fecerunt. Sed enim et nos pleraque instrumenta et vasa ex hujusmodi materia vel metallo habemus in usum celebrandorum sacramentorum, quæ ipso ministerio consecrata sancta dicuntur, in ejus honorem cui pro salute nostra inde servitur. Et sunt profecto etiam ista instrumenta vel vasa quid aliud quam opera manuum hominum? Veruntamen nunquid os habent, et non loquentur? Nunquid oculos habent, et non videbunt? Nunquid eis supplicamus, quia per ea supplicamus Deo? Illa causa est maxima impietatis insanæ, quod plus valet in affectibus miserorum similis viventi forma quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod eam manifestum est non esse viventem, ut debeat a vivente contemni. Plus enim valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quod os habent, oculos habent, aures habent, nares habent, manus habent, pedes habent; quam ad corrigendam, quod non loquentur, non videbunt, non audient, non odorabunt, non contrectabunt, non ambulabunt. Id. in Psalm. cxiii. Conc. ii.

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will not speak? Have they eyes, and will not see? Do we supplicate unto these, because by these we supplicate unto God? That is the greatest cause of this mad impiety, that the form like unto one living, which maketh it to be supplicated unto, doth more prevail in the affections of miserable men, than that it is manifest it doth not live at all, that it ought to be contemned by him who is indeed living. For images prevail more to bow down the unhappy soul, in that they have a mouth, they have eyes, they have ears, they have nostrils, they have hands, they have feet, than to correct it, that they will not speak, they will not see, they will not hear, they will not smell, they will not handle, they will not walk." Thus far St Augustine.

The speech of Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, to this purpose is memorable: "[44]We have no care to figure by colours the bodily visages of the saints in tables, because we have no need of such things, but by virtue to imitate their conversation." But the fact of Epiphanius rending the veil that hung in the church of Anablatha is much more memorable, which he himself, in his epistle to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, translated by St Jerome out of Greek into Latin, doth thus recount: "[45]I found there a veil hanging at the door of the church, dyed and painted, and having the image as it were of Christ or some saint; for I do not well remember whose image it was. When, therefore, I saw this, that contrary to the authority of the Scriptures the image of a man was hanged up in the church of Christ, I cut it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the place that they should rather wrap and bury some poor dead man in it." And afterwards he entreateth the Bishop of Jerusalem, under whose government this church was, "[46]to give charge hereafter that such veils as these,

[44] *Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων διὰ χρωμάτων ἐπιμελὲς ἡμῖν ἐντυποῦν, ὅτι οὐ χρῄζομεν τούτων· ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκμιμεῖσθαι.* Amphiloch. citatus a Patrib. Concilii Constantinop. ann. 754.

[45] Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam; non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. Epiphan. Epist. ad Johan. Hierosol. Tom. I. Oper. Hieronym. Epist. LX.

[46] Deinceps præcipere, in ecclesia Christi istiusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi. Id. ibid.

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which are repugnant to our religion, should not be hanged up in the Church of Christ." Which agreeth very well with the sentence attributed to the same Father in the Council of Constantinople: "[47]Have this in mind, beloved sons, not to bring images into the church, nor into the cemeteries of the saints, no, not into an ordinary house; but always carry about the remembrance of God in your hearts: for it is not lawful for a Christian man to be carried in suspense by his eyes and the wanderings of his mind;" and with his discourse of the heresy of the Collyridians, which made an idol of the Virgin Mary, as in the former question hath more largely been declared, to which he opposeth himself in this manner: "[48]How is not this course idolatrous and a devilish practice? For the devil, stealing always into the mind of men under pretence of righteousness, deifying the mortal nature in the eyes of men, by variety of arts framed images like unto men. And they truly who are worshipped are dead; but their images, that never yet were alive, (for they cannot be said to be dead that never were alive), they bring in to be worshipped by a mind going a-whoring from the one and only God, as a common harlot stirred with a wicked desire of promiscuous mixture, and rejecting the sobriety of the lawful marriage of one man."

If it be enquired who they were that first brought in this use of images into the Church, it may well be answered, that they were partly lewd heretics, partly simple Christians newly converted from paganism, the customs whereof they had not as yet so fully unlearned. Of the

[47] Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μνήμην ἔχετε, τέκνα ἀγαπητὰ, τοῦ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας, μήτε ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις τῶν ἁγίων, (ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχετε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν,) ἀλλ' οὔτε κατ' οἶκον κοινόν. οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ Χριστιανῷ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ ῥεμβασμῶν τοῦ νοός. Epiphan. citatus a Concil. Constantinop. in Act. VI. Tom. V. Concil. Nicæn. II.

[48] Πόθεν οὐκ εἰδωλοποιὸν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρημα διαβολικόν; προφάσει γὰρ δικαίου ἀεὶ ὑπεισδύνων τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ διάβολος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν θνήτην φύσιν θεοποιῶν εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπων, ἀνδροείκελα ἀγάλματα διὰ ποικιλίας τεχνῶν διέγραψε. καὶ τεθνήκασι μὲν οἱ προσκυνούμενοι, τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀγάλματα μηδέποτε ζήσαντα (οὔτε γὰρ νεκρὰ δύνανται γενέσθαι τὰ μηδέποτε ζήσαντα) προσκυνητὰ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ μοιχευσάσης διανοίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ· ὡς ἡ πολύκοινος πόρνη ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν πολυμιξίας ἐρεθισθεῖσα, καὶ τὸ σῶφρον ἀποτριψαμένη τῆς του ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐνομίας. Epiphan. in Panar. Hæres. LXXIX. p. 447.

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former kind the Gnostic heretics were the principal, who "[49]had images, some painted in colours, others framed of gold and silver and other matter, which they said were the representations of Christ, made under Pontius Pilate, when he was conversant here among men." Whence Carpocrates, and Marcellina, his disciple, who brought this idolatrous heresy first to Rome in the days of Pope Anicetus, "[50]having privily made images of Jesus and Paul and Homer and Pythagoras, did cense them and worship them," as Epiphanius and Augustine do report. To the latter that observation of Eusebius may be referred, concerning the image of Christ thought to be erected by the woman that was cured of the bloody issue: "[51]It is no marvel," saith he, "that those of the heathen who of old were cured by our Saviour, should do such things, seeing we have seen the images of his Apostles Paul and Peter, yea, and of Christ himself, kept painted with colours in tables; for that of old they have been wont, by a heathenish custom, thus to honour them whom they counted to be their benefactors or saviours."

But by whomsoever they were first brought in, certain it is that they proved a dangerous snare unto the simple people, who quickly went a-whoring after them contrary to the doctrine which the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did deliver unto them. And therefore St Augustine, writing of the manners of the Catholic Church against the Manichees, directly severeth the case of such men from the common cause and approved practice of the Catholic

[49] Ἔχουσι δὲ εἰκόνας ἐνζωγράφους διὰ χρωμάτων, τινὲς (vel τινὰς potius) δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λοιπῆς ὕλης, ἅτινα ἐκτυπώματά φασιν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γεγενῆσθαι τὰ ἐκτυπώματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτε ἐνεδήμει τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει. Epiphan. in Panar. Hæres. XXVII. p. 52, ex Irenæo, lib. i. advers. Hæres. cap. 24.

[50] Epiphan. in Anaceph. p. 525, de Carpocrate. Τούτου γέγονεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μαρκελλίνα. εἰκόνας δὲ ποιήσας ἐν κρυφῇ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Παύλου καὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Πυθαγόρου, ταύτας ἐθυμία καὶ προσεκύνει. Sectæ ipsius fuisse traditur socia quædam Marcellina, quæ colebat imagines Jesu et Pauli et Homeri et Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo. Augustin. de Hæres. cap. 7.

[51] Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν, τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι· ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραλλάκτως οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. Euseb. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. cap. 18.

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Church: "[52]Do not collect unto me," saith he, "such professors of the name of Christ, as either know not or keep not the force of their profession. Do not bring in the companies of rude men, which either in the true religion itself are superstitious, or so given unto their lusts, that they have forgotten what they did promise unto God." Then, for an instance of the first, he allegeth that he himself did "know many which were worshippers of graves and pictures;" and at last concludeth: "Now this I advise you, that you cease to speak evil of the Catholic Church by upbraiding it with the manners of those men whom she herself condemneth, and seeketh every day to correct as naughty children." This also gave occasion to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, 200 years after, to break down the images in his church, when he found them to be thus abused; which fact of his though Pope Gregory disliked, because he thought that images might profitably be retained as laymen's books, yet in this he commended his zeal, that he would by no means suffer them to be worshipped. "[53]I certify you," saith he, "that it came of late to our hearing that your brotherhood, seeing certain worshippers of images, did break the said church-images and threw them

[52] Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis Christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. Nolite consectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quicquid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores, &c. Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando ecclesiæ Catholicæ maledicere desinatis vituperando mores hominum, quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet. Augustin. de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cap. 34.

[53] Præterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem ecclesiæ imagines confregit atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus; sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse judicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illas servare et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit, quatenus et literarum nescii haberent unde scientiam historiæ colligerent, et populus in picturæ adoratione minime peccaret. Gregor. Regist. lib. vii. Epist. CIX. ad Serenum. Vide etiam lib. ix. Epist. IX. ad eundem. Nota etiam, in Epistola Greg. ad Secundinum, lib. vii. Ind. II. Epist. LIV. verba illa, (Imagines, quas tibi dirigendas per Dulcidium diaconum rogasti, misimus. Unde valde nobis tua postulatio placuit, &c.), et quæ sequuntur usque ad epistolæ finem, deesse in omnibus Oxoniensibus Epistolarum Gregorii exemplaribus MSS. excepto unico, in quo rejicitur ad calcem omnium Epistolarum cum hac inscriptione: "Sententia B. Gregorii Papæ de Imaginibus, excerpta de decretis Canonum." Unde colligimus hoc ex libro. Isidor. Mercatoris.

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away. And surely we commended you that you had that zeal, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped; but yet we judge that you should not have broken those images. For painting is therefore used in churches, that they which are unlearned may yet by sight read those things upon the walls which they cannot read in books. Therefore your brotherhood ought both to preserve the images, and to restrain the people from worshipping of them, that both the ignorant might have had whence to gather the knowledge of the history, and the people might not sin in worshipping the picture."

There would be no end if we should lay down at large the fierce contentions that afterwards arose in the Church touching this matter of images; the Greek emperors, Leo Isaurus, Constantinus Caballinus, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Leo Armenus, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and others, opposing them in the East; and on the other side, Gregory the Second and Third, Paul the First, Stephen the Fourth, Adrian the First and Second, Leo the Third, Nicholas the First, and other popes of Rome, as stiffly upholding them in the West. In a Council of 338 Bishops, held at Constantinople in the year of our Lord 754, they were solemnly condemned: in another Council of 350 Bishops, held at Nice in the year 787, they were advanced again, and the veneration of them as much commended. This base decree of the second Nicene Council, touching the adoration of images, although it were not by the hundredth part so gross as that which was afterwards invented by the popish schoolmen, yet was it rejected, as repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of God, by the princes and bishops of England first, about the year 792, and by Charles the Great afterward, and the Bishops of Italy, France, and Germany, which by his appointment were gathered together in the Council of Frankfort in the year of our Lord 794.

The four books, which by his authority were published against that Nicene Synod and the adoration of images defended therein, are yet to be seen; as the resolution also of the doctors of France, assembled at Paris by the command of his son Ludovicus Pius, in the year 824, and the book of Agobardus, Bishop of Lyons, concerning pictures and images, written about the same time; the argument

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whereof is thus delivered by Papirius Massonus, the setter out of it: "[54]Detecting most manifestly the errors of the Grecians touching images and pictures, he denieth that they ought to be worshipped; which opinion all we Catholics do allow, and follow the testimony of Gregory the Great concerning them." This passage, together with the larger view of [55]the contents of this treatise following afterwards, the Spanish Inquisitors, in their *Index Expurgatorius*, command to be blotted out; which we find to be accordingly performed by the divines of Collen, in their late corrupt edition of the [56]great *Bibliotheque* of the ancient Fathers. Gretser professeth, that he "[57]extremely wondereth that this judgment of the book of Agobardus should proceed from a catholic man. For Agobardus," saith he, "in that whole book doth nothing else but endeavour to demonstrate, although with a vain labour, that images are not to be worshipped." "[58]And who be these Grecians, whose errors touching images Agobardus doth refell, as this publisher saith? Surely these Grecians are the Fathers of the Nicene Council, who decreed that images should be adored and worshipped; against whom whosoever disputeth doth mainly dissent from right believers." To which blind censure of the Jesuit we may oppose not only the general judgment of the ancient [59]Almains, his own countrymen, who within these four or five hundred years did flatly disclaim this image-worship, as by Nicetas Choniates is witnessed; but also the testimony of the divines and historians of England, France, and Germany, touching

[54] Græcorum errores de imaginibus et picturis manifestissime detegens, negat eas adorari debere; quam sententiam omnes catholici probamus, Gregoriique Magni testimonium de illis sequimur. Papir. Masson. Præfat. in Agobardi Opera, edit. Paris. ann. 1605.

[55] Expungantur omnia quæ sub hoc titulo, *De Imaginibus*, continentur. Index Librorum Expurgatorum, Bernardi de Sandoval et Roxas Card. de consilio Senatus Generalis Inquisit. Hispan. excus. Madriti, ann. 1612.

[56] Magna Bibliothec. Veter. Patrum, Tom. IX. part. I. edit. Colon. ann. 1618, p. 548 et 551.

[57] Vehementer profecto hoc judicium de libro Agobardi ab homine catholico profectum miratus sum; nam Agobardus toto libello nihil aliud facit quam quod demonstrare nititur, quamvis casso conatu, imagines non esse adorandas. Jac. Gretser. de Cruce, lib. i. cap. 58.

[58] Et quinam sunt Græci, quorum de imaginibus errores Agobardus refellit, ut editor ait? Nimirum Græci isti sunt Patres Nicæni Concilii, qui sanxerunt imagines adorandas et colendas esse; contra quos qui disputat, is ab orthodoxis toto cœlo discordat. Ibid.

[59] Ἀρμενίοις γὰρ καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται. Nicet. Choniat. Annal. lib. ii.

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the Nicene Council in particular, rejecting it as a [60]Pseudo-Synod, because it concluded "[61]that images should be worshipped; which thing," say our chroniclers, "the Church of God doth utterly detest." And yet for all that we have news lately brought us from Rome, that "[62]it is most certain and most assured that the Christian Church, even the most ancient, the whole and the universal Church, did with wonderful consent, without any opposition or contradiction, worship statues and images:" which, if the cauterized conscience of a wretched *apostata* would give him leave to utter, yet the extreme shamelessness of the assertion might have withheld their wisdoms, whom he sought to please thereby, from giving him leave to publish it.

But it may be I seek for shamefacedness in a place where it is not to be found; and therefore, leaving them to their images, like to like, (for [63]*they that make them are like unto them, and so is every one that trusteth in them*), I proceed from this point unto that which followeth.

OF FREE-WILL.

THAT man hath Free-will, is not by us gainsaid; though we dare not give him so large a freedom as the Jesuits presume to do. Freedom of will we know doth as essentially belong unto a man as reason itself; and he that spoileth him of that power doth in effect make him a very beast. For this is the difference betwixt reasonable and unreasonable creatures, as Damascen rightly noteth: "[1]The unreason-

[60] Hincmar. Remens. lib. contra Hincmar. Laudunens. cap. 20; Egolismens. Monach. in Vita Caroli Magni; Annal. Fuldens. Ado, Regino, et Hermann. Contract. in Chronic. ann. 794.

[61] Imagines adorari debere; quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Simeon. Dunelmens. Roger. Hoveden. et Matth. Westmonaster. Histor. ann. 792 vel 793.

[62] Ecclesiam porro Christianam, etiam antiquissimam, totam, ac universalem, summo consensu, absque ulla oppositione aut contradictione, statuas ac imagines veneratam esse, est certissimum ac probatissimum. M. Anton. de Dominis, de Consilio sui reditus, sect. 23.

[63] Psal. cxv. 8, and cxxxv. 18.

[1] Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτεξούσια· ἄγονται γὰρ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἤπερ ἄγουσι. διὸ οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ φυσικῇ ὀρέξει, ἀλλ' ἅμα ὀρεχθῶσι τινὸς, ὁρμῶσι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος λογικὸς ὢν ἄγει μᾶλλον τὴν φύσιν, ἤπερ ἄγεται. διὸ καὶ ὀρεγόμενος,

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able are rather led by nature, than themselves leaders of it: and therefore do they never contradict their natural appetite, but as soon as they affect anything they rush to the prosecution of it: but man, being endued with reason, doth rather lead nature, than is led by it; and therefore, being moved with appetite, if he will, he hath power to restrain his appetite or to follow it." Hereby he is enabled to do the things that he doth neither by a brute instinct of nature, nor yet by any compulsion, but by advice and deliberation; the *mind* first taking into consideration the grounds and circumstances of each action, and freely debating on either side what in this case were best to be done or not done, and then the *will* inclining itself to put in execution the last and conclusive judgment of the practical understanding. This liberty we acknowledge a man may exercise in all actions that are within his power to do, whether they be lawful, unlawful, or indifferent; whether done by the strength of nature or of grace; for even in doing the works of grace our free-will suspendeth not her action, but being moved and guided by grace, doeth that which is fit for her to do; grace not taking away the *liberty*, which cometh by God's creation, but the *pravity* of the will, which ariseth from man's corruption. In a word, as we condemn [2]Agapius, and the rest of that mad sect of the Manichees, for bringing in such a kind of necessity of sinning, whereby men were made to "offend against their wills;" so likewise with Polychronius, and other men of understanding, we defend, that "[3]virtue is a voluntary thing and free from all necessity;" and with the author of the books *de Vocatione Gentium*, attributed unto Prosper, "[4]we both believe and feel by experience that grace is so powerful, that yet we conceive it no way to be violent."

But it is one thing to enquire of the *nature*, another to dispute of the *strength* and ability, of free-will. We say with Adamantius, in the dialogues collected out of Maximus

εἴπερ ἐθέλοι, ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀναχαιτίσαι τὴν ὄρεξιν ἢ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῇ. Jo. Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. ii. cap. 27, edit. Græc. vel 44 Latin.

[2] *Ἀνάγκῃ τε καὶ ἄκοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πταίειν διατείνεται.* Phot. Bibliothec. num. 179.

[3] *Ἀδέσποτον γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἑκούσιον, καὶ ἀνάγκης πάσης ἐλεύθερον.* Polychron. in Cantic. p. 93, edit. Meursii.

[4] Hanc quippe abundantiorem gratiam ita credimus atque experimur potentem, ut nullo modo arbitremur esse violentam. Prosp. de Vocat. Gent. lib. ii. cap. 26.

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against the Marcionites, that "[5]God made angels and men *αὐτεξουσίους*, but not *παντεξουσίους*; he endued them with freedom of will, but not with ability to do *all* things. And now since the fall of Adam we say further, that freedom of will remaineth still among men, but the [6]ability which once it had to perform spiritual duties and things pertaining to salvation is quite lost and extinguished. For "[7]who is there of us," saith St Augustine, "which would say that by the sin of the first man free-will is utterly perished from mankind? Freedom indeed is perished by sin; but that freedom which was in paradise, of having full righteousness with immortality, for which cause man's nature standeth in need of God's grace, according to the saying of our Lord, *If the Son shall free you, then ye shall be free indeed;* namely, free to live well and righteously. For free-will is so far from having perished in the sinner, that by it they sin, all they especially who sin with delight, and for the love of sin, that pleaseth them which liketh them." When we deny therefore that a natural man hath any free-will unto good, by *a natural man* we understand one that is without Christ, and destitute of his renewing grace; by *free-will*, that which the philosophers call *τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, a thing that is *in our own power* to do; and by *good*, a theological not a philosophical good, *bonum vere spirituale et salutare*, "a spiritual good and tending unto salvation." This, then, is the difference which God's word teacheth us to put betwixt a regenerate and an unregenerate man. The one is [8]*alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;* and so enabled to [9]*yield himself unto God, as one that is alive*

[5] Τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτεξουσίους λέγω ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παντεξουσίους. Ὁ περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου λόγος, τουτέστι τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, πρώτην μὲν ἔχει ζήτησιν, εἰ ἔστι τὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀντιβαίνοντες· δευτέραν δὲ, τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τίνων ἐξουσίαν ἔχομεν. Nemesius Emessenus Episcop. de Natura Hominis, cap. 39. Orig. Dial. III. contra Marcion.

[6] Potentiam proximam et activam intelligo; non remotam, quæ mere passiva est.

[7] Quis autem nostrum dicat, quod primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere? Libertas quidem perit per peccatum; sed illa quæ in paradiso fuit, habendi plenam cum immortalitate justitiam, propter quod natura humana divina indiget gratia, dicente Domino, Si vos Filius liberaverit, tunc vere liberi eritis; utique liberi ad bene justeque vivendum. Nam liberum arbitrium usque adeo in peccatore non periit, ut per illud peccent, maxime omnes qui cum delectatione peccant et amore peccati, hoc eis placet quod eis libet. August. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. lib. i. cap. 2.

[8] Rom. vi. 11. [9] Ibid. ver. 13.

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from the dead, and his members as instruments of righteousness unto God; [10]having *his fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life:* the other is a mere [11]*stranger from the life of God,* [12]*dead in trespasses and sins;* and so no more able to lead a holy life acceptable unto God, than a dead man is to perform the actions of him which is alive.

He may live indeed the life of a natural and a moral man, and so exercise the freedom of his will, not only in natural and civil, but also in moral actions, so far as concerneth external conformity unto those notions of good and evil that remain in his mind; in respect whereof the very [13]*Gentiles* themselves, *which have not the law,* are said to *do by nature the things contained in the law:* he may have such fruit as not only common honesty and civility, but common gifts of God's Spirit likewise will yield; and in regard thereof he may obtain of God temporal rewards appertaining to this transitory life, and a lesser measure of punishment in the world to come: yet until he be quickened with the life of grace and [14]*married to him who is raised from the dead,* he cannot *bring forth fruit unto God,* nor be accepted for one of his servants. This is the doctrine of our Saviour himself, John xv. 4, 5, *As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do* NOTHING, that is, nothing truly good and acceptable unto God. This is the lesson that St Paul doth every where inculcate: [15]*I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.* [16]*The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he understand them, because they are spiritually discerned.* [17]*Without faith it is impossible to please God.* [18]*Unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled.* Now, seeing [19]*the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned;*

[10] Rom. vi. 22.
[11] Ephes. iv. 18.
[12] Ephes. ii. 1, 5.
[13] Rom. ii. 14.
[14] Rom. vii. 4.
[15] Rom. vii. 18.
[16] 1 Cor. ii. 14.
[17] Hebr. xi. 6.
[18] Tit. i. 15.
[19] 1 Tim. i. 5.

seeing the first beginning, from whence every good action should proceed, is a sanctified heart, the last end the seeking of God's glory, and faith working by love must intercur betwixt both; the moral works of the unregenerate, failing so foully both in the beginning, middle, and end, are to be accounted breaches rather of the commandment than observances, depravations of good works rather than performances. For howsoever these actions be in their own kind good and commanded of God, yet are they marred in the carriage, that which is *bonum* being not done *bene;* and so, though in regard of their *matter* they may be accounted good, yet for the *manner* they must be esteemed vicious.

The Pelagian heretics were wont here to object unto our forefathers, as the Romanists do now-a-days unto us, both the examples of the heathen, "[20]who being strangers from the faith" did notwithstanding, as they said, "abound with virtues," and St Paul's testimony also concerning them, Rom. ii. 14, 15, by which they laboured to prove, "[21]that even such as were strangers from the faith of Christ might yet have true righteousness, because that these, as the Apostle witnessed, naturally did the things of the law." But will you hear how St Augustine took up Julian the Pelagian for making this objection? "[22]Herein hast thou expressed more evidently that doctrine of yours, wherein you are enemies unto the grace of God which is given by Jesus Christ our Lord, who taketh away the sin of the world; bringing in a kind of men which may please God without the faith of Christ, by the law of nature. This is it for which the Christian Church doth most of all detest you." And again: "[23]Be it far from us to think that true virtue should be

[20] Sed acerbissimi gratiæ hujus inimici, exempla nobis opponitis impiorum, quos dicitis alienos a fide abundare virtutibus. Aug. contra Julian. lib. iv. cap. 3.

[21] Per hos enim probare conatus es, etiam alienos a fide Christi veram posse habere justitiam; eo quod isti, teste apostolo, naturaliter quæ legis sunt faciunt. Ibid.

[22] Ubi quidem dogma vestrum, quo estis inimici gratiæ Dei, quæ datur per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui tollit peccatum mundi, evidentius expressisti; introducens hominum genus, quod Deo placere possit sine Christi fide, lege naturæ. Hoc est unde vos maxime Christiana detestatur Ecclesia. Ibid.

[23] Sed absit, ut sit in aliquo vera virtus, nisi fuerit justus; absit autem, ut sit justus vere, nisi vivat ex fide; justus enim ex fide vivit. Quis porro eorum qui se Christianos haberi volunt, nisi soli Pelagiani, aut in ipsis etiam forte tu solus, justum dixerit infidelem, justum dixerit impium, justum dixerit diabolo mancipatum; sit licet ille Fabricius, sit licet Fabius, sit licet Scipio, sit licet Regulus? Ibid.

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in any one, unless he were righteous; and as far, that one should be truly righteous, unless he did live by faith; *for the just doth live by faith.* Now, which of them that would have themselves accounted Christians, but the Pelagians alone, or even among them perhaps thou thyself alone, would say that an infidel were righteous, would say that an ungodly man were righteous, would say that a man mancipated to the devil were righteous; although he were Fabricius, although he were Fabius, although he were Scipio, although he were Regulus?" And whereas Julian had further demanded, "[24] If a heathen man do clothe the naked, because it is not of faith is it therefore sin?" St Augustine answereth absolutely, "Inasmuch as it is not of faith, it is sin; not because the fact considered in itself, which is to clothe the naked, is a sin; but of such a work not to glory in the Lord, none but an impious man will deny to be a sin." For howsoever "[25] in itself this natural compassion be a good work, yet he useth this good work amiss that useth it unbelievingly, and doth this good work amiss that doth it unbelievingly; but whoso doth anything amiss sinneth surely. From whence it is to be gathered, that even those good works which unbelievers do are not theirs, but his who maketh good use of evil men; but that the sins are theirs whereby they do good things amiss, because they do them not with a faithful, but with an unfaithful, that is, with a foolish and naughty will. Which kind of will no Christian doubteth to be an evil tree, which cannot bring forth but evil fruits, that is to say, sins only. For all that is not of faith, whether thou wilt or no, is sin." This and much more to the same purpose doth St Augustine urge against the heretic Julian, prosecuting at large that conclusion which

[24] Si gentilis, inquis, nudum operuerit, nunquid quia non est ex fide, peccatum est? Prorsus, in quantum non est ex fide, peccatum est; non quia per seipsum factum, quod est nudum operire, peccatum est; sed de tali opere non in Domino gloriari, solus impius negat esse peccatum. Ib.

[25] Quod si et ipsa (misericordia) per seipsam naturali compassione opus est bonum, etiam isto bono male utitur qui infideliter utitur, et hoc bonum male facit qui infideliter facit: qui autem male facit aliquid, profecto peccat. Ex quo colligitur, etiam ipsa bona opera, quæ faciunt infideles, non ipsorum esse, sed illius qui bene utitur malis: ipsorum autem esse peccata, quibus et bona male faciunt; quia ea non fideli, sed infideli, hoc est, stulta et noxia faciunt voluntate, qualis voluntas, nullo Christiano dubitante, arbor est mala, quæ facere non potest nisi fructus malos, id est, sola peccata. Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Ibid.

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he layeth down in his book of the acts of the Palestine Council against Pelagius: "[26]How much soever the works of unbelievers be magnified, we know the sentence of the Apostle to be true and invincible, *whatsoever is not of faith is sin:*" which maketh him also in his retractations to correct himself for saying in one place [27]that the "philosophers shined with the light of virtue, who were not endued with true piety."

The like sentence doth St Jerome pronounce against those "[28]who, not believing in Christ, did yet think themselves to be valiant and wise, temperate or just, that they might know that no man doth live without Christ, without whom all virtue is accounted vice." And Prosper against Cassianus, a patron of the free-will of the semi-Pelagians: "[29]It appeareth," saith he, "most manifestly, that there dwelleth no virtue in the minds of the ungodly, but that all their works be unclean and polluted; who have wisdom, not spiritual, but animal; not heavenly, but earthly; not Christian, but diabolical; not from the Father of light, but from the prince of darkness: while by those very things, which they should not have had but by God's giving, they are made subject to him who did first fall from God." "[30]Neither ought we therefore to imagine that the beginnings of virtues be in the treasures of nature, because many commendable things are found in the minds of ungodly men, which do proceed indeed from nature; but because they

[26] Quantumlibet opera infidelium prædicentur, apostoli sententiam veram novimus et invictam, Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Id. de Gestis contra Pelagium, cap. 14.

[27] Quod philosophos, non vera pietate præditos, dixi virtutis luce fulsisse. Id. Retract. lib. i. cap. 3.

[28] Sententiam proferamus adversus eos qui, in Christum non credentes, fortes et sapientes, temperantes se putant esse et justos; ut sciant nullum absque Christo vivere, sine quo omnis virtus in vitio est. Hieronym. in Galat. cap. iii.

[29] Manifestissime patet in impiorum animis nullam habitare virtutem, sed omnia opera eorum immunda esse atque polluta; habentium sapientiam, non spiritualem, sed animalem; non cœlestem, sed terrenam; non Christianam, sed diabolicam; non a Patre luminum, sed a principe tenebrarum: dum per ea ipsa, quæ non haberent nisi dante Deo, subduntur ei qui primus recessit a Deo. Prosper contra Collator. cap. 13.

[30] Nec ideo existimare debemus in naturalibus thesauris principia esse virtutum, quia multa laudanda reperiuntur etiam in ingeniis impiorum, qua ex natura quidem prodeunt; sed quoniam ab eo qui naturam condidit recesserunt, virtutes esse non possunt. Quod enim vero illuminatum est lumine lumen est, et quod eodem lumine caret nox est; quia sapientia hujus mundi stultitia est apud Deum. Ac sic vitium est quod putatur esse virtus, quandoquidem stultitia est quod putatur esse sapientia. Ibid.

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have departed from him that made nature, cannot be accounted virtues. For that which is illuminated with the true light is light, and that which wanteth that light is night; *because the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.* And so that is vice which is thought to be virtue, as that is foolishness which is thought to be wisdom." Hitherto also pertaineth that sentence produced by him out of St Augustine's works: "[31] The whole life of unbelievers is sin, and there is nothing good without the chiefest good; for where there is wanting the acknowledgment of the eternal and unchangeable truth, there is false virtue even in the best manners." Which he elegantly expresseth in verse, as well in his 81st Epigram, as in his Poem against the Pelagians, wherein of natural wisdom he writeth thus:

> [32] Et licet eximias studeat pollere per artes,
> Ingeniumque bonum generosis moribus ornet;
> Cœca tamen finem ad mortis per devia currit,
> Nec vitæ æternæ veros acquirere fructus
> De falsa virtute potest; unamque decoris
> Occidui speciem mortali perdit in ævo.
> Omne etenim probitatis opus, nisi semine veræ
> Exoritur fidei, peccatum est, inque reatum
> Vertitur, et sterilis cumulat sibi gloria pœnam.

The author of the book *de Vocatione Gentium*, by some wrongly attributed to St Ambrose, to Prosper by others, delivereth the same doctrine in these words: "[33] Although there have been some who by their natural understanding have endeavoured to resist vices, yet have they only barrenly adorned this temporal life, but not profited at all unto true virtues and everlasting bliss. For without the worship of the true God even that which seemeth to be virtue is sin; neither can any man please God without God.

[31] Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, et nihil est bonum sine summo bono. Ubi enim deest agnitio æternæ et incommutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est, etiam in optimis moribus. Id. ex August. Sentent. CVI. et Epigram. LXXXI.

[32] Id. de Ingratis, cap. 16.

[33] Etsi fuit qui naturali intellectu conatus sit vitiis reluctari, hujus tantum temporis vitam steriliter ornavit, ad veras autem virtutes æternamque beatitudinem non profecit. Sine cultu enim veri Dei, etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est; nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest. Qui vero Deo non placet, cui nisi sibi et diabolo placet? A quo cum homo spoliaretur, non voluntate, sed voluntatis sanitate privatus est. Prosp. de Vocatione Gent. lib. i. cap. 7.

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And he that doth not please God, whom doth he please but himself and the devil? by whom, when man was spoiled, he was deprived not of his will, but of the sanity of his will." "[34] Therefore if God do not work in us, we can be partakers of no virtue; for without this good there is nothing good, without this light there is nothing lightsome, without this wisdom there is nothing sound, without this righteousness there is nothing right." So Fulgentius, in his book of the Incarnation and Grace of Christ: "[35] If unto some who did know God, and yet did not glorify him as God, that knowledge did profit nothing unto salvation, how could they be just with God, which do so keep some goodness in their manners and works, that yet they refer it not unto the end of Christian faith and charity? In whom there may be indeed some good things that appertain to the equity of human society; but because they are not done by the love of God, profit they cannot." And Maxentius, in the Confession of his Faith: "[36] We believe that natural free-will hath ability to nothing else but to discern and desire carnal or secular things only, which not with God, but with men peradventure, may seem glorious; but for the things that pertain to everlasting life, that it can neither think, nor will, nor desire, nor effect, but by the infusion and inward operation of the Holy Ghost." And Cassiodorus, in his Exposition of the Psalms: "[37] On the evil part indeed there is an execrable freedom of the will, that the sinner may

[34] Qui si non operatur in nobis, nullius possumus esse participes virtutis. Sine hoc quippe bono nihil est bonum; sine hac luce nihil est lucidum; sine hac sapientia nihil sanum; sine hac justitia nihil rectum. Ibid. cap. 8.

[35] Quod si quibusdam cognoscentibus Deum, nec tamen sicut Deum glorificantibus, cognitio illa nihil profuit ad salutem, quomodo hi potuerunt justi esse apud Deum, qui sic in suis moribus atque operibus bonitatis aliquid servant, ut hoc ad finem Christianæ fidei caritatisque non referant? Quibus aliqua quidem bona, quæ ad societatis humanæ pertinent æquitatem, inesse possunt; sed quia non caritate Dei fiunt, prodesse non possunt. Fulg. de Incarn. et Grat. Christi, cap. 26.

[36] Liberum naturale arbitrium ad nihil aliud valere credimus, nisi ad discernenda tantum et desideranda carnalia sive secularia; quæ non apud Deum, sed apud homines possunt fortassis videri gloriosa: ad ea vero quæ ad vitam æternam pertinent, nec cogitare, nec velle, nec desiderare, nec perficere posse, nisi per infusionem et inoperationem intrinsecus Spiritus Sancti. Jo. Maxent. in Confessione suæ Fidei.

[37] Est quidem in mala parte execrabilis libertas arbitrii, ut prævaricator Creatorem deserat, et ad vitia se nefanda convertat; in bona vero parte arbitrium liberum, Adam peccante, perdidimus, ad quod nisi per Christi gratiam redire non possumus, dicente Apostolo, Deus est enim qui operatur in vobis et velle et perficere, pro bona voluntate. Cassiodor. in Psalm. cxvii.

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forsake his Creator and convert himself to wicked vices; but on the good part, by Adam's sinning we have lost free-will, unto which, otherwise than by the grace of Christ, we cannot return; according to the saying of the Apostle, *It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* Philip. ii. 13."

The first presumptuous advancer of free-will, contrary to the doctrine anciently received in the Church, is by Vincentius Lirinensis noted to be Pelagius the heretic. For "[38] who ever," saith he, "before that profane Pelagius presumed the virtue of free-will to be so great, that he did not think the grace of God to be necessary for the helping of it in good things at every act?" For maintaining of which ungodly opinion both he and his disciple Celestius were condemned by the censure of the 243 Bishops assembled in the great Council of Carthage, Anno Domini 418, "[39] until they should acknowledge, by a most open confession, that by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord we are holpen not only to know, but also to do righteousness at every act; so that without it we can have, think, say, do nothing that belongeth to true and holy piety." Wherewith Pelagius being pressed, stuck not to make this profession: "[40] Anathema to him who either thinketh or saith that the grace of God, whereby Christ came into this world to save sinners, is not necessary, not only at every hour or every moment, but also at every act of ours; and they who go about to take away this are worthy to suffer everlasting punishment." Four books also did he publish in defence of free-will, to which he thus referreth his adversaries for

[38] Quis unquam ante profanum illum Pelagium tantam virtutem liberi præsumpsit arbitrii, ut ad hoc in bonis rebus per actus singulos adjuvandum necessariam Dei gratiam non putaret? Vincent. Lirinens. advers. Hæres. Commonit. I. cap. 34.

[39] Donec apertissima confessione fateantur, gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, non solum ad cognoscendam verum etiam ad faciendam justitiam, nos per actus singulos adjuvari; ita ut sine ea nihil veræ sanctæque pietatis habere, cogitare, dicere, agere valeamus. Synod. African. Epist. ad Zosimum Pap. apud Prosperum contra Collator. cap. 5, et Respons. ad Object. VIII. Gallorum; ubi addit, *Hanc* constitutionem contra inimicos gratiæ Dei totum mundum amplexum esse.

[40] Anathema qui vel sentit vel dicit gratiam Dei, qua Christus venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere, non solum per singulas horas aut per singula momenta, sed etiam per singulos actus nostros non esse necessariam; et qui hanc conantur auferre, pœnas sortiuntur æternas. Pelag. apud Augustin. lib. i. de Gratia Christi, contra Pelag. et Celest. cap. 2.

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further satisfaction in this matter: "[41]Let them read the late work which we were forced to set out the other day for free-will; and they shall perceive how unjustly they go about to defame us with the denial of grace, who throughout the whole context almost of that work do perfectly and entirely confess both free-will and grace." Yet for all this he did but equivocate in the name of grace, "[42]under an ambiguous generality hiding what he thought, but by the term of grace breaking the envy and declining the offence" which might be taken at his doctrine, as St Augustine well observeth. For by grace he did not understand, as the Church did in this question, the infusion of a new quality of holiness into the soul, whereby it was regenerated, and the will of evil made good; but, *first*, [43]the possibility of nature, that is to say, the natural freedom of will, which every one hath received from God by virtue of the first creation. Against which St Augustine thus opposeth himself: "[44]Why is there so much presumed of the possibility of nature? It is wounded, it is maimed, it is vexed, it is lost: it hath need of a true confession, not of a false defence." And Prosper, speaking of the state of man's free-will after Adam's fall:

> [45]hinc arbitrium per devia lapsum
> Claudicat, et cœcis conatibus inque ligatis
> Motus inest, non error abest: manet ergo voluntas
> Semper amans aliquid quo se ferat; et labyrintho
> Fallitur, ambages dubiarum ingressa viarum.
> Vana cupit, vanis tumet et timet: omnimodaque
> Mobilitate ruens, in vulnera vulnere surgit.

Secondly, By grace he understood the grace of doctrine and instruction, whereby the mind was informed in the truth

[41] Legant etiam recens meum opusculum, quod pro libero nuper arbitrio edere compulsi sumus, et agnoscent quam inique nos negatione gratiæ infamare gestierint, qui per totum pene ipsius textum operis perfecte atque integre et liberum arbitrium confitemur et gratiam. Id. ibid. cap. 41.

[42] Sub ambigua generalitate quid sentiret abscondens, gratiæ tamen vocabulo frangens invidiam offensionemque declinans. Augustin. ibid. cap. 37.

[43] Pelag. apud Augustin. de Gestis contra Pelag. cap. 10, et in Epist. XCV. Vide eundem Augustin. de Grat. et lib. Arbitr. cap. 13, et Serm. XI. de Verbis Apostoli.

[44] Quid tantum de naturæ possibilitate præsumitur? Vulnerata, sauciata, vexata, perdita est. Vera confessione, non falsa defensione opus habet. August. de Natur. et Grat. cap. 53.

[45] Prosper de Ingratis, cap. 27.

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out of the word of God; which by Prosper is thus objected to his followers:

[46]aliud non est vobiscum gratia, quam lex,
Quamque Propheta monens, et quam doctrina ministri.

Unto whom St Augustine therefore saith well: "[47]Let them read and understand, let them behold and confess, that not by the law and doctrine sounding outwardly, but by an inward and hidden, by a wonderful and unspeakable power, God doth work in the hearts of men not only true revelations, but good wills also." And thereupon the African Fathers, in the Council of Carthage, enacted this canon: "[48]Whosoever shall say that the grace of God by Jesus Christ our Lord doth for this cause only help us not to sin, because by it the understanding of the commandments is revealed and opened unto us, that we may know what we ought to affect, what to shun; and that by it there is not wrought in us, that we may also love and be enabled to do that which we know should be done; let him be anathema." *Thirdly*, under this grace he comprehended not only the external revelation by the word, but also the [49]internal by the illumination of God's Spirit. Whereupon he thus riseth up against his adversary: "[50]We confess that this grace is not, as thou thinkest, in the law only, but in the help of God also. For God doth help us by his doctrine and revelation, whilst he openeth the eyes of our hearts, whilst he sheweth us things

[46] Id. ibid. cap. 20. Vide eundem in Epist. ad Ruffinum, non procul ab initio, et Augustin. de Hæres. cap. 88, et lib. i. de Gratia Christi contra Pelag. cap. 8—10.

[47] Legant ergo et intelligant, intueantur atque fateantur, non lege atque doctrina insonante forinsecus, sed interna atque occulta, mirabili ac ineffabili potestate operari Deum in cordibus hominum non solum veras revelationes, sed etiam bonas voluntates. Augustin. ibid. cap. 24.

[48] Quisquis dixerit gratiam Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum propter hoc tantum nos adjuvare ad non peccandum, quia per ipsam nobis revelatur et aperitur intelligentia mandatorum, ut sciamus quid appetere, quid vitare debeamus; non autem per illam nobis præstari, ut quod faciendum cognoverimus, etiam facere diligamus atque valeamus, anathema sit. African. Patr. in Synod. Carthagin. Can. IV.

[49] Augustin. lib. i. de Grat. Christ. contra Pelag. cap. 7 and 41.

[50] Quam (gratiam) nos, non ut tu putas, in lege tantummodo, sed et in Dei esse adjutorio confitemur. Adjuvat enim nos Deus per doctrinam et revelationem suam, dum cordis nostri oculos aperit, dum nobis, ne præsentibus occupemur, futura demonstrat, dum diaboli pandit insidias, dum nos multiformi et ineffabili dono gratiæ cœlestis illuminat. Qui hæc dicit, gratiam tibi videtur negare? An et liberum hominis arbitrium et Dei gratiam confitetur? Pelag. ibid. cap. 7.

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to come, that we be not holden with things present, whilst he discovereth the snares of the devil, whilst he enlighteneth us with the manifold and unspeakable gift of his heavenly grace. He that saith these things, doth he seem unto thee to deny grace? or doth he confess both the free-will of man and the grace of God too?" And yet in all this, as St Augustine rightly noteth, [51]he doth but "confess that grace whereby God doth shew and reveal what we ought to do; not that whereby he doth grant and help that we may do." And therefore [52]in other places of his writings he plainly affirmeth, "that our very prayers are to be used for nothing but this, that the doctrine may be opened unto us by divine revelation, not that the mind of man may be holpen that he may also accomplish by love and action that which he hath learned should be done." *Fourthly*, to these he further added the grace of remission of sins. For the Pelagians said, "[53]that man's nature, which was made with free-will, might be sufficient to enable us that we might not sin, and that we might fulfil righteousness; and that this is the grace of God, that we were so made, that we might do this by our will, and that he hath given us the help of his law and commandments, and that he doth pardon the sins past to those that are converted unto him; that in these things only the grace of God was to be acknowledged, and not in the help given unto all our singular actions." And so "they [54]said, that that grace of God which is given by the faith of Jesus Christ, which is neither

[51] Hinc itaque apparet, hanc eum gratiam confiteri, qua demonstrat et revelat Deus quid agere debeamus; non qua donat atque adjuvat ut agamus; cum ad hoc potius valeat legis agnitio, si gratiæ desit opitulatio, ut fiat mandati prævaricatio. Augustin. ibid. cap. 8.

[52] Ipsas quoque orationes, ut in scriptis suis apertissime affirmat, ad nihil aliud adhibendas opinatur, nisi ut nobis doctrina etiam divina revelatione aperiatur; non ut adjuvetur mens hominis, ut id, quod faciendum esse didicerit, etiam dilectione et actione perficiat. Id. ibid. cap. 41.

[53] Ut non peccemus, impleamusque justitiam, posse sufficere naturam humanam quæ condita est cum libero arbitrio; eamque esse Dei gratiam, quia sic conditi sumus, ut hoc voluntate possimus; et quod adjutorium legis mandatorumque suorum dedit; et quod ad se conversis peccata præterita ignoscit; in his solis esse Dei gratiam deputandam, non in adjutorio nostrorum actuum singulorum. Id. de Gestis contra Pelagium, cap. 35.

[54] Dicunt gratiam Dei, quæ data est per fidem Jesu Christi, quæ neque lex est neque natura, ad hoc tantum valere, ut peccata præterita dimittantur, non ut futura vitentur, vel repugnantia superentur. Id. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, cap. 13. Vide ejusdem lib. i. de Grat. Christi contra Pelag. cap. 2.

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law nor nature, is effectual only to this, that sins past may be remitted, not that sins to come may be avoided, or when they make resistance may be vanquished." Whereupon St Augustine thus encountereth Julian the Pelagian heretic: "[55]Thou, according to your custom, which descendeth from your error, dost not acknowledge grace but in the remission of sins, that now from henceforth a man himself by his free-will may make himself righteous. But so saith not the Church, which all crieth that which it hath learned from a good master, *Lead us not into temptation.*"

Lastly, this was the common doctrine of the [56]Pelagians, and accounted to be one of the principal [57]blasphemies of that sect, that they held "the grace of God to be given according to men's merits." Which was "[58]so abhorring from the Catholic doctrine, and opposite to the grace of Christ," that when it was objected to Pelagius in the Diospolitan Synod, held in Palæstina by the Bishops of the East, he durst not avow it, but was forced to accurse it, lest otherwise he should have been accursed himself. "But that he deceitfully cursed it, the books written by him afterwards do shew; wherein he defendeth nothing else, but that the grace of God is given according to our merits." Which Prosper, treading in St Augustine's steps, doth thus express:

[59]Objectum est aliud; ipsum dixisse magistrum,
Quod meritis hominum tribuatur gratia Christi,
Quantum quisque Dei donis se fecerit aptum.
Sed nimis adversum hoc fidei, nimiumque repugnans
Esse videns, dixit se non ita credere, et illos
Damnari dignos quorum mens ista teneret.
Quo cernis, cum judicibus damnantibus ista
Consensisse reum; nec quenquam hæc posse tueri.

[55] Tu vestro more, qui de vestro descendit errore, non agnoscis gratiam, nisi in dimissione peccatorum; ut jam de cetero per liberum arbitrium ipse homo se ipsum fabricet justum. Sed non hoc dicit ecclesia, quæ clamat tota, quod didicit a magistro bono, Ne nos inferas in tentationem. Id. lib. ii. postremi operis contra Julianum, a Claud. Menardo edit. non procul a fine.

[56] Id. De dono Perseverant. cap. 2 and 20. De Gratia et Lib. Arbitr. cap. 5. De Hæresib. cap. 88, &c.

[57] Ex his una est blasphemia, nequissimum et subtilissimum germen aliarum, qua dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita hominum dari. Prosper in Epist. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. ad Ruffinum.

[58] Quod sic alienum est a Catholica doctrina, et inimicum gratiæ Christi, ut nisi hoc objectum sibi anathematizasset, ipse inde anathematizatus exisset. Sed fallaciter eum anathematizasse posteriores ejus indicant libri; in quibus omnino nihil aliud defendit, quam gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari. Augustin. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. 5.

[59] Prosper de Ingratis, cap. 9.

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Quæ tamen ipse suis rursum excoluisse libellis
Detegitur, reprobum in sensum fallendo reversus.

And in this also did the Pelagians betake themselves unto their old coverts of the grace of nature, the grace of mercy in forgiving of sins, the grace of instruction and revelation, and such other shifts. For "[60]when it is demanded of them," saith St Augustine, "what grace Pelagius did think was given without any precedent merits, when he anathematized those who say that the grace of God is given according to our merits, they answer, that the grace which is without any precedent merits is the human nature itself, wherein we are created; forasmuch as before we were, we could not deserve anything that we might be." Then afterward perceiving what an idle thing it was to confound grace and nature thus together, [61]they said, "that the only grace which was not according to our merits was that whereby a man had his sins forgiven him;" for they did not think that a sinner could rightly be said to merit anything save God's displeasure.

But that at which they all aimed in general was this, "[62]That grace was only a kind of mistress to free-will; and that by exhortations, by the law, by doctrine, by the creatures, by contemplation, by miracles, and by terrors outwardly, it shewed itself to the judgment thereof; whereby every man, according to the motion of his will, if he did seek, might find; if he did ask, might receive; if he did knock, might enter in." And thus, saith Pelagius, doth God "[63]work in us to will that which is good, to will that

[60] Cum ab istis quæritur, quam gratiam Pelagius cogitaret sine ullis præcedentibus meritis dari, quando anathematizabat eos qui dicunt gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari; respondent, sine ullis præcedentibus meritis gratiam ipsam humanam esse naturam, in qua conditi sumus: neque enim antequam essemus, mereri aliquid poteramus ut essemus. Augustin. Epist. cv. ad Sixtum.

[61] Dicunt Pelagiani, hanc esse solam non secundum merita nostra gratiam, qua homini peccata dimittuntur. Id. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. 6.

[62] Intellectum est enim saluberrimeque perspectum, hoc tantum eos de gratia confiteri, quod quædam libero arbitrio sit magistra; seque per cohortationes, per legem, per doctrinam, per creaturam, per contemplationem, per miracula, perque terrores extrinsecus judicio ejus ostendat; quo unusquisque secundum voluntatis suæ motum, si quæsierit, inveniat; si petierit, recipiat; si pulsaverit, introeat. Prosper in Epist. ad Ruffin. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr.

[63] Operatur in nobis velle quod bonum est, velle quod sanctum est; dum nos terrenis cupiditatibus deditos, et mutorum more animalium tantummodo præsentia diligentes, futuræ gloriæ magnitudine et præmiorum pollicitatione succendit; dum

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which is holy: whilst finding us given to earthly lusts, and, like brute beasts, affecting only present things, he inflameth us with the greatness of the glory to come and with promise of rewards; whilst by the revelation of his wisdom he raiseth up our stupified will to the desire of God, whilst he persuadeth us to all that good is." To this instructing and persuading grace doth Pelagius attribute the exciting of the will; but the converting of it unto God, which followeth afterward, he ascribeth wholly to the freedom of the will itself. "[64]He that runneth unto God," saith he, "and desireth to be ruled by God, hanging his will upon God's will, he who by adhering unto him continually is made, according to the apostle, one spirit with him, doth not this but out of the freedom of his will. Which freedom whoso useth aright, doth so commit himself wholly to God and mortifieth all his own will, that he may say with the Apostle, *I live now, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me*, and doth put his heart into God's hand, that God may incline it whither it shall please him." Here have you the full platform laid down of Pelagius's doctrine touching the conversion of a sinner. *First*, he supposeth a possibility in nature, whereby a man *may* will and do good. *Secondly*, a corruption in act, whereby a man *doth* will and do the contrary. *Thirdly*, an exciting grace from God, whereby the mind is enlightened and the will persuaded, upon consideration of the promises and threats propounded, to forsake that lewd course of life, and to will and do the things that are good and holy. *Fourthly*, an act of the free-will thus prepared by God's exciting grace, whereby a man, without any further help from God, doth voluntarily yield unto these good motions; and so "runneth unto God, desireth to be ruled by him, hangeth his will upon God's will, and by adhering unto him is made one spirit with him." *Fifthly*,

revelatione sapientiæ in desiderium Dei stupentem suscitat voluntatem, dum nobis suadet omne quod bonum est. Pelag. apud Augustin. lib. i. de Grat. Christi contra Pelag. cap. 10.

[64] Qui currit ad Deum, et a Deo se regi cupit, id est, voluntatem suam ex ejus voluntate suspendit; qui ei adhærendo jugiter unus, secundum apostolum, cum eo sit spiritus; non hoc nisi de arbitrii efficit libertate. Qua qui bene utitur, ita se totum tradit Deo omnemque suam mortificat voluntatem, ut cum apostolo possit dicere, Vivo autem jam non ego, vivit autem in me Christus; ponitque cor suum in manu Dei, ut illud quo voluerit Deus ipse declinet. Pelagius apud Augustin. de Gratia Christi, lib. i. cap. 22, 23.

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an assisting grace, whereby God guideth the will thus converted, and inclineth the heart whither it pleaseth him.

We see three kinds of grace here commended unto us by Pelagius: the *first*, a natural grace, as he fondly termed it, bringing with it a bare possibility only to will and do good; which he said was not given according to merits, because he held it to be given at the very beginning of man's being, before which he could not possibly merit anything: the *second*, an exciting or persuading grace, imparted unto such as were "given to earthly lusts, and, like brute beasts, affected only present things;" who being in that case, were far from meriting any good thing at God's hands; and in that regard he affirmed, that this grace likewise was given without any respect to precedent merits: the *third*, an assisting grace, by which God doth guide and incline the heart of the converted sinner to the doing of all good; and this he maintained to be given as a reward to that act of the free-will whereby it yielded to the persuasions of the former exciting grace, and so did actually convert itself to God. Now, this is "[65]the presumption" which St Augustine condemneth so much in these men, that they durst say, "we work to merit that God may work with us:" that they "[66]would first give to God that it might be recompensed to them again; namely, they first give somewhat out of their free-will, that grace might be rendered to them again for a reward:" that they were of opinion, "[67]that our merit consisted in this, that we were with God, and that his grace was given according to this merit, that he should also be with us: that our merit should be in this, that we do seek him; and according to this merit, his grace was given that we should find him." For they that followed Pelagius, refining herein a little the doctrine of their master, and delivering it in somewhat a more plausible manner, declared that [68]the

[65] Nihil sic evertit hominum præsumptionem dicentium, Nos facimus, ut mereamur cum quibus faciat Deus. August. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. lib. iv. cap. 6.

[66] Priores volunt dare Deo, ut retribuatur eis; priores utique dare quodlibet ex libero arbitrio, ut sit gratia retribuenda pro præmio. Ibid.

[67] Meritum nostrum in eo esse, quod sumus cum Deo; ejus autem gratiam secundum hoc meritum dari, ut sit et ipse nobiscum: item meritum nostrum in eo esse, quod quærimus; et secundum hoc meritum dari ejus gratiam, ut inveniamus eum. Id. de Grat. et Libero Arbitr. cap. 5.

[68] Ibi enim vos, ut video, ponere jam cœpistis merita gratiam præcedentia, quod est petere, quærere, pulsare; ut his me-

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merits, which they held to go before grace and to procure grace, were "asking, seeking, and knocking;" and that "[69]grace was given, not according to the merit of our good works," which they did acknowledge to be an effect, and not a cause of this grace, "but of our good will" only: "because," they said, "the good will of man praying went before, and the will of man believing went before that, that according to these merits the grace of God hearing might follow after." And all this they did under colour of maintaining free-will against the Manichees; for which they urge much that testimony of the Prophet Isaiah, i. 19, 20, *If ye be willing and hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good things of the land; but if ye refuse, and will not hearken unto me, the sword shall consume them.* But "[70]what doth this profit them?" saith St Augustine, "seeing they do not so much defend free-will against the Manichees, as extol it against the Catholics. For so would they have that understood which is said, *If ye be willing and hearken unto me*, as if in that very precedent will there should be the meriting of the subsequent grace; and so grace should be now no grace, which is no gratuity when it is rendered as due. But if they would so understand that which is said, *If ye be willing*, that they would also confess that he doth prepare that good will, of whom it is written, *The will is prepared by the Lord;* they should use this testimony like Catholics, and not only vanquish the old heresy of the Manichees, but also crush the new of the Pelagians."

Besides the professed Pelagians, who directly did deny original sin, there arose others in the Church in St Augus-

ritis debita illa reddatur, ac sic gratia inaniter nuncupetur. Id. contra Julian. Pelagian. lib. iv. cap. 8.

[69] Dicunt enim, etsi non datur gratia secundum merita bonorum operum, quia per ipsam bene operamur; tamen secundum meritum bonæ voluntatis datur, quia bona voluntas (inquiunt) præcedit orantis, quam præcessit voluntas credentis; ut secundum hæc merita gratia sequatur exaudientis Dei. Id. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. 14.

[70] Quid eis hoc prodest? quandoquidem non tam contra Manichæos defendunt, quam contra Catholicos extollunt liberum arbitrium. Sic enim volunt intelligi quod dictum est, Si volueritis et audiveritis me, tanquam in ipsa præcedente voluntate sit consequentis meritum gratiæ; ac si gratia jam non sit gratia, quæ non est gratuita, cum redditur debita. Si autem sic intelligerent quod dictum est, Si volueritis, ut etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem illum præparare confiterentur, de quo scriptum est, Præparatur voluntas a Domino; tanquam Catholici uterentur hoc testimonio, et non solum hæresim veterem Manichæorum vincerent, sed novam Pelagianorum contererent. Id. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. lib. iv. cap. 6.

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tine's days, that were tainted not a little with their errors in this point of grace and free-will; as namely one Vitalis in Carthage, and the semi-Pelagians, as they are commonly called, in France. For the first held, that "[71]God did work in us to will by his Scriptures, either read or heard by us; but that to consent unto them, or not consent, is so in our power, that if we will, it may be done; if we will not, we may make the operation of God to be of no force in us. For God doth work," said he, "as much as in him is, that we may will when his word is made known unto us; but if we will not yield unto it, we make that his operation shall have no profit in us." Against him St Augustine disputeth largely in his 107th Epistle, where he maketh this to be the state of the question betwixt them: "[72]Whether grace doth go before or follow after the will of man, that is to say," as he further explaineth it, "whether it be therefore given us because we will, or by it God doth work even this also, that we do will." The worthy doctor maintaineth, that grace goeth before and worketh the will unto good, which he strongly proveth, both by the word of God, and by the continual practice of the Church in her prayers and thanksgivings for the conversion of unbelievers. [73]For "if thou dost confess," saith he, "that we are to pray for them, surely thou dost pray that they may consent to the doctrine of God with their will freed from the power of darkness. And thus it will come to pass, that neither men shall be made to be believers but by their free-will, and yet shall be made believers by his grace, who hath freed

[71] Per legem suam, per scripturas suas Deum operari ut velimus, quas vel legimus vel audimus; sed eis consentire vel non consentire ita nostrum est, ut si velimus fiat; si autem nolimus, nihil in nobis operationem Dei valere faciamus. Operatur quippe ille, dicis, quantum in ipso est, ut velimus, cum nobis nota fiunt ejus eloquia; sed si eis acquiescere nolumus, nos ut operatio ejus nihil in nobis prosit efficimus. Id. Epist. CVII. ad Vitalem.

[72] Utrum præcedat hæc gratia an subsequatur hominis voluntatem, hoc est, (ut planius id eloquar,) utrum ideo nobis detur, quia volumus, an per ipsam Deus etiam hoc efficiat ut velimus. Ibid.

[73] Si fateris pro eis orandum, id utique orandum fateris, ut doctrinæ divinæ arbitrio liberato a tenebrarum potestate consentiant. Ita fit ut neque fideles fiant nisi libero arbitrio; et tamen illius gratia fideles fiant, qui eorum a potestate tenebrarum liberavit arbitrium. Sic et Dei gratia non negatur, sed sine ullis humanis præcedentibus meritis vera monstratur; et liberum ita defenditur, ut humilitate solidetur, non elatione præcipitetur arbitrium; et qui gloriatur, non in homine, vel quolibet alio vel seipso, sed in Domino glorietur. Ibid.

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their will from the power of darkness. Thus both God's grace is not denied, but is shewed to be true, without any human merits going before it; and free-will is so defended that it is made solid with humility, and not thrown down headlong by being lifted up; that he that rejoiceth may not rejoice in man, either any other or yet himself, but in the Lord." And again: "[74]How doth God expect the wills of men that they should prevent him, to whom he might give grace; when we do give him thanks not undeservedly in the behalf of them, whom not believing, and persecuting his doctrine with an ungodly will, he hath prevented with his mercy, and with a most omnipotent facility converted them unto himself, and made them willing of unwilling? Why do we give him thanks for this, if he himself did not this?" "[75]Questionless we do not pray to God, but feign that we do pray, if we believe that not he, but ourselves, be the doers of that which we pray for. Questionless we do not give thanks to God, but feign that we give thanks, if we do not think that he doth the thing for which we give him thanks. If deceitful lips be found in any other speeches of men, at leastwise let them not be found in prayers. Far be it from us, that what we do beseech God to do with our mouths and voices, we should deny that he doth it in our hearts; and, which is more grievous, to the deceiving of others also, not conceal the same in our disputations; and whilst we will needs defend free-will before men, we should lose the help of prayer

[74] Quomodo Deus exspectat voluntates hominum, ut præveniant eum, quibus det gratiam; cum gratias ei non immerito agamus de iis, quibus non ei credentibus, et ejus doctrinam voluntate impia persequentibus, misericordiam prærogavit; eosque ad seipsum omnipotentissima facilitate convertit, ac volentes ex nolentibus fecit? ut quid ei inde gratias agimus, si hoc ipse non fecit? Ibid.

[75] Prorsus non oramus Deum, sed orare nos fingimus, si nos ipsos non illum credimus facere quod oramus. Prorsus non gratias Deo agimus, sed nos agere fingimus, si unde illi gratias agimus, ipsum facere non putamus. Labia dolosa si in hominum quibuscunque sermonibus sunt, saltem in orationibus non sint. Absit, ut quod facere Deum rogamus oribus et vocibus nostris, eum facere negemus cordibus nostris; et, quod est gravius ad alios decipiendos, hoc non taceamus disputationibus nostris; et dum volumus apud homines defendere liberum arbitrium, apud Deum perdamus orationis auxilium, et gratiarum actionem non habeamus veram, dum veram non agnoscimus gratiam. Si vere volumus defendere liberum arbitrium, non oppugnemus unde sit liberum. Nam qui oppugnat gratiam, qua nostrum ad declinandum a malo et faciendum bonum liberatur arbitrium, ipse arbitrium suum adhuc vult esse captivum. Ibid.

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with God, and not have true giving of thanks whilst we do not acknowledge true grace. If we will truly defend free-will, let us not oppugn that by which it is made free. For whoso oppugneth grace, whereby our will is made free to decline from evil and to do good, he will have his will to be still captive." Thus doth St Augustine deal with Vitalis, to whom he saith, "[76] I do not believe indeed that thou art a Pelagian heretic; but so I would have thee to be, that no part of that error may pass unto thee, or be left in thee."

The doctrine of the semi-Pelagians in France is related by Prosper Aquitanicus and Hilarius Arelatensis, in their several Epistles written to St Augustine of this argument. "[77] They do agree," saith Hilarius, "that all men were lost in Adam, and that from thence no man by his proper will can be freed; but this they say is agreeable to the truth, or answerable to the preaching of the word, that when the means of obtaining salvation is declared to such as are cast down, and would never rise again by their own strength, they by that merit, whereby they do will and believe that they can be healed from their disease, may obtain both the increase of that faith and the effecting of their whole health." And "[78] that grace is not denied when such a will as this is said to go before it, which seeketh only a physician, but is not of itself otherwise able to do anything. For as touching that place, *as he hath distributed to every one the measure of faith*, and other like testimonies, they would have them make for this, that he should be holpen that hath begun to will, but not that this also should be given unto him that he might will." Prosper in his poems doth thus deliver it:

[76] Ego hæreticum quidem Pelagianum te esse non credo; sed ita esse volo, ut nihil illius ad te transeat vel in te relinquatur erroris. Ibid.

[77] Consentiunt omnem hominem in Adam periisse, nec inde quenquam posse proprio arbitrio liberari; sed id conveniens asserunt veritati vel congruum prædicationi, ut cum prostratis et nunquam suis viribus surrecturis annunciatur obtinendæ salutis occasio, eo merito, quo voluerint et crediderint a suo morbo se posse sanari, et ipsius fidei augmentum et totius sanitatis suæ consequantur effectum. Hilar. Epist. ad Augustin.

[78] Nec negari gratiam, si præcedere dicatur talis voluntas, quæ tantum medicum quærat, non autem quicquam ipsa jam valeat. Nam illa testimonia, ut est illud, Sicut unicuique partitus est mensuram fidei, et similia, ad id volunt valere, ut adjuvetur qui cœperit velle, non ut etiam donetur ut velit. Ibid.

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[79] Gratia qua Christi populus sumus, hoc cohibetur
Limite vobiscum, et formam hanc ascribitis illi:
Ut cunctos vocet illa quidem invitetque; nec ullum
Præteriens, studeat communem adferre salutem
Omnibus, et totum peccato absolvere mundum:
Sed proprio quemque arbitrio parere vocanti,
Judicioque suo mota se extendere mente
Ad lucem oblatam; quæ se non subtrahat ulli,
Sed cupidos recti juvet, illustretque volentes.
Hinc adjutoris Domini bonitate magistra
Crescere virtutum studia; ut quod quisque petendum
Mandatis didicit, jugi sectetur amore.
Esse autem edoctis istam communiter æquam
Libertatem animis, ut cursum explere beatum
Persistendo queant; finem effectumque petitum
Dante Deo, ingeniis qui nunquam desit honestis.
Sed quia non idem est cunctis vigor, et variarum
Illecebris rerum trahitur dispersa voluntas;
Sponte aliquos vitiis succumbere, qui potuissent
A lapsu revocare pedem stabilesque manere.

Against these opinions St Augustine wrote his two books, of the Predestination of the Saints, and of the Gift of Perseverance, in the former whereof he hath this memorable passage among divers others: "[80] Many hear the word of truth; but some do believe, others do contradict. Therefore these have a will to believe, the others have not. Who is ignorant of this? who would deny it? But seeing the will is to some prepared by the Lord, to others not, we are to discern what doth proceed from his mercy, and what from his judgment. *That which Israel did seek*, saith the Apostle, *he obtained not; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded*, Rom. xi. 7. Behold mercy and judgment; mercy in the election which hath obtained the righteousness of God, but judgment upon the rest that were

[79] Prosper de Ingratis, cap. 10.

[80] Multi audiunt verbum veritatis; sed alii credunt, alii contradicunt. Volunt ergo isti credere, nolunt autem illi. Quis hoc ignoret? quis hoc neget? Sed cum aliis præparetur, aliis non præparetur voluntas a Domino, discernendum est utique quid veniat de misericordia ejus, quid de judicio. Quod quærebat Israel, ait Apostolus, hoc non est consecutus, electio autem consecuta est, ceteri vero excæcati sunt, &c. Ecce misericordia et judicium; misericordia in electione quæ consecuta est justitiam Dei, judicium vero in ceteros qui excæcati sunt: et tamen illi, quia voluerunt, crediderunt; illi, quia noluerunt, non crediderunt. Misericordia igitur et judicium in ipsis voluntatibus facta sunt. Augustin. de Prædestinat. Sanctor. cap. 6.

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blinded: and yet the one, because they would, did believe; the others, because they would not, did not believe. Mercy, therefore, and judgment were executed even upon the wills themselves." Against the same opinions divers treatises were published by Prosper also, who chargeth these men with "[81]nourishing the poison" of the Pelagian pravity by their positions; inasmuch as, *first*, "the beginning of salvation is naughtily placed in man" by them: *secondly*, "The will of man is impiously preferred before the will of God; as if therefore one should be holpen because he did will, and did not therefore will because he was holpen:" *thirdly*, "A man originally evil is naughtily believed to begin his receiving of good, not from the highest good, but from himself:" *fourthly*, "It is thought that God may otherwise be pleased than out of that which he himself hath bestowed." But he maintaineth constantly, that both the beginning and ending of a man's conversion is wholly to be ascribed unto grace; and that God effecteth this grace in us, "not by way of counsel and persuasion only, but by an inward change and reformation of the mind; making up a new vessel of a broken one by a creating virtue."

> [82]Non hoc consilio tantum hortatuque benigno
> Suadens atque docens, quasi normam legis haberet
> Gratia; sed mutans intus mentem, atque reformans,
> Vasque novum ex fracto fingens virtute creandi.

The writers of principal esteem on the other side were [83]Johannes Cassianus and Faustus Rhegiensis or Reiensis, the former of which was encountered by Prosper in his book *Contra Collatorem*, the latter by Fulgentius, Joh. Maxentius, Cæsarius, Johannes Antiochenus; as also by Gelasius and his Roman Synod of 70 Bishops the writings of them both were rejected amongst the books apocryphal.

[81] In istis Pelagianæ pravitatis relliquiis non mediocris virulentiæ fibra nutritur, si principium salutis male in homine collocatur; si divinæ voluntati impie voluntas humana præfertur, ut ideo quis adjuvetur quia voluit, non ideo quia adjuvatur velit; si originaliter malus receptionem boni non a summo bono, sed a semetipso inchoare male creditur; si aliunde Deo placetur, nisi ex eo quod ipse donaverit. Prosper in Epist. ad Augustin.

[82] Id. de Ingratis, cap. 14.

[83] Opuscula Cassiani, Presbyteri Galliarum, apocrypha. Opuscula Fausti Rhegiensis Galliarum apocrypha. Concil. Roman. 1. sub Gelasio.

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And lastly, by the joint authority both of the [84] See of Rome and of the French Bishops assembled in the second Council of Orange, in the year of our Lord 529, sentence was given against the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians in general, that their opinions touching grace and free-will were not agreeable to the Rule of the Catholic Faith; and these conclusions following, among sundry others, determined in particular:

"[85] If any doth say, that by man's prayer the grace of God may be conferred, and that it is not grace itself which maketh that God is prayed unto by us, he contradicteth the Prophet Isaiah, or the Apostle saying the same thing, *I was found of them that sought me not, and have been made manifest to them that asked not after me*, Isaiah LXV. 1, Rom. x. 20."

"[86] If any man defend, that God doth expect our will that we may be purged from sin, and doth not confess that this will of ours to be purged is wrought in us by the infusion and operation of the Holy Ghost, he resisteth the Holy Ghost, saying by Solomon, *The will is prepared by the Lord*, (Prov. viii. 35, according to the Seventy,) and the Apostle, preaching wholesomely, *It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure*, Philip. ii. 13."

"[87] If any man say that to us, without grace, believing,

[[84] Unde id nobis, secundum admonitionem et auctoritatem sedis Apostolicæ, justum ac rationabile visum est, ut pauca capitula ab Apostolica nobis sede transmissa, quæ ab antiquis patribus de sanctarum Scripturarum voluminibus in hac præcipue causa collecta sunt, ad docendos eos qui aliter quam oportet sentiunt, ab omnibus observanda proferre, et manibus nostris subscribere deberemus. Præfat. Concil. Arausican. II.—Quot Arausicani canones, tot sunt Catholicæ ecclesiæ stabilitæ sententiæ, a quibus absque prævaricationis piaculo haud liceat fideli recedere. Barron. Addit. ad Tom. VII. ann. 529, in tomi x. appendice.*]

[85] Si quis invocatione humana gratiam Dei dicit posse conferri, non autem ipsam gratiam facere ut invocetur a nobis, contradicit Esaiæ Prophetæ, vel Apostolo idem dicenti, Inventus sum a non quærentibus me, palam apparui iis qui me non interrogabant. Concil. Arausican. II. Can. III.

[86] Si quis, ut a peccato purgemur, voluntatem nostram Deum exspectare contendit, non autem, ut etiam purgari velimus, per sancti Spiritus infusionem et operationem in nobis fieri confitetur, resistit ipsi Spiritui sancto, per Salomonem dicenti, Præparatur voluntas a Domino, et Apostolo salubriter prædicanti, Deus est qui operatur in nobis et velle et perficere pro bona voluntate. Ibid. Can. IV.

[87] Si quis sine gratia Dei credentibus, volentibus, desiderantibus, conantibus,

* This note is inserted from the third edition.—ED.

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willing, desiring, endeavouring, labouring, watching, studying, asking, seeking, knocking, mercy is conferred by God; and doth not confess that it is wrought in us by the infusion and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that we may believe, will, or do all these things as we ought; and doth make the help of grace to follow after man's either humility or obedience, neither doth yield that it is the gift of grace itself that we are obedient and humble; he resisteth the Apostle, saying, *What hast thou that thou hast not received?* (1 Cor. iv. 7,) and, *By the grace of God I am that I am*, 1 Cor. xv. 10."

"[88] It is of God's gift, both when we do think aright, and when we hold our feet from falsehood and unrighteousness. For as oft as we do good things, God worketh in us and with us, that we may work."

"[89] There are many good things done in man which man doeth not. But man doeth no good things which God doth not make man to do."

"[90] This also do we wholesomely profess and believe, that in every good work we do not begin, and are holpen afterwards by the mercy of God; but he first of all, no good merits of ours going before, inspireth into us both faith and the love of him, that we may both faithfully seek the sacrament of baptism, and after baptism, with his help, we may fulfil the things that are pleasing unto him."

Touching which last Canon we may note, *first*, for the reading, that in the tomes of the Councils set out by Binius, it is most notoriously corrupted. For where the Council

laborantibus, vigilantibus, studentibus, petentibus, quærentibus, pulsantibus nobis misericordiam dicit conferri divinitus; non autem ut credamus, velimus, vel hæc omnia sicut oportet agere valeamus, per infusionem et inspirationem sancti Spiritus in nobis fieri confitetur; et aut humilitati aut obedientiæ humanæ subjungit gratiæ adjutorium, nec ut obedientes et humiles simus, ipsius gratiæ donum esse consentit; resistit Apostolo dicenti, Quid habes quod non accepisti? et, Gratia Dei sum id quod sum. Can. VI.

[88] Divini est muneris, cum et recte cogitamus, et pedes nostros a falsitate et injustitia tenemus. Quoties enim bona agimus, Deus in nobis atque nobiscum, ut operemur, operatur. Can. IX.

[89] Multa in homine bona fiunt, quæ non facit homo. Nulla vero facit homo bona, quæ non Deus præstet ut faciat homo. Can. XX.

[90] Hoc etiam salubriter profitemur et credimus, quod in omni opere bono non nos incipimus, et postea per Dei misericordiam adjuvamur; sed ipse nobis, nullis præcedentibus bonis meritis, et fidem et amorem sui prius inspirat, ut et baptismi sacramenta fideliter requiramus, et post baptismum cum ipsius adjutorio ea quæ sibi sunt placita implere possimus. Can. ult.

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hath, *Nullis præcedentibus bonis meritis*, "No good merits going before," there we read, [91]*Multis præcedentibus bonis meritis*, "Many good merits going before." *Secondly*, for the meaning, that "[92]the Fathers understand grace to be given according to merits, when any thing is done by our own strength in respect whereof grace is given, although it be no merit of condignity;" as both Bellarmine himself doth acknowledge in the explication of the determination of the Palestine Synod against Pelagius, and in the case of the semi-Pelagians, as it is delivered by Cassianus, is most evident. For "[93]the grace of God," saith he, "doth always so co-operate to the good part with our free-will, and in all things help, protect, and defend it, that sometime it either requireth or expecteth from it some endeavours of a good will, that it may not seem to confer its gifts upon one that is altogether sleeping and given to sluggish idleness, seeking occasions after a sort whereby, the dulness of human slothfulness being shaken off, the largeness of its bounty may not seem to be unreasonable, while it imparteth the same under the colour of a kind of desire and labour: yet so notwithstanding, that grace may always continue to be gracious and free, while to such kind of small and little endeavours with an inestimable largess it giveth so great glory of immortality, so great gifts of everlasting bliss." "[94]Let human frailty, therefore, endeavour as much as it will, it cannot be equal to the retribution that is to come; neither by the labours thereof doth it so diminish God's grace, that it doth not always continue to be given freely."

[91] Concil. Tom. II. part. I. p. 639, edit. Colon. ann. 1618.

[92] Gratiam secundum merita nostra dari intelligunt Patres, cum aliquid fit propriis viribus, ratione cujus datur gratia, etiamsi non sit illud meritum de condigno. Bellarm. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. lib. VI. cap. 5.

[93] Ita semper gratia Dei nostro in bonam partem cooperatur arbitrio, atque in omnibus illud adjuvat, protegit ac defendit, ut nonnunquam etiam ab eo quosdam conatus bonæ voluntatis vel exigat vel exspectet, ne penitus dormienti aut inerti otio dissoluto sua dona conferre videatur, occasiones quodammodo quærens, quibus humanæ segnitiei torpore discusso, non irrationabilis munificentiæ suæ largitas videatur, dum eam sub colore cujusdam desiderii ac laboris impertit; et nihilominus gratia Dei semper gratuita perseveret, dum exiguis quibusdam parvisque conatibus tantam immortalitatis gloriam, tanta perennis beatitudinis dona, inæstimabili tribuit largitate. Jo. Cassian. Collat. XIII. cap. 13.

[94] Quantumlibet ergo enisa fuerit humana fragilitas, futuræ retributioni par esse non poterit; nec ita laboribus suis divinam imminuit gratiam, ut non semper gratuita perseveret. Ibid.

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Where you may observe from what fountain the schoolmen did derive their doctrine of works preparatory, meriting grace by way of congruity, though not of condignity. For Cassianus, whom [95] Prosper chargeth, notwithstanding all this qualifying of the matter, to be a maintainer in very deed of that damned point of Pelagianism, that "the grace of God was given according to our merits;" Cassianus, I say, was a man that bare great sway in our monasteries, where his writings were accounted as the monks' general rules; and until the other day Faustus himself, who of all others most cunningly opposed the doctrine of St Augustine touching grace and free-will, was accepted in the popish schools for a Reverend Doctor and a Catholic Bishop. Yea, the works of Pelagius himself were had in such account, that some of them (as his Epistle *ad Demetriadem* for example, and the Exposition upon St Paul's Epistles, which are fraught with his heretical opinions,) have passed from hand to hand as if they had been written by St Jerome, and as such have been alleged against us by some of our adversaries in this very question of free-will. The less is it to be wondered that three hundred years ago, in the midnight of Popery, the *profound* Doctor Thomas Bradwardin, then Chancellor of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, should begin his disputations of the Cause of God against Pelagius with this lamentable complaint: "[96] Behold, (I speak it with grief of heart touched inwardly), as in old time against one prophet of God there were found eight hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, unto whom an innumerable company of people did adhere, so at this day, in this cause, how many, O Lord, do now fight with Pelagius for free-will against thy free grace, and against Paul, the spiritual champion of grace?" "[97] For the whole world almost is gone after Pelagius into error. Arise, therefore,

[95] Prosper contra Collator. cap. 3 et 17, tomo VII. Oper. Augustini.

[96] Ecce enim, (quod non nisi tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus refero), sicut olim contra unicum Dei prophetam octingenti et quinquaginta prophetæ Baal et similes sunt reperti, quibus et innumerabilis populus adhærebat; ita et hodie in hac causa, quot, Domine, hodie cum Pelagio pro libero arbitrio contra gratuitam gratiam tuam pugnant, et contra Paulum pugilem gratiæ spiritualem? Tho. Bradwardin. Præfat. in libros de Causa Dei contra Pelag.

[97] Totus etenim pene mundus post Pelagium abiit in errorem. Exsurge igitur, Domine, judica causam tuam; et sustinentem te sustine, protege, robora, consolare. Ibid.

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O Lord, judge thine own cause; and him that defendeth thee, defend, protect, strengthen, and comfort." To whose judgment I also now leave these "[98] vain defenders," or, as St Augustine rightly censureth them, "deceivers," and "puffers-up," and "presumptuous" extollers "of free-will."

OF MERITS.

In the last place we are told, that the Fathers of the unspotted Church of Rome did teach, that man "for his meritorious works receiveth, through the assistance of God's grace, the bliss of everlasting happiness." But our Challenger, I suppose, will hardly find one Father, either of the spotted or unspotted Church of Rome, that ever spake so babishly herein as he maketh them all to do. "That man, by the assistance of God's grace, may do meritorious works," we have read in divers authors, and in divers meanings. But after these works done, that a man should "receive, through the assistance of God's grace, the bliss of everlasting happiness," is such a piece of gibberish as I do not remember that before now I have ever met withal, even in Babel itself. For with them that understand what they speak, *assistance* hath reference to the doing of the work, not to the receiving of the reward; and simply to say, that a man "for his meritorious works" (taking *merit* here as the Romanists in this question would have it taken) "receiveth, through God's grace, the bliss of everlasting happiness," is to speak flat contrarieties, and to conjoin those things that cannot possibly be coupled together. For that conclusion of Bernard is most certain, "[1] There is no place for grace to enter, where merit hath taken possession," because it is grounded upon the Apostle's determination,

[98] Liberi arbitrii defensores, imo deceptores quia inflatores, et inflatores quia præsumptores. Augustin. Epist. cv. ad Sixtum. Vani, non defensores, sed inflatores liberi arbitrii. Id. in opere postremo contra Julian. Pelagian. lib. ii. Non defensores, sed inflatores et præcipitatores liberi arbitrii. Id. de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr. cap. 14.

[1] Non est in quo gratia intret ubi jam meritum occupavit. Bernard. in Cantic. Ser. LXVII.

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Rom. xi. 6, *If it be of grace, it is no more of works, or else were grace no more grace.*

Neither do we therefore take away the *reward*, because we deny the *merit*, of good works. We know that in the keeping of God's commandments there *is great reward*, Psalm xix. 11, and that unto him who *soweth righteousness* there shall be *a sure reward*, Prov. xi. 18. But the question is, whence he that soweth in this manner must expect to reap so great and so sure a harvest: whether from God's justice, which he must do if he stand, as the Jesuits would have him do, upon merit; or from his mercy, as a recompence freely bestowed out of God's gracious bounty, and not in justice due for the worth of the work performed. Which question, we think, the Prophet Hosea hath sufficiently resolved, when he biddeth us *sow to ourselves in righteousness, and reap in* MERCY, Hosea x. 12. [*yea, and God himself in the very publication of the Decalogue, where he promiseth to *shew* MERCY *unto thousands of them that love* him *and keep* his *commandments.*] Neither do we hereby any whit detract from the truth of that axiom, that *God will give every man according to his works;* for still the question remaineth the very same, whether God may not judge a man according to his works, when he sitteth upon the throne of grace, as well as when he sitteth upon the throne of justice? And we think here, that the Prophet David hath fully cleared the case in that one sentence, Psalm LXII. 12, *With thee, O Lord, is* MERCY; *for thou rewardest every one according to his work.*

Originally, therefore, and in itself, we hold that this reward proceedeth merely from God's free bounty and mercy; but accidentally, in regard that God hath tied himself by his word and promise to confer such a reward, we grant that it now proveth in a sort to be an act of justice; even as in *forgiving of our sins*, which in itself all men know to be an act of mercy, he is said to be *faithful and just*, (1 John i. 9); namely, in regard of the faithful performance of his promise. For a promise, we see, amongst honest men is counted a due debt; but the thing promised being free,

* The sentence between brackets is omitted in the *fourth* edition. It is here printed from the *third*.—ED.

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and on our part altogether undeserved, if the promiser did not perform, and proved not to be so good as his word, he could not properly be said to do me wrong, but rather to wrong himself by impairing his own credit. And therefore Aquinas himself confesseth, "[2]that God is not hereby simply made a debtor to us, but to himself, inasmuch as it is requisite that his own ordinance should be fulfilled." Thus was Moses careful to put the children of Israel in mind touching the land of Canaan, which was a type of our eternal habitation in heaven, that it was a *land of promise*, and not of merit, which God did give them to possess, *not for their righteousness, or for their upright heart*, but *that he might perform the word which he sware unto their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, Deut. ix. 5. Whereupon the Levites say, in their prayer unto God, Nehem. ix. 8, *Thou madest a covenant with Abraham, to give unto his seed the land of the Canaanites, and hast performed thy word, because thou art* JUST. Now, because the Lord had made a like *promise of the crown of life to them that love him*, (James i. 12,) therefore St Paul doth not stick in like manner to attribute this also to God's justice: *Henceforth*, saith he, 2 Tim. iv. 8, *is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.* Upon which place Bernard, in his book of Grace and Free-will, saith most sweetly: "[3]That therefore which Paul expecteth is a crown of righteousness, but of God's righteousness, not his own. For it is just that he should give what he oweth, and he oweth what he hath promised; and this is the righteousness of God, of which the Apostle presumeth, the promise of God."

But this will not content our Jesuits, unless we yield unto them, "[4]that we do as properly and truly merit

[2] Non sequitur, quod Deus efficiatur simpliciter debitor nobis, sed sibi ipsi; in quantum debitum est ut sua ordinatio impleatur. Thom. I. II. Quæst. CXIV. Art. 1, Ad. 3.

[3] Est ergo quam Paulus exspectat corona justitiæ, sed justitiæ Dei, non suæ. Justum quippe est ut reddat quod debet; debet autem quod pollicitus est; et hæc est justitia Dei, de qua præsumit Apostolus, promissio Dei. Bernard. lib. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio.

[4] Nos tam proprie ac vere cum gratia Dei bene agentes præmia mereri, quam sine illa male agentes supplicia meremur. Jo. Maldonat. in Ezech. xviii. 20.

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rewards when with the grace of God we do well, as we do merit punishments when without grace we do evil;" so saith Maldonat: that is to say, unless we maintain, "[5]that the good works of just persons do merit eternal life condignly, not only by reason of God's covenant and acceptation, but also by reason of the work itself; so that in a good work proceeding from grace there may be a certain proportion and equality unto the reward of eternal life;" so saith Cardinal Bellarmine. For the further opening whereof, Vasquez taketh upon him to prove in order these three distinct propositions: *first*, "[6]That the good works of just persons are of themselves, without any covenant and acceptation, worthy of the reward of eternal life, and have an equal value of condignity to the obtaining of eternal glory:" *secondly*, "[7]That no accession of dignity doth come to the works of the just by the merits or person of Christ, which the same should not have otherwise, if they had been done by the same grace, bestowed liberally by God alone without Christ:" *thirdly*, "[8]That God's promise is annexed indeed to the works of just men, yet it belongeth no way to the reason of the merit; but cometh rather to the works, which are already not worthy only, but also meritorious." Unto

[5] Opera bona justorum meritoria esse vitæ æternæ ex condigno, non solum ratione pacti et acceptationis, sed etiam ratione operis; ita ut in opere bono ex gratia procedente sit quædam proportio et æqualitas ad præmium vitæ æternæ. Bellarm. de Justif. lib. v. cap. 17. Non quod sine pacto et acceptatione non habeat opus bonum proportionem ad vitam æternam ex operis dignitate. Ibid. Detrahitur de gloria Christi, si merita nostra sint ita imperfecta, ut non sint meritoria ex condigno, nisi ratione acceptationis Dei. In ipso cap. ibid. fine. Satis est proportionalis æqualitas. Ibid. cap. 18. Modus futuri judicii erit secundum justitiam commutativam; quoniam Deus non solum constituet proportionalem æqualitatem inter merita et præmia, sed etiam absolutam æqualitatem inter opera et mercedes. Ibid. cap. 14. Ubi opus est per se æquale mercedi. Ibid. lib. i. cap. 21. Vere par mercedi. Ibid. lib. v. cap. 17. Non desunt qui censent esse meritoria ex condigno ratione operis, etiamsi nulla exstaret divina conventio. Ita Cajetan. in Thom. part. I. II. Quæst. CXIV. Art. 1, et Dominic. a Soto de Nat. et Grat. cap. 7.

[6] Opera bona justorum ex seipsis, absque ullo pacto et acceptatione, digna esse remuneratione vitæ æternæ; et æqualem valorem condignitatis habere ad consequendam æternam gloriam. Gabr. Vasquez. Commentar. in 1mam 2dæ, Quæst. CXIV. Disput. CCXIV. cap. 5, init.

[7] Operibus justorum nullum dignitatis accrementum provenire ex meritis aut persona Christi, quod alias eadem non haberent, si fierent ex eadem gratia a solo Deo liberaliter sine Christo collata. Ibid. init. cap. 7.

[8] Operibus justorum accessisse quidem divinam promissionem; eam tamen nullo modo pertinere ad rationem meriti; sed potius advenire operibus, non tantum jam dignis sed etiam jam meritoriis. Ibid. init. cap. 8.

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all which he addeth afterwards this corollary: "[9] Seeing the works of a just man do condignly merit eternal life, as an equal recompence and reward, there is no need that any other condign merit, such as is the merit of Christ, should come between, that eternal life might be rendered unto them. Yea, the merit of every just man hath somewhat peculiar in respect of the just man himself, which the merit of Christ hath not; namely, to make the man himself just and worthy of eternal life, that he may worthily obtain the same. But the merit of Christ, although it be most worthy to obtain glory of God for us, yet it hath not this efficacy and virtue, to make us formally just and worthy of eternal life; but men by virtue derived from him attain this effect in themselves. And so we never request of God by the merits of Christ, that the reward of eternal life may be given to our worthy and meritorious works; but that by Christ grace may be given unto us, whereby we may be enabled worthily to merit this reward." In a word, "[10] Our merits," saith he, "have this force in us, that they make us formally worthy of eternal life: the merits of Christ do not make us worthy formally, but Christ is worthy, in regard of them, to impetrate unto us whatsoever he requesteth for us."

Thus doth Vasquez the Jesuit discover unto us to the full the mystery of this iniquity; with whom, for the better information of the English reader, we join our Rhemists, who deliver this as their Catholic doctrine: "[11] That all good works done by God's grace after the first justification

[9] Cum opera justi condigne mereantur vitam æternam tanquam æqualem mercedem et præmium, non opus est interventu alterius meriti condigni, quale est meritum Christi, ut eis reddatur vita æterna: quinimo aliquid habet peculiare meritum cujuscunque justi respectu ipsius hominis justi, quod non habet meritum Christi; nempe reddere ipsum hominem justum et dignum æterna vita, ut eam digne consequatur: meritum autem Christi licet dignissimum sit, quod obtineat a Deo gloriam pro nobis; tamen non habet hanc efficaciam et virtutem, ut reddat nos formaliter justos et dignos æterna vita; sed per virtutem ab ipso derivatam hunc consequuntur effectum homines in seipsis. Et ita nunquam petimus a Deo per merita Christi, ut nostris dignis operibus et meritoriis reddatur merces æternæ vitæ; sed ut per Christum detur nobis gratia, qua possimus digne hanc mercedem promereri. Id. ibid. Disput. CCXXII. cap. 3, num. 30, 31.

[10] Merita nostra in nobis hanc vim habent, ut reddant nos formaliter dignos vita æterna: merita autem Christi non reddunt nos dignos formaliter, sed Christus dignus est, qui propter illa nobis impetret quicquid ipse pro nobis petierit. Ibid. num. 32.

[11] Rhem. Annotat. in 2 Tim. iv. 8.

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be truly and properly meritorious, and fully worthy of everlasting life; and that thereupon heaven is the due and just stipend, crown, or recompence, which God by his justice oweth to the persons so working by his grace. For he rendereth or repayeth heaven," say they, "as a just judge, and not only as a merciful giver; and the crown which he payeth is not only of mercy, or favour, or grace, but also of justice." And again, "[12]that man's works done by Christ's grace do condignly or worthily deserve eternal joy;" so as "[13]works can be none other but the value, desert, price, worth, and merit of the same." Whereupon they put us in mind [14]that the "word *reward*, which in our English tongue may signify a voluntary or bountiful gift, doth not here so well express the nature of the Latin word [15]*merces*, or the Greek μισθός; which are rather the very stipend that the hired workman or journeyman covenanteth to have of him whose work he doth, and is a thing equally and justly answering to the time and weight of his travels and works, rather than a free gift."

This is that doctrine of merits, which from our very hearts we detest and abhor, as utterly repugnant to the truth of God and the common sense of all true-hearted Christians. The lesson which our Saviour taught his disciples is far different from this, Luke xvii. 10, *When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.* And "[16]if he be unprofitable," saith St Jerome, "who hath done all, what is to be said of him who could not fulfil them?" So likewise the Romans themselves might remember that they were taught by St Paul at the beginning, that there is no proportion of condignity to be found betwixt not the actions only, but the passions also, of the saints, and the reward that is reserved for us in the world to come: *For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us*, saith he, Rom. viii. 18,

[12] Iidem in Luc. xx. 35.

[13] Iid. in 1 Cor. iii. 8.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Mercedem quandam esse dicimus, quæ magis debetur ex gratia, quam ex justitia; sive quæ imputetur secundum gratiam, et non secundum debitum. Bellarmin. de Justific. lib. i. cap. 21.

[16] Si inutilis est, qui fecit omnia; quid de illo dicendum est, qui explere non potuit? Hieronym. ad Ctesiphont. contra Pelag.

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and Bernard thereupon: "[17]Concerning the life eternal, we know that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory; no, not if one man did sustain them all. For the merits of men are not such that for them eternal life should be due of right, or God should do any injury if he did not give it. For to let pass that all merits are God's gifts, and in that respect a man is for them made a debtor to God more than God to man; what are all merits in comparison of so great a glory?" And St Ambrose long before him: "[18]All those things which we suffer are too little and unworthy, for the pains whereof there should be rendered unto us so great a reward of good things to come, as shall be revealed in us when, being reformed according to the image of God, we shall merit," or obtain, "to see his glory face to face."

Where for the better understanding of the meaning of the Fathers in this point, we may further observe, that *merits* in their writings do ordinarily signify nothing but *works*, as in the alleged place of Bernard; and [19]to *merit*, simply to *procure* or to *attain*, without any relation at all to the dignity either of the person or the work: as both in the last words of Ambrose is plainly to be seen; and in that passage of Bernard concerning children promoted to the prelacy, that they were "[20]more glad they had escaped the rod than that they had merited," that is, *obtained*, "the

[17] De æterna vita scimus, quia non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam; nec, si unus omnes sustineat. Neque enim talia sunt hominum merita, ut propter ea vita æterna deberetur ex jure; aut Deus injuriam aliquam faceret, nisi eam donaret. Nam, ut taceam quod merita omnia dona Dei sunt, et ita homo magis propter ipsa Deo debitor est, quam Deus homini; quid sunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriam? Bernard. Serm. I. in Annunciat. B. Mariæ.

[18] Omnia quæ patimur minora sunt et indigna, quorum pro laboribus tanta rependatur futurorum merces bonorum, quæ revelabitur in nobis, cum ad Dei imaginem reformati gloriam ejus facie ad faciem aspicere meruerimus. Ambros. Epist. XXII.

[19] Verum quidem est, neque id me fugit, usurpari nonnunquam nomen meriti, ubi nulla est ratio meriti, neque ex congruo, neque de condigno. Andr. Vega Defens. Concil. Tridentin. de Justificat. lib. viii. cap. 8. Si aliquis vocabulo promerendi usus est; aliter non intellexit, quam consecutionem de facto. Stapleton. Promptuar. Catholic. Fer. v. post Dominic. Passion. Vocabulum merendi apud veteres ecclesiasticos scriptores fere idem valet quod consequi, seu aptum idoneumque fieri ad consequendum. Georg. Cassand. Schol. in Hymnos Ecclesiastic. p. 179. Oper. Vide Cochlæum in Discuss. Confess. et Apolog. Artic. XX.

[20] Lætiores interim quod virgas evaserint, quam quod meruerint principatum. Bernard. Epist. XLII.

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preferment." And therefore, as Tacitus writes of Agricola, that [21]by his "virtues he merited," that is to say, *incurred*, "the anger of Caius Cæsar;" so St Augustine saith, that he and his fellows for their good doings, at the hands of the Donatists, "[22]instead of thanks, merited," that is, *incurred*, "the flames of hatred." On the other side, the same Father affirmeth that St Paul "[23]for his persecutions and blasphemies merited," that is, *found the grace*, "to be named a vessel of election"; having reference to that in 1 Tim. i. 13, *Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy;* where, instead of ἠλεήθην, which the vulgar Latin translateth *misericordiam consecutus sum*, [24]St Cyprian readeth *misericordiam merui*, "I merited mercy." Whereunto we may add that saying which is found also among the works of St Augustine, "that [25]no sinner should despair of himself, seeing Paul hath merited pardon;" and that of Gregory, "[26]Paul, when he went about to extinguish the name of our Redeemer upon earth, merited to hear his words from heaven;" as also that other strain of his concerning the sin of Adam, which is sung in the Church of Rome at the blessing of the taper: "[27]O happy sin that merited," that is, *found the favour*, "to have such and so great a Redeemer." Howsoever, therefore, the ancient doctors may seem unto those that are not well acquainted with their language to speak of merits as the Romanists do, yet have they nothing common with them but the bare word; in the thing itself they differ as much from them every way as our Church doth.

"[28]I can hardly be persuaded," saith Origen, "that

[21] Iis virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritus. Tacit. in Vit. Jul. Agricolæ.

[22] Pro actione gratiarum flammas meruimus odiorum. Augustin. contra liter. Petilian. lib. iii. cap. 6.

[23] Pro persecutionibus et blasphemiis vas electionis meruit nominari. Id. de Prædestinat. et Gratia.

[24] Cyprian. Epist. LXXIII. sect. 11. Augustin. de Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. iv. cap. 5.

[25] Ut omnis peccator propterea de se non desperet, quia Paulus meruit indulgentiam. Augustin. Serm. XLIX. de Tempore.

[26] Quid quod Paulus, cum Redemptoris nomen in terra conaretur extinguere, ejus verba de cœlo meruit audire? Greg. Moral. in Job. lib. ix. cap. xvii.

[27] O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem! Vide Jodec. Clicthovei, lib. de duab. Propositionib. Cerei Paschalis.

[28] Vix mihi suadeo quod possit ullum opus esse, quod ex debito remunerationem Dei deposcat; cum etiam hoc ipsum, quod agere aliquid possumus vel cogitare vel proloqui, ipsius dono et largitione faciamus. Origen. lib. iv. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. iv.

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there can be any work which may require the reward of God by way of debt, seeing this very thing itself, that we can do or think or speak anything, we do it by his gift and largess." [* So betwixt the *punishments* for evil, and the *rewards* for good, doings Didymus maketh this difference: that of the one [29] man himself is the cause; the other "man begetteth not, but God graciously bestoweth": according to that fore-cited place of the Apostle, Rom. viii. 18.] "[30] Wages indeed," saith St Hilary, "there is none of gift, because it is due by work; but God hath given the same free to all men by the justification of faith." "[31] Whence should I have so great merit, seeing mercy is my crown?" saith St Ambrose. And again, "[32] Which of us can subsist without the mercy of God? What can we do worthy of the heavenly rewards? Which of us doth so rise up in this body, that he doth elevate his mind in such sort as he may continually adhere unto Christ? By what merit of man is it granted that this corruptible flesh should put on incorruption, and this mortal should put on immortality? By what labours, or by what enduring of injuries, can we abate our sins? The sufferings of this time are unworthy for the glory that is to come. Therefore the form of heavenly decrees doth proceed with men, not according to our merits, but according to God's mercy." St Basil, expounding those words of the Psalmist, ***Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them***

[29] Τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι πατὴρ ἔσται πολλῶν γεννημάτων κακῶν, αἴτιος γενόμενος κολάσεων· τὰς δὲ ἀμοιβὰς τὰς θείας οὐκ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾷ, ἀλλὰ θεὸς χαρίζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Didym. in Job. xv. 35, in Catena MS. D. Augustini Lindselli.

[30] Merces quidem ex dono nulla est, quia debetur ex opere; sed gratuitam Deus omnibus ex fidei justificatione donavit. Hilar. in Matth. Can. xx.

[31] Unde mihi tantum meriti, cui indulgentia pro corona est? Ambros. in Exhortat. ad Virgines.

[32] Quis nostrum sine divina potest miseratione subsistere? Quid possumus dignum præmiis facere cœlestibus? Quis nostrum ita assurgit in hoc corpore, ut animum suum elevet, quo jugiter adhæreat Christo? Quo tandem hominum merito defertur, ut hæc corruptibilis caro induat incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induat immortalitatem? Quibus laboribus, quibus injuriis, possumus nostra levare peccata? Indignæ sunt passiones hujus temporis ad superventuram gloriam. Non ergo secundum merita nostra, sed secundum misericordiam Dei, cœlestium decretorum in homines forma procedit. Id. in Psalm. cxviii. Octonar. xx. Vide eund. de Bono Mortis, cap. 11.

* From the third edition: wanting in the fourth.—Ed.

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that hope in his mercy, Psalm xxxiii. 18, saith, that "he doth hope in his mercy, [33]who, not trusting in his own good deeds, nor looking to be justified by works, hath the hope of his salvation only in the mercies of God." And in his explication of those other words, Psalm cxvi. 7, ***Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee:*** "[34]Everlasting rest," saith he, "is laid up for them that strive lawfully in this life; not to be rendered according to the debt of works, but exhibited by the grace of the bountiful God to them that trust in him." "[35]If we consider our own merits, we must despair," saith St Jerome: and, "[36]When the day of judgment or death shall come, all hands will fail; because no work shall be found worthy of the justice of God." Macarius the Egyptian Eremite in his 15th Homily writeth thus: "[37]Touching the gift which Christians shall inherit, this a man may rightly say, that if any one, from the time wherein Adam was created unto the very end of the world, did fight against Satan and undergo afflictions, he should do no great matter in respect of the glory that he shall inherit; for he shall reign together with Christ world without end." His 37th Homily is in the Paris edition of the works of [38]Marcus the Eremite, set out as the proem of his book of Paradise and the Spiritual Law. There Macarius exhorteth us, that "[39]believing in Almighty God, we should with a simple heart and void of scrupulosity come unto him who bestoweth

[33] Ὁ μὴ πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδραγαθήμασι, μηδὲ προσδοκῶν ἐξ ἔργων δικαιωθήσεσθαι, μόνην ἔχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Basil. in Psalm xxxii.

[34] Πρόκειται γὰρ ἀνάπαυσις αἰωνία τοῖς νομίμως τὸν ἐνταῦθα διαθλήσασι βίον, οὐ κατ' ὀφείλημα τῶν ἔργων ἀποδεδομένη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου Θεοῦ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἠλπικόσι παρεχομένη. Id. in Psal. cxiv. et apud Anton. Meliss. part. II. Serm. XCIII.

[35] Si nostra consideremus merita, desperandum est. Hieronym. lib. xvii. in Esai. cap. LXIV.

[36] Cum dies judicii vel dormitionis advenerit, omnes manus dissolventur, &c. quia nullum opus dignum Dei justitia reperietur. Id. lib. vi. in Esai. cap. xiii.

[37] Πρὸς τὸ δόμα οὖν ὃ μέλλουσι κληρονομεῖν τοῦτο ἄν τις ὀρθῶς εἴποι, Εἰ ἕκαστος, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκτίσθη ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπολέμει πρὸς τὸν Σατανᾶν, καὶ ὑπέμεινε τὰς θλίψεις, οὐδὲν μέγα ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἣν μέλλει κληρονομεῖν. συμβασιλεύσει γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας μετὰ Χριστοῦ. Macar. Homil. xv.

[38] Marc. Eremit. edit. Paris. ann. 1563. Nam in Micropresbitico Prooemium illud non habetur; quippe quod Macarii constet esse, non Marci.

[39] Τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ Θεῷ πιστεύσαντες, ἁπλῇ καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ καρδίᾳ προσέλθωμεν τῷ διὰ πίστεως τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος χαριζομένῳ, καὶ οὐ διὰ παρεισκασμοῦ πίστεως ἔργων. Macar. Homil. XXXVII.

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the communion of the Spirit according to faith, and not according to the proportion of the works of faith." Where Johannes Picus, the Popish interpreter of Marcus, giveth us warning in his margin, that "this clause is to be understood of a lively faith;" but concealeth his own faithlessness in corrupting of the text, by turning "the works of faith" into "the works of nature;" for *οὐ διὰ παρεικασμοῦ πίστεως ἔργων* is by his Latin translation, which is to be seen in [40]Bibliotheca Patrum, as much to say as, *Non ex proportione operum naturæ.*

There is a treatise extant of the said Marcus, *περὶ τῶν οἰομένων ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦσθαι*, "touching those who think to be justified by their works;" where he maketh two sorts of men, [41]that "miss both of them the kingdom" of heaven: the one, "such as do not keep the commandments, and yet imagine that they believe aright;" the other, "such as keeping the commandments, do expect the kingdom as a wages due unto them." For "[42]the Lord," saith he, "willing to shew that all the commandments are of duty to be performed, and that the adoption of children is freely given to men by his blood, saith, *When you have done all things that are commanded you, then say, We are unprofitable servants, and we have done that which was our duty to do.* Therefore the kingdom of heaven is not the hire of works, but the grace of the Lord prepared for his faithful servants." This sentence is repeated in the very selfsame words by [43]Hesychius in his book of Sentences written to Thelasius. The like sayings also hath St Chrysostom: "[44]No man sheweth such a conversation of life, that he

[40] Bibliothec. Patr. Tom. IV. p. 935. B. edit. Colon. et in ipsa Græco-Latina editione quæ nuperrime prodiit Parisiis, ann. 1624, Tom. I. p. 874.

[41] Τινὲς μὴ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς πιστεύειν ὀρθῶς νομίζουσι· τινὲς δὲ ποιοῦντες, ὡς μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον, τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέχονται· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπεσφάλησαν. Marc. Eremit. de his qui putant ex operibus justificari, cap. 17, et ex eo Anastasius Sinaita, vel Nicænus, Quæst. I. p. 16, edit. Ingolstad.

[42] Ὁ Κύριος πᾶσαν ἐντολὴν ὀφειλομένην δεῖξαι θέλων, τὴν δὲ υἱοθεσίαν ἰδίῳ αἵματι δεδωρημένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φησιν, Ὅταν πάντα ποιήσητε προστεταγμένα ὑμῖν, τότε εἴπατε, Δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοι ἐσμεν, καὶ ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι μισθὸς ἔργων ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλὰ χάρις δεσπότου πιστοῖς δούλοις ἡτοιμασμένη. Id. ibid. cap. 2.

[43] Hesyc. Presb. in Ἀντιῤῥητικοῖς, Centur. I. sect. 79.

[44] Οὐδεὶς τοιαύτην ἐπιδείκνυται πολιτείαν ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶς ἐστι τὸ πᾶν. διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, Ὅταν πάντα ποιήσητε, λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν· ἃ γὰρ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι, πεποιήκαμεν. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Coloss. Homil. II.

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may be worthy of the kingdom; but this is wholly of the gift of God. Therefore he saith, *When ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants;* for what we ought to do, we have done." "[45] Although we did die a thousand deaths, although we did perform all virtuous actions, yet should we come short by far of rendering anything worthy of those honours which are conferred upon us by God." "[46] Although we should do innumerable good deeds, it is of God's pity and benignity that we are heard; although we should come unto the very top of virtue, it is of mercy that we are saved." [47] For, "although we did innumerable" works of mercy, yet would it be of "the benignity of grace, that for such small and mean matters should be given so great a heaven and a kingdom, and such an honour;" [48] whereunto nothing we do can have equal correspondence. "[49] Let the merit of men be excellent; let him observe the rights of nature, let him be obedient to the commandments of the laws, let him fulfil his faith, keep justice, exercise virtues, condemn vice, repel sins, shew himself an example for others to imitate: if he have performed anything, it is little; whatsoever he hath done is small; for all merit is short. Number God's benefits if thou canst, and then consider what thou dost merit. Weigh thine own deeds with the heavenly benefits, ponder thine own acts with the divine gifts, and thou wilt not judge thyself worthy of that which thou art, if thou understandest what thou dost merit." Whereunto we may add the exhortation made by St Antony

[45] Κἂν γὰρ μυριάκις ἀποθάνωμεν, κἂν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδειξώμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸ πολλοστὸν ἀποδεδώκαμεν τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπηργμένων παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῶν. Id. de Compunctione, ad Stelechium. Tom. VI. edit. Savil. p. 157.

[46] Κἂν γὰρ μυρία κατορθώσωμεν, ἀπὸ οἰκτιρμῶν ἀκουόμεθα καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. κἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνέλθωμεν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν κορυφὴν, ἀπὸ ἐλέους σωζόμεθα. Id. in Psalm iv. ibidemque ex eo Nicetas Serronius.

[47] Κἂν γὰρ μυρία ὦσι πεποιηκότες, χάριτός ἐστιν ἡ φιλοτιμία, τὸ ἀντὶ μικρῶν οὕτω καὶ εὐτελῶν οὐρανὸν τοσοῦτον καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τιμήν. Id. in Matth. Homil. LXXIX. edit. Græc. vel LXXX. Latin.

[48] Ἧς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο ἴσον. Id. in Psalm. v.

[49] Sit licet excellens hominum meritum, sit naturæ jura conservans, sit legum jussis obtemperans; impleat fidem, justitiam teneat, virtutes exerceat, damnet vitia, peccata repellat, semet exemplum imitantibus præbeat; si quid gesserit, parum est; quicquid fecerit, minus: omne enim meritum breve est. Numera beneficia si potes, et tunc considera quid mereris. Cum beneficiis cœlestibus tua facta perpende; cum divinis muneribus actus proprios meditare; nec dignum te judicabis eo quod fueris, si intelligas quid mereris. Serm. de primo homine prælato omni creaturæ, Tom. I. Oper. Chrysost.

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to his monks in Egypt: "[50]The life of man is most short being measured with the world to come; so that all our time is even nothing in comparison of everlasting life. And every thing in this world is sold for that which it is worth, and one giveth equal in exchange of equal; but the promise of everlasting life is bought for a very little matter. Wherefore, my sons, let us not wax weary, nor think that we stay long or perform some great thing; for the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Neither when we look upon the world, let us think that we have forsaken any great matters. For all this earth is but a very little thing in comparison of the whole heaven. Therefore, although we had been lords of the whole earth and did forsake the whole earth, that would be nothing worthy to be compared with the kingdom of heaven. For as if one would neglect one piece of brass, that he might gain a hundred pieces of gold; so he who is lord of the whole earth and forsaketh it, should but forego a little and receive a hundred-fold."

Such another exhortation doth St Augustine also make unto his hearers: "[51]When thou dost consider," saith he,

[50] Ὅλως ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος βραχύτατός ἐστι, μετρούμενος πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας· ὥστε καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡμῶν μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν. καὶ πᾶν μὲν πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τοῦ ἀξίου πιπράσκεται, καὶ ἴσον ἴσῳ τις ἀντικαταλλάσσει. ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀγοράζεται, &c. ὥστε, τέκνα, μὴ ἐκκάμωμεν, μηδὲ νομίζωμεν χρονίζειν, ἢ μέγα τὶ ποιεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς δόξαν. μηδὲ εἰς τὸν κόσμον βλέποντες νομίζωμεν μεγάλοις τισὶν ἀποτετάχθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ βραχυτάτη πρὸς ὅλον τὸν οὐρανόν ἐστιν· εἰ τοίνυν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς κύριοι ἐτυγχάνομεν, καὶ ἀπετασσόμεθα τῇ γῇ πάσῃ, οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἦν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὡς γὰρ εἴτις καταφρονήσειε μιᾶς χαλκῆς δραχμῆς, ἵνα κερδήσῃ χρυσᾶς δραχμὰς ἑκατόν· οὕτως ὁ πάσης τῆς γῆς κύριος ὤν, καὶ ἀποτασσόμενος αὐτῇ, ὀλίγον ἀφίησι, καὶ ἑκατονταπλασίονα λαμβάνει. Athanas. Vit. Antonii, p. 25.

[51] Cum attenderis quid sis accepturus, omnia tibi erunt vilia quæ pateris, nec digna æstimabis pro quibus illud accipias. Miraberis tantum dari pro tanto labore. Nam utique, fratres, pro æterna requie labor æternus subeundus erat. Æternam felicitatem accepturus, æternas passiones sustinere deberes. Sed si æternum sustineres laborem, quando venires ad æternam felicitatem? Ita fit, ut necessario temporalis sit tribulatio tua, qua finita venias ad felicitatem infinitam. Sed plane, fratres, posset esse longa tribulatio pro æterna felicitate: verbi gratia, ut quoniam felicitas nostra finem non habebit; miseria nostra, et labor noster, et tribulationes nostræ diuturnæ essent. Nam etsi mille annorum essent; appende mille annos contra æternitatem. Quid appendis cum infinito quantumcunque finitum? Decem millia annorum, decies centena millia, si dicendum est, et millia millium, quæ finem habent, cum æternitate comparari non possunt. Huc accedit, quia non solum temporalem voluit laborem tuum Deus, sed etiam brevem. August. in Psal. xxxvi. Conc. II.

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"what thou art to receive, all the things that thou sufferest will be vile unto thee, neither wilt thou esteem them worthy for which thou shouldest receive it. Thou wilt wonder that so much is given for so small a labour. For indeed, brethren, for everlasting rest everlasting labour should be undergone; being to receive everlasting felicity, thou oughtest to sustain everlasting sufferings. But if thou shouldest sustain everlasting labour, when shouldest thou come to everlasting felicity? So it cometh to pass, that thy tribulation must of necessity be temporal, that it being finished, thou mayest come to infinite felicity. But yet, brethren, there might have been long tribulation for eternal felicity: that, for example, because our felicity shall have no end, our misery, and our labour, and our tribulations should be of long continuance. For admit, they should continue a thousand years; weigh a thousand years with eternity. Why dost thou weigh that which is finite, be it never so great, with that which is infinite? Ten thousand years, ten hundred thousand, if we should say, and a thousand thousand, which have an end, cannot be compared with eternity. This then thou hast, that God would have thy labour to be not only temporal, but short also." And therefore doth the same Father every where put us in mind, that God is become our debtor, not by our deservings, but by his own gracious promise: "[52]Man," saith he, "is faithful when he believeth God promising; God is faithful when he performeth that which he hath promised unto man. Let us hold him a most faithful debtor, because we have him a most merciful promiser. For we have not done him any pleasure, or lent any thing to him, that we should hold him a debtor, seeing we have from himself whatsoever we do offer unto him, and it is from him whatsoever good we are." "[53]We have not given any thing therefore unto him, and yet we hold him a debtor. Whence a debtor? because he is a promiser.

[52] Fidelis homo est credens promittenti Deo; fidelis Deus est exhibens quod promisit homini. Teneamus fidelissimum debitorem, quia tenemus misericordissimum promissorem. Neque enim aliquid ei commodavimus, aut mutuum commendavimus, ut teneamus eum debitorem, cum ab illo habeamus quicquid illi offerimus, et ex illo sit quicquid boni sumus. Id. in Psal. xxxii. Conc. I.

[53] Ergo non ei aliquid dedimus, et tenemus debitorem. Unde debitorem? quia promissor est. Non dicimus Deo, Domine, redde quod accepisti, sed, Redde quod promisisti. Id. ibid. et in Psal. LXXXIII.

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We say not unto God, Lord, pay that which thou hast received, but, Pay that which thou hast promised." "[54] Be thou secure, therefore; hold him as a debtor, because thou hast believed in him as a promiser." "[55] God is faithful, who hath made himself our debtor, not by receiving any thing from us, but by promising so great things to us. For to men hath he promised divinity, to those that are mortal immortality, to sinners justification, to abjects glorification. Whatsoever he promised, he promised to them that were unworthy, that it might not be promised as wages for works, but being grace, might according to the name be graciously and freely given; because that even this very thing, that one doth live justly, so far as a man can live justly, is not a matter of man's merit, but of the gift of God." Therefore, "[56] in those things which we have already, let us praise God as the giver; in those things which as yet we have not, let us hold him our debtor. For he is become our debtor, not by receiving any thing from us, but by promising what it pleased him. For it is one thing to say to a man, Thou art debtor to me, because I have given to thee; and another thing to say, Thou art debtor to me, because thou hast promised me. When thou sayest, Thou art debtor to me, beause I have given to thee, a benefit hath proceeded from thee, though lent, not given; but when thou sayest, Thou art debtor to me, because thou hast promised me, thou gavest nothing to him, and

[54] Securus ergo esto; tene debitorem, quia credidisti in promissorem. Id. in Psal. LXXXIII. circa finem.

[55] Fidelis Deus qui se nostrum debitorem fecit, non aliquid a nobis accipiendo, sed tanta nobis promittendo, &c. Promisit enim hominibus divinitatem, mortalibus immortalitatem, peccatoribus justificationem, abjectis glorificationem. Quicquid promisit, indignis promisit, ut non quasi operibus merces promitteretur, sed gratia a nomine suo gratis daretur; quia et hoc ipsum quod juste vivit, in quantum homo potest juste vivere, non meriti humani, sed beneficii est divini. Id. in Psal. cix. circa init. Quanto labore digna est requies quæ non habet finem. Si verum vis computare et verum judicare, æterna requies æterno labore recte emitur. Sed noli timere, misericors est Deus. Id. in Psal. xciii.

[56] In his quæ jam habemus, laudemus Deum largitorem; in his quæ nondum habemus, teneamus debitorem. Debitor enim factus est, non aliquid a nobis accipiendo, sed quod ei placuit promittendo. Aliter enim dicimus homini, Debes mihi, quia dedi tibi; et aliter dicimus, Debes mihi, quia promisisti mihi. Quando dicis, Debes mihi, quia dedi tibi, a te processit beneficium, sed mutuatum, non donatum; quando autem dicis, Debes mihi, quia promisisti mihi, tu nihil dedisti, et tamen exigis. Bonitas enim ejus qui promisit, dabit, &c. Id. de Verbis Apostoli, Serm. XVI.

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yet requirest of him. For the goodness of him that hath promised will give it, &c."

"[57]The salvation of men depends upon the sole mercy of God," saith Theodoret; "for we do not obtain it as the wages of our righteousness, but it is the gift of God's goodness." "[58]The crowns do excel the fights, the rewards are not to be compared with the labours; for the labour is small, but great is the gain that is hoped for. And therefore the Apostle, Rom. viii. 18, called those things that are looked for not wages, but *glory;* and Rom. vi. 23, [59]not wages, but *grace.* For although a man should perform the greatest and most absolute righteousness, things eternal do not answer temporal labours in equal poise." The same for this point is taught by St Cyril of Alexandria, that "[60]the crown" which we are to receive doth "much surpass the pains" which we take for it. And the author of the book of the Calling of the Gentiles, attributed unto Prosper, observeth out of the parable, Matt. xx. 9, that God bestoweth eternal life on those that are called at the end of their days, as well as upon them that had laboured longer; "[61]not as paying a price to their labour, but pouring out the riches of his goodness upon them whom he had chosen without works, that even they also who have sweat with much labour, and have received no more than the last, might understand that they did receive a gift of grace, and not a due wages for their works."

This was the doctrine taught in the Church for the first five hundred years after Christ, which we find maintained also in the next five hundred. "[62]If the King of

[57] Ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία μόνης ἤρτηται τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας· οὔτε γὰρ μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης ταύτην καρπούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας ἐστὶν ἀγαθότητος δῶρον. MSS. Bibl. Bodleian. et nostræ Theodor. in Sophoni. cap. 3.

[58] Superant certamina coronæ, non comparantur cum laboribus remunerationes; labor enim parvus est, sed magnum lucrum speratur. Et propterea non mercedem, sed gloriam vocavit ea quæ exspectantur. Id. in Roman. viii. 18.

[59] Hic non dicit mercedem, sed gratiam. Etsi quis enim summam et absolutam justitiam præstiterit; temporalibus laboribus æterna in æquilibrio non respondet. Id. in Roman. vi. ult.

[60] Πολὺ τοῦ στεφάνου τοὺς πόνους ὑπερανίσχοντος. Cyril. Alexandrin. Hom. Paschal. IV.

[61] Non labori pretium solvens, sed divitias bonitatis suæ in eos, quos sine operibus elegit, effundens; ut etiam hi qui in multo labore sudarunt, nec amplius quam novissimi acceperunt, intelligant donum se gratiæ, non operum accepisse mercedem. Prosper de Vocat. Gent. lib. i. cap. 17.

[62] Meritum meum Regnator cœlestis si attenderet, aut exigua bona adipiscerer, aut magna supplicia; et mei idoneus æsti-

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heaven should regard my merit," saith Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, "either I should get little good, or great punishments; and judging of myself rightly, whither I could not come by merits, I would not tend in desire. But thanks be to him, who, that we may not be extolled, doth so cut off our offences, that he bringeth our hope unto better things." Our glorification, saith Fulgentius, "[63]is not unjustly called grace; not only because God doth bestow his own gifts upon his own gifts, but also because the grace of God's reward doth so much there abound, as that it exceedeth incomparably and unspeakably all the merit of the will and work of man, though good, and given from God." For, "[64]although we did sweat," saith he who beareth the name of Eusebius Emissenus, or Gallicanus, "with all the labours of our soul and body, although we were exercised with all the strength of obedience, yet shall not we be able to recompense and offer any thing worthy in merit for the heavenly good things. The offices of this present life cannot be compared with the joys of the life eternal. Although our members be wearied with watchings, although our faces wax pale with fastings, yet the sufferings of this time will not be worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us. Let us knock, therefore, dearly beloved, as much as we can, because we cannot as much as we ought: the future bliss may be acquired, but estimated it cannot be."

"[65]Albeit thou hadst good deeds equal in number to

mator, quo meritis pervenire non poteram, voto non tenderem. Sed gratias illi, qui delicta nostra sic ne extollamur resecat, ut spem ad lætiora (*al.* latiora) perducat. Ennod. Ticinens. lib. ii. Epist. x. ad Faust.

[63] Gratia autem etiam ipsa ideo non injuste dicitur, quia non solum donis suis Deus dona sua reddit; sed quia tantum etiam ibi gratia divinæ retributionis exuberat, ut incomparabiliter atque ineffabiliter omne meritum, quamvis bonæ et ex Deo datæ, humanæ voluntatis atque operationis excedat. Fulgent. ad Monimum, lib. i. cap. 10.

[64] Totis licet et animæ et corporis laboribus desudemus, totis licet obedientiæ viribus exerceamur, nihil tamen condignum merito pro cœlestibus bonis compensare et offerre valebimus. Non valent vitæ præsentis obsequia æternæ vitæ gaudiis comparari. Lassescant licet membra vigiliis, pallescant licet ora jejuniis, non erunt tamen condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Pulsemus ergo, carissimi, in quantum possumus, quia non possumus quantum debemus: futura beatitudo acquiri potest, æstimari non potest. Euseb. Emissen. vel Gallican. ad Monachos, Ser. III.

[65] Ἰσάριθμα τοῖς ἄστροις ἂν κτήσῃ κατορθώματα, οὐδέποτε νικήσεις τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα. ὅσα γὰρ ἄν τις προσενέγκῃ Θεῷ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ αὐτοῦ προσ-

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the stars," saith Agapetus the Deacon to the Emperor Justinian, "yet shalt thou never go beyond the goodness of God. For whatsoever any man shall bring unto God, he doth but offer unto him his own things out of his own store; and as one cannot outstrip his own shadow in the sun, which preventeth him always, although he make never so much speed, so neither can men by their good doings outstrip the unmatchable bounty of God." "[66] All the righteousness of man," saith Gregory, "is convicted to be unrighteousness, if it be strictly judged. It needeth, therefore, prayer after righteousness, that that which being sifted might fail, by the mere pity of the Judge might stand for good. Let him therefore say, *Although I had any righteous thing, I would not answer, but I would make supplication to my Judge*, Job ix. 15; as if he should more plainly confess and say, Albeit I did grow up unto the work of virtue, I should be enabled unto life, not by merits, but by pardon." But you will say, "[67] If this bliss of the saints be mercy, and is not obtained by merits, how shall that stand which is written, *And thou shalt render unto every one according to his works?* If it be rendered according to works, how shall it be accounted mercy? But it is one thing to render according to works, and another thing to render for the works themselves. For when it is said, *according to works*, the quality itself of the works is understood, that whose works appear good,

φέρει αὐτῷ. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπερβῆναι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ σκιὰν, προλαμβάνουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ τὸν λίαν ἐπειγόμενον, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον τοῦ Θεοῦ χρηστότητα ταῖς εὐποιΐαις ὑπερβήσονται ἄνθρωποι. Agapet. Diacon. Paræn. ad Justinian. sect. 43.

[66] Ut enim sæpe diximus, Omnis humana justitia injustitia esse convincitur, si districte judicetur. Prece ergo post justitiam indiget, ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex sola Judicis pietate convalescat, &c. Dicat ergo, Qui etiamsi habuero quippiam justum, non respondebo, sed meum Judicem deprecabor; velut, si apertius fateatur, dicens, Etsi ad opus virtutis excrevero, ad vitam non ex meritis, sed ex venia convalesco. Gregor. Moral. in Job. lib. ix. cap. 14.

[67] Quod si illa sanctorum felicitas misericordia est, et non meritis acquiritur, ubi erit quod scriptum est, Et tu reddes unicuique secundum opera sua? Si secundum opera redditur, quomodo misericordia æstimabitur? Sed aliud est secundum opera reddere, et aliud propter ipsa opera reddere. In eo enim quod secundum opera dicitur, ipsa operum qualitas intelligitur; ut cujus apparuerint bona opera, ejus sit et retributio gloriosa. Illi namque beatæ vitæ in qua cum Deo et de Deo vivitur, nullus potest æquari labor, nulla opera comparari; præsertim cum Apostolus dicat, Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Id. in Psal. Pœnitent. VII. vers. 9.

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his reward may be glorious. For unto that blessed life, wherein we are to live with God and by God, no labour can be equalled, no works compared, seeing the Apostle saith, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.*" "[68] By the righteousness of works no man shall be saved, but only by the righteousness of faith," saith Bede. And therefore "[69] no man should believe, that either his freedom of will or his merits are sufficient to bring him unto bliss; but understand, that he can be saved by the grace of God only." The same author, writing upon those words of David, Psalm xxiv. 5, *He shall receive a blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation*, expoundeth the blessing to be this, "[70] that for the present time he shall merit, or work well, and for the future shall be rewarded well, and that not by merits, but by grace only."

To the same purpose Elias Cretensis, the interpreter of Gregory Nazianzen, writeth thus: "[71] By mercy we ought to understand that reward which God doth repay unto us. For we as servants do owe virtue, that the best things, and such as are grateful, we should pay and offer unto God as a certain debt, considering that we have nothing which we have not received from him; and God on the other side, as our Lord and Master, hath pity on us, and doth bestow rather than repay unto us." "[72] This, therefore, is true humility," saith Anastasius Sinaita or Nicænus,

[68] Per justitiam factorum nullus salvabitur, sed per solam justitiam fidei. Bed. in Psal. LXXVII.

[69] Instruit videlicet, ut nemo vel libertatem arbitrii vel merita sua sufficere sibi ad beatitudinem credat, sed sola gratia Dei se salvari posse intelligat. Id. in Psal. XXXI.

[70] Accipiet benedictionem, id est, multiplicationem a Domino; hanc scilicet, ut in præsenti bene promereatur, et in futuro bene remuneretur. Et hoc non ex meritis, sed ex sola gratia. Id. in Psal. xxiii.

[71] Debemus per misericordiam intelligere mercedem illam, quam nobis Deus rependit. Nos enim tanquam servi virtutem debemus, ut optima quæque Deo et grata tanquam debitum quoddam exsolvamus ac offeramus, quippe quum nihil habeamus quod non ab ipso acceperimus: Deus autem velut Dominus et herus noster miseretur, nobisque potius donat quam rependit. Elias in Nazianzeni Orat. habit. in Elect. Eulalii.

[72] Οὐκοῦν ταπεινοφροσύνη ἀληθής ἐστι τὸ πράττειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, λογίζεσθαι δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ μόνην τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ σωθῆναι νομίζοντα. ὅσα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ἐὰν ποιήσωμεν, οὐκ ἀπολογούμεθα τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ μόνου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ ἀναπνεομένου. ὅταν γὰρ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἔχομεν, προσενέγκωμεν αὐτῷ, οὐ χρεωστεῖ ἡμῖν μισθόν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐδεὶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια λαμβάνων χρεωστεῖ μισθὸν δοῦναι τοῖς προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ αὐτά. Anastas. Quæst. CXXXV.

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"to do good works, but to account one's self unclean and unworthy of God's favour, thinking to be saved by his goodness alone. For whatsoever good things we do, we answer not God for the very air alone which we do breathe. And when we have offered unto him all the things that we have, he doth not owe us any reward, for all things are his; and none, receiving the things that are his own, is bound to give a reward unto them that bring the same unto him." In the book set out by the authority of Charles the Great against images, "[73]the ark of the covenant is said to signify our Lord and Saviour, in whom alone we have the covenant of peace with the Father. Over which the propitiatory is said to be placed, because above the commandments either of the Law or of the Gospel, which are founded in him, the mercy of the said Mediator taketh place, by which, not by the works of the Law which we have done, neither willing, nor running, but by his having mercy upon us, we are saved." So Ambrosius Ansbertus, expounding that place, Rev. xix. 7, *Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready:* "[74]In this," saith he, "do we give glory to him, when we do confess that by no precedent merits of our good deeds, but by his mercy only, we have attained unto so great a dignity." And Rabanus, in his commentaries upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "[75]Lest they should say, Our fathers were accepted for their merit, and therefore they obtained such great things at the hand of the Lord, he adjoineth, that this was not given to their merits, but because it so pleased God, whose free gift is whatsoever he bestoweth." Haymo, writing upon those words, Psalm

[73] Arca fœderis secundum quosdam Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum, in quo solo fœdus pacis apud Patrem habemus, designat, &c. Cui propitiatorium superponitur, quia scilicet legalibus sive evangelicis præceptis, quæ in eo fundata sunt, supereminet misericordia ejusdem Mediatoris; per quam non ex operibus legis quæ fecimus nos, neque volentes, neque currentes, sed ejus miseratione salvamur. Opus Carolin. de Imaginib. lib. i. cap. 15.

[74] In eo autem damus illi gloriam, quo nullis præcedentibus bonorum actuum meritis, sed sola nos ejus misericordia ad tantam dignitatem pervenisse fateamur. Ambros. Ansbert. lib. viii. in Apocalyps. cap. xix.

[75] Ne dicerent, Patres nostri suo merito placuerunt, ideo tanta sunt a Domino consecuti, intulit, non meritis datum, sed quia ita sit Deo placitum, cujus est gratuitum omne quod præstat. Raban. in Jerem. lib. xviii. cap. 2.

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cxxxii. 10, *For thy servant David's sake refuse not the face of thine anointed,* saith that, "[76] *For thy servant David's sake,*" is as much to say as, "For the merit of Christ himself;" and from thence collecteth this doctrine, "that none ought to presume of his own merits, but expect all his salvation from the merits of Christ." So in another place: "[77] When we perform our repentance," saith he, "let us know that we can give nothing that is worthy for the appeasing of God, but that only in the blood of that immaculate and singular Lamb we can be saved." And again: "[78] Eternal life is rendered to none by debt, but given by free mercy." "[79] It is of necessity that believers should be saved only by the faith of Christ," saith Smaragdus the Abbot. "[80] By grace, not by merits, are we saved of God," saith the author of the Commentaries upon St Mark, falsely attributed to St Jerome.

That this doctrine was by God's great mercy preserved in the Church the next 500 years also, as well as in those middle times, appeareth most evidently by those instructions and consolations which were prescribed to be used unto such as were ready to depart out of this life. [81] This form of preparing men for their death was commonly to be had in all libraries, and particularly was found inserted among the Epistles of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was commonly accounted to be the author of it. The substance thereof may be seen, (for the copies vary, some being shorter

[76] Propter David servum tuum, id est, propter meritum ipsius Christi; et hic datur plane intelligi, nullum de meritis suis debere præsumere, sed omnem salvationem ex Christi meritis exspectare. Haymo in Psal. cxxxi.

[77] Sed et nos agentes pœnitentiam sciamus, nihil nos dignum dare posse ad placandum Deum, sed solummodo in sanguine immaculati et singularis Agni nos posse salvari. Id. in Mich. cap. vi.

[78] Et quia vita æterna nulli per debitum redditur, sed per gratuitam misericordiam datur. Recte paterfamilias vocans unum eorum ait, Amice, non facio tibi injuriam. Haymo Halberstat. edit. Colon. ann. 1533. Et post: Quasi enim injuriam Deus facere videretur si quod ex debito deberet, ex præmio non redderet; cum vero nullis per debitum, sed solummodo per gratuitam misericordiam, quibus vult, tribuit; nullus contra justitiam Dei murmurare potest, quoniam cui vult, miseretur, et quem vult, indurat; miseretur sola bonitate, indurat nulla iniquitate. Id. Homil. in Dominic. Septuagesimæ.

[79] Necesse est sola fide Christi salvari credentes. Smaragd. in Galat. cap. iii.

[80] Gratia, non meritis, salvati sumus a Deo. Commentar. in Marc. cap. xiv. inter ψευδεπίγραφα Hieronym.

[81] Formula illa infirmos jam animam agentes interrogandi, in Bibliothecis passim obvia; quæ et separatim Anselmo Cantuariensi inscribitur, et operi Epistolarum inserta reperitur. Georg. Cassand. in Appendic. ad Opusc. Jo. Roffens. de Fiducia et Misericordia Dei.

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and some larger than others,) in a Tractate written by a Cistercian Monk, of the Art of Dying Well, which I have in written hand, and have seen also printed in the year 1488 and 1504, in the book called *Hortulus Animæ;* in Cassander's Appendix to the book of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, *de Fiducia et Misericordia Dei*, edit. Colon. ann. 1556; Casper Ulenbergius's Motives, Caus. XIV. p. 462, 463, edit. Colon. ann. 1589; in the Roman Sacerdotal, part I. Tract. V. cap. 13, fol. 116, edit. Venet. ann. 1585; in the book entituled, *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi juxta Ritum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini restituta*, &c. printed at Paris in the year 1575, and in a like book entituled *Ordo Baptizandi cum Modo Visitandi*, printed at Venice the same year; out of which the Spanish inquisitors, as well in their new as in their old Expurgatory Index, the one set out by Cardinal Quiroga in the year 1584, the other by the Cardinal of Sandoval and Roxas in the year 1612, command these interrogatories to be blotted out: "[82]Dost thou believe to come to glory, not by thine own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ?" And, "Dost thou believe that our Lord Jesus Christ did die for our salvation, and that none can be saved by his own merits, or by any other means, but by the merit of his passion?" Whereby we may observe, how late it is since our Romanists in this main and most substantial point, which is the very foundation of all our comfort, have most shamefully departed from the faith of their forefathers. In other copies of this same instruction, which are followed by Cassander, Ulenbergius, and Cardinal Hosius himself, [83]the last question

[82] SACERDOS. Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito, ad gloriam pervenire? *Respondeat infirmus*, Credo. SACERDOS. Credis, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit; et quod ex propriis meritis vel alio modo nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis ejus? *Respondeat infirmus*, Credo. Ordo Baptizandi et Visitandi, edit. Venet. ann. 1575, fol. 43, et Institut. Baptizandi, edit. Paris. ann. 1575, fol. 35. a. et Sacerdotal. Rom. edit. Venet. ann. 1585, fol. 116. b.

[83] *Sed et Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis interrogationes quasdam præscripsisse dicitur infirmis in extremis constitutis; inter quas extrema est:* Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi salvari? *Respondet infirmus*, Etiam. *Tum illi dicitur*, Age ergo, dum superest in te anima, in hac sola morte fiduciam tuam constitue; in nulla alia re fiduciam habe; huic morti te totum committe, hac sola te totum contege, totum immisce te in hac morte, totum confige; in hac morte te totum involve. Et si Dominus Deus voluerit te judicare, dic, Domine, mortem

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propounded to the sick man is this: "Dost thou believe that thou canst not be saved but by the death of Christ?" Whereunto when he hath made answer affirmatively, he is presently directed to make use thereof in this manner: "Go to therefore, as long as thy soul remaineth in thee, place thy whole confidence in this death only, have confidence in no other thing, commit thyself wholly to this death, with this alone cover thyself wholly, intermingle thyself wholly in this death, fasten thyself wholly, wrap thy whole self in this death. And if the Lord God will judge thee, say, Lord, I oppose the death of our Lord Jesus Christ betwixt me and thy judgment; no otherwise do I contend with thee. And if he say unto thee, that thou art a sinner; say, Lord, I put the death of the Lord Jesus Christ betwixt thee and my sins. If he say unto thee, that thou hast deserved damnation, say, Lord, I set the death of our Lord Jesus Christ betwixt me and my bad merits; and I offer his merit instead of the merit which I ought to have, but yet have not. If he say, that he is angry with thee, say, Lord, I interpose the death of our Lord Jesus Christ betwixt me and thine anger."

Add hereunto the following sentences of the doctors of these latter ages: "[84]We cannot suffer or bring in anything worthy of the reward that shall be," saith Œcumenius. So Petrus Blesensis, Archdeacon of Bath: "[85]No trouble can be endured in this vital death, which is able equally to answer the joys of heaven." And Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, more fully before him: "[86]If a man should serve God a thousand years, and that most fervently, he should not deserve of condignity to be half a day in the

Domini nostri Jesu Christi objicio inter me et tuum judicium; aliter tecum non contendo. Et si tibi dixerit, quia peccator es, dic, Domine, mortem Domini Jesu Christi pono inter te et peccata mea. Si dixerit tibi, quod meruisti damnationem, dic, Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi obtendo inter me et mala merita mea; ipsiusque meritum offero pro merito, quod ego debuissem habere, nec habeo. Si dixerit, quod tibi est iratus, dic, Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi oppono inter me et iram tuam. Hosius in Confess. Petricoviens. cap. 73.

[84] Οὐκ ἰσχύομεν ἄξιόν τι τῆς ἐκεῖ ἀντιδόσεως παθεῖν ἢ συνεισενέγκαι. Œcumen. in Roman. viii. p. 312.

[85] Nihil moleste potest sustineri in hac morte vitali, quod cœlestibus gaudiis ex æquo respondere sufficiat. Petr. Blesens. in Job. cap. ult.

[86] Si homo mille annis serviret Deo, etiam ferventissime; non mereretur ex condigno, dimidiam diem esse in regno cœlorum. Anselm. in lib. de Mensuratione Crucis.

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kingdom of heaven." Radulphus Ardens, expounding those words of the parable, Matth. xx. 13, *Didst not thou agree with me for a penny?* "[87] Let no man out of these words," saith he, "think that God is, as it were, tied by agreement to pay that which he hath promised. For as God is free to promise, so is he free to pay; especially seeing as well merits as rewards are his grace. For God doth crown nothing else in us but his own grace, who if he would deal strictly with us, no man living should be justified in his sight. Whereupon the Apostle, who laboured more than all, saith, *I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* Therefore this agreement is nothing else but God's voluntary promise." And "[88] do not wonder," saith he in another sermon, "if I call the merits of the just graces; for as the Apostle witnesseth, *we have nothing which we have not received from God*, and that freely. But because by one grace we come unto another, they are called merits, but improperly. For as Augustine witnesseth, God crowneth only his own grace in us." So Rupertus Tuitiensis: "[89] The greatness or the eternity of the heavenly glory is not a matter of merit, but of grace." The same doth [90] Bernardus Morlanensis express in these rhythmical verses of his:

Urbs Sion inclyta, [91] patria condita littore tuto;
Te peto, te colo, te flagro, te volo, canto, saluto.
Nec meritis peto, nam meritis meto morte perire:
Nec reticens tego, quod meritis ego filius iræ.

[87] Nemo, fratres, ex his verbis putet Deum quasi ex conventione astrictum esse ad reddendum promissum. Sicut enim Deus est liber ad promittendum, ita est liber ad reddendum; præsertim cum tam merita quam præmia sint gratia sua. Nihil enim aliud quam gratiam suam coronat in nobis Deus; qui si vellet in nobis agere districte, non justificaretur in conspectu ejus omnis vivens. Unde apostolus, qui plus omnibus laboravit, dicit, Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Ergo hæc conventio nihil aliud est, quam voluntaria Dei promissio. Rad. Ardens Dominic. in Septuagesima, Homil. II.

[88] Ne miremini, fratres, si merita justorum gratias voco; teste enim apostolo, nihil habemus quod non a Deo et gratis accepimus. Sed quoniam per unam gratiam pervenimus ad aliam, merita dicuntur et improprie. Teste enim Augustino, solam gratiam suam coronat in nobis Deus. Id. Dominic. XVIII. post Trinitat. Homil. I.

[89] Res est non meriti, sed gratiæ, magnitudo vel æternitas cœlestis gloriæ. Rupert. Tuit. in Johan. lib. i. cap. 1.

[90] Bernard. Cluniacens. de Contemptu Mundi, lib. i.

[91] Al. *turris et edita.*

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Vita quidem mea, vita nimis rea, mortua vita;
Quippe reatibus exitialibus obruta, trita.
Spe tamen ambulo, præmia postulo speque fideque:
Illa perennia postulo præmia nocte dieque.

But Bernard of Claræval1e, above others, delivereth this doctrine most sweetly: "[92]It is necessary," saith he, "that first of all thou shouldest believe, that thou canst not have remission of sins but by the mercy of God; then, that thou canst not at all have any whit of a good work, unless he likewise give it thee; lastly, that by no works thou canst merit eternal life, unless that also be freely given unto thee." "[93]Otherwise, if we will properly name those which we call our merits, they be certain seminaries of hope, incitements of love, signs of secret predestination, foretokens of future happiness, the way to the kingdom, not the cause of reigning." "[94]Dangerous is the dwelling of them that trust in their merits; dangerous, because ruinous." "[95]For this is the whole merit of man, if he put all his trust in him who saveth the whole man." "[96]Therefore my merit is the mercy of the Lord: I am not poor in merit, so long as he is not poor in mercy; and if the mercies of the Lord be many, my merits also are many." With which that passage of the Manual, falsely fathered upon St Augustine, doth accord so justly, that the one appeareth to be plainly borrowed from the other: "[97]All my hope is in the death of my Lord. His death

[92] Necesse est primo omnium credere, quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis, nisi per indulgentiam Dei; deinde quod nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni, nisi et hoc dederit ipse; postremo, quod æternam vitam nullis potes operibus promereri, nisi gratis detur et illa. Bernard. Serm. I. in Annuntiat. B. Mariæ.

[93] Alioquin, si proprie appellentur ea quæ dicimus nostra merita, spei quædam sunt seminaria, caritatis incentiva, occultæ prædestinationis indicia, futuræ felicitatis præsagia, via regni, non causa regnandi. Id. in fine libri de Grat. et Lib. Arbitr.

[94] Periculosa habitatio eorum qui in meritis suis sperant; periculosa, quia ruinosa. Id. in Psal. *Qui habitat*, Serm. I.

[95] Hoc enim totum hominis meritum, si totam spem suam ponat in eo qui totum hominem salvum facit. Ibid. Serm. XV.

[96] Meum proinde meritum miseratio Domini. Non plane sum meriti inops, quandiu ille miserationum non fuerit. Quod si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multis nihilominus ego in meritis sum. Id. in Cant. Serm. LXI.

[97] Tota spes mea est in morte Domini mei. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus, vita et resurrectio mea. Meritum meum miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum Dominus non defuerit; et misericordiæ Domini multæ, multis ego sum in meritis. Manual. cap. 22, Tom. IX. Operum Augustini.

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is my merit, my refuge, my salvation, life, and resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not poor in merit so long as that Lord of mercies shall not fail; and as long as his mercies are much, much am I in merits."

Neither are the testimonies of the Schoolmen wanting in this cause. For where "[98]God" is affirmed to "give the kingdom of heaven for good merits," or good works, some made here a difference betwixt *pro bonis meritis* and *propter bona merita*. The former, they said, did denote "a sign, or a way, or some occasion;" and in that sense they admitted the proposition: but according to the latter expression they would not receive it, because *propter* did note "an efficient cause." And yet for the salving of that also the Cardinal of Cambray, Petrus de Alliaco, delivereth us this distinction: "[99]This word *propter* is sometimes taken by way of consequence, and then it noteth the order of the following of one thing upon another, as when it is said, The reward is given for the merit; for nothing else is signified thereby but that the reward is given after the merit, and not but after the merit: sometimes again it is taken causally." And, "[100]forasmuch as a cause" also is accounted "that upon the being whereof another thing doth follow, a thing may be said to be a cause two manner of ways: one way properly, when upon the presence of the

[98] Nota quod cum dicitur, Deus pro bonis meritis dabit vitam æternam, *pro* primo notat signum, vel viam, vel occasionem aliquam; sed si dicatur, Propter bona merita dabit vitam æternam, *propter* notat causam efficientem. Ideo non recipitur a quibusdam; sed hanc recipiunt, *Pro bonis meritis*, et consimiles earum, assignantes differentiam inter *pro* et *propter*. Georg. Cassander, Epist. XIX. ad Jo. Molinæum, Oper. p. 1109, ex libro MS. vetusti cujusdam Scholastici.

[99] Hæc dictio *propter* quandoque capitur consecutive, et tunc denotat ordinem consecutionis unius rei ad aliam; ut cum dicitur, Præmium datur propter meritum. Nihil enim aliud significatur nisi quod post meritum datur præmium, et non nisi post meritum; sicut alias patebit in materia de merito. Quandoque vero capitur causaliter. Pet. Camaracens. in i. Sentent. Dist. I. Quæst. II. *DD*.

[100] Quia enim causa est illud ad cujus esse sequitur aliud, dupliciter potest aliquid dici causa: uno modo proprie, quando ad præsentiam esse unius virtute ejus et ex natura rei sequitur esse alterius; et sic ignis est causa caloris: alio modo improprie, quando ad præsentiam esse unius sequitur esse alterius, non tamen virtute ejus, nec ex natura rei, sed ex sola voluntate alterius; et sic actus meritorius dicitur causa respectu præmii. Sic etiam causa sine qua non dicitur causa. Ex quo sequitur, quod causa sine qua non non debet absolute et simpliciter dici causa, quia proprie non est causa. Id. in Sent. IV. Quæst. I. Artic. I. *D*.

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being of the one, by the virtue thereof, and out of the nature of the thing, there followeth the being of the other; and thus is fire the cause of heat: another way improperly, when upon the presence of the being of the one there followeth the being of the other, yet not by the virtue thereof, nor out of the nature of the thing, but only out of the will of another; and so a meritorious act is said to be a cause in respect of the reward;" as *causa sine qua non* also is said to "be a cause," though it be none "properly."

Among those famous clerks that lived in the family of Richard Angervill, Bishop of Durham, in the days of Edward the Third, Thomas Bradwardin, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Fitzraufe, afterward Archbishop of Armagh, and Robert Holcot, the Dominican, were of special note. The first of these, in his defence of the cause of God against the Pelagians of his time, disputeth this point at large, shewing [101] that "merit is not the cause of everlasting reward;" and that when the Scriptures and Doctors do affirm that God will reward the good for their good merits, or works, *propter* did not signify "the cause" properly, but improperly, either "the cause of knowing" it, or "the order," or "the disposition of the subject" thereunto. Richard of Armagh, whom my countrymen commonly do call St Richard of Dundalk, because he was there born and buried, intimateth this to be his mind, that the reward is here rendered, "[102] not for the condignity of the work, but for the promise, and so for the justice of the rewarder;" as heretofore we have heard out of Bernard. Holcot, though in words he maintain the "merit of condignity," yet he confesseth with the Master of the Sentences, that God is hereby made our debtor, *ex natura*

[101] Is in laudatissima illa Summa contra Pelagianos copiose et erudite disputat, Meritum non esse causam æterni præmii; cumque Scriptura et doctores confirment, Deum præmiaturum bonos propter merita sua bona, *propter* non significare causam proprie, sed improprie, vel causam cognoscendi, vel ordinem, vel denique dispositionem subjecti. Georg. Cassand. Epist. XIX. ut supra. Vide ipsum Bradwardini Opus, edit. Lond. ann. 1618, a p. 350 ad 353, ubi lib. i. cap. 39. Nullus potest reddere plenarie debitum quod accepit a Deo, quare nec quicquam mereri ab eo ex jure debito et condigno.

[102] Non propter condignitatem operis, sed propter promissionem, et sic propter justitiam præmiantis. Armachan. in Quæst. Armenorum, lib. xii. cap. 21.

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sui promissi, non ex natura nostri commissi, "out of the nature of his own promise, not out of the nature of our doing;" and that our works have this value in them, not naturally, as if there were so great goodness in the nature or substance of the merit, that everlasting life should be due unto it, but legally, in regard of God's ordinance and appointment; even "[103]as a little piece of copper, of its own nature or natural value, is not worth so much as a loaf of bread, but by the institution of the prince is worth so much." And in this manner "[104]we may say," saith he, "that our works are worthy of life everlasting by grace, and not by the substance of the act. For God hath ordained, that he that worketh well in grace should have life everlasting; and therefore by the law and grace of Christ our Prince we merit condignly everlasting life." Whereby we may see how rightly it hath been observed by Vasquez, [105]that divers of those whom he accounteth Catholics do "differ" from us "only in words," but "agree in deed." Of which number he nameth [106]Gulielmus Parisiensis, [107]Scotus, [108]Ockam, [109]Gregorius Ariminensis, [110]Gabriel Biel with his [111]Supplement, the Canons of Cullen in their [112]Antididagma

[103] Sicut parva pecunia cupri, ex natura sua sive naturali vigore, non valet tantum sicut unus panis, sed ex institutione principis tantum valet. Rob. Holcot. in lib. Sapient. cap. 3, Lect. XXXVI.

[104] Possumus dicere, quod opera nostra sunt condigna vitæ æternæ ex gratia, non ex substantia actus. Statuit enim Deus quod bene operans in gratia habebit vitam æternam. Et ergo per legem et gratiam Principis nostri Christi meremur de condigno vitam æternam. Ibid.

[105] Contingere enim potest, ut si veram causam et rationem meriti non assignemus, verbis solum ab hæreticis dissidentes reipsa cum eis conveniamus, atque in eorum sententiam, velimus nolimus, consentire cogamur; quod sane aliquibus Catholicis in hac controversia accidisse, non obscure inferius patebit. Gabr. Vasquez, in 1mam 2dæ, Quæst. CXIV. Disputat. CCXIV. cap. 1.

[106] Gulielm. Paris. Tract. de Meritis.

[107] Scotus in i. Sent. Dist. XVII. Quæst. III. sect. *Hic potest dici*. Id. in iv. Distinct. XLIX. Quæst. VI. Loquendo de stricta justitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intense, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita.

[108] Gulielm. Ockam, in i. Sent. Distinct. XVII. Quæst. II. sect. *Ideo dico aliter*.

[109] Gregor. in i. Sent. Distinct. XVII. Quæst. I. Artic. 2, in confirmationibus secundæ conclusionis et solutione quarti argumenti contra eandem.

[110] Gabriel in i. Sent. Distinct. XVII. Quæst. III. Artic. 3, Dub. 2, et in ii. Distinct. XXVII. Quæst. III. Artic. 3, Dub. 2.

[111] Supplement. Gabriel. in iv. Distinct. XLIX. Quæst. IV. Artic. 2, Conclus. 3.

[112] Antididagm. Coloniens. cap. 12, de Præmio et Retribut. Bonorum Operum.

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and [113]Enchiridion, [114]Joh. Bunderius, [115]Alphonsus de Castro, and [116]Andreas Vega, who was present at the handling of these matters in the last Tridentine Council.

All these, and sundry others beside them, hold that the dignity of the good works done by God's children doth not proceed from the value of the works themselves, but only from the gracious promise and acceptation of God. Yea, Gregorius Ariminensis, [117]that most able and careful defender of St Augustine, as Vega styleth him, concludeth peremptorily, "[118]that no act of man, though issuing from never so great charity, meriteth of condignity from God either eternal life, or yet any other reward, whether eternal or temporal." The same conclusion is by Durand, the "most resolute" doctor, as [119]Gerson termeth him, thus confirmed: "[120]That which is conferred rather out of the liberality of the Giver than out of the due of the work, doth not fall within the compass of the merit of condignity, strictly and properly taken. But whatsoever we receive of God, whether it be grace or whether it be glory, whether temporal or spiritual good, whatsoever good work we have before done for it, yet we receive the same rather and more principally out of God's liberality, than out of the due of the work. Therefore nothing at all falleth within the compass of the merit of condignity, so taken." And "[121]the cause hereof is,"

[113] Enchirid. addit. Concilio Coloniensi, tit. de Justific. sect. *Et ut semel hunc articulum.*

[114] Jo. Bunder. Compend. Concertationis, tit. 6, Artic. 5.

[115] Alphons. contra Hæres. lib. x. tit. *Meritum*, et lib. vii. tit. *Gratia.*

[116] Vega in Opusc. de Justificat. Quæst. v. ad 1 et 3.

[117] Valens ille Gregorius Ariminensis, maximus et studiosissimus Divi Augustini propugnator. Id. ibid. Quæst. VI.

[118] Ex hoc ulterius infero, quod nedum vitæ æternæ, sed nec alicujus alterius præmii, æterni vel temporalis, aliquis actus hominis, ex quacunque caritate elicitus, est de condigno meritorius apud Deum. Gregor. in i. Sent. Distinct. XVII. Quæst. I. Artic. 2.

[119] Durandus utique resolutissimus. Jo. Gerson. Epist. ad Studentes Collegii Navarræ.

[120] Quod redditur potius ex liberalitate dantis quam ex debito operis, non cadit sub merito de condigno stricte et proprie accepto, ut expositum est. Sed quicquid a Deo accipimus, sive sit gratia sive sit gloria, sive bonum temporale vel spirituale, præcedente in nobis propter hoc quocunque bono opere, potius et principalius accipimus ex liberalitate Dei, quam reddatur ex debito operis. Ergo nihil penitus cadit sub merito de condigno sic accepto. Durand. in ii. Sent. Distinct. XXVII. Quæst. II. sect. 12.

[121] Causa autem hujus est, quia et illud quod sumus, et quod habemus, sive sunt boni actus, sive boni habitus seu usus, totum est in nobis ex liberalitate divina gratis dante et conservante. Et quia ex dono gratuito nullus obligatur ad dandum amplius, sed potius recipiens magis obligatur danti; ideo ex bonis habitibus, et ex bonis actibus sive usibus nobis a Deo

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saith he, "because both that which we are and that which we have, whether they be good acts or good habits, or the use of them, is wholly in us by God's liberality, freely giving and preserving the same. Now, because none is bound by his own free gift to give more, but the receiver rather is more bound to him that giveth, therefore by the good habits, and by the good acts or uses which God hath given us, God is not bound to us by any debt of justice to give any thing more, so as if he did not give it he should be unjust, but we are rather bound to God. And to think or say the contrary is rashness or blasphemy."

Of the same judgment with Durand was Jacobus de Everbaco, as Marsilius witnesseth, who delivereth his own opinion touching this matter in these three conclusions. 1. "[122]If we consider our works in themselves, or as they proceed also from co-operating grace, they are not such works as deserve eternal life of condignity;" for proof whereof he bringeth in many reasons, and that of Durand's for one: "[123]If for the works wrought by grace and free-will, although never so great, eternal life should be due unto any by condignity, then God should do him injury if he did not give eternal life unto him; and so God by those great good things which he had given should be constrained in way of justice to add more great thereunto; which reason doth not comprehend." 2. "[124]Such works as these may be said to merit eternal life of condignity by divine acceptation, originally proceeding from the merit of the passion of Christ." 3. "[125]Works done by grace do merit eternal life by way of congruity, in respect of God's liberal disposition, who

datis, Deus non obligatur nobis ex aliquo debito justitiæ ad aliquid amplius dandum, ita quod si non dederit sit injustus; sed potius nos sumus Deo obligati. Et sentire seu dicere oppositum est temerarium seu blasphemum. Ibid. sect. 13, 14.

[122] Considerando opera nostra secundum se, vel etiam prout sunt ex gratia cooperante, non sunt opera meritoria vitæ æternæ de condigno. Marsil. de Inghen, in ii. Sent. Quæst. XVIII. Art. 4.

[123] Si de condigno ex operibus gratia et libero arbitrio, etiam quantumlibet magnis, operatis deberetur vita æterna, tunc Deus illi injuriam faceret, si sibi vitam æternam non tribueret; et sic Deus ex magnis datis bonis cogeretur sub justitia addere ampliora: quod ratio non capit. Ibid.

[124] Hujusmodi opera possunt dici vitæ æternæ meritoria de condigno, ex acceptatione divina originaliter procedente ex merito passionis Christi. Ibid.

[125] Opera facta ex gratia merentur vitam æternam de congruo ex liberali Dei dispositione, qua disposuit ea sic præmiare. Ibid.

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hath so purposed to reward them." Afterwards he proveth out of the Apostle, Rom. vi. 23, that [126] *Eternal life is given out of God's grace, not out of our righteousness;* and that God in thus rewarding us doth neither exercise *commutative* justice, " [127] because in our good works we give nothing unto God for which by way of commutation the reward should be due unto us;" nor yet *distributive*, [128] because " no man by working well, in regard of himself, and in regard of the state wherein he is, doth merit anything of condignity, but is bound to God rather by a greater obligation, because he hath received greater good things" from him. And [129] thereupon at last concludeth, that God " is just in rewarding, because by his just disposition he hath ordained by the grace of acceptation to crown the lesser merit with the greater reward, not by the justice of debt, but by the grace and disposition of the divine good pleasure."

But the sentence of the Chancellor and the Theological Faculty of Paris, in the year 1354, against one Guido, an Austin Friar, that then defended " the merit of condignity," is not to be overpassed. For by their order this form of recantation was prescribed unto him: " [130] I said against a bachelor of the order of the friar's preachers in conference with him, that a man doth merit everlasting life of condignity, that is to say, that in case it were not given, there should injury be done unto him. I wrote likewise that God should do him injury, and approved it. This I revoke as FALSE, HERETICAL, and BLASPHEMOUS." Yet now the times are so changed, and men in them, that our

[126] Non ex nostra justitia, sed ex Dei gratia datur vita æterna; juxta illud ad Rom. vi. Gratia Dei vita æterna. Ibid.

[127] Cum in operibus nostris bonis nihil Deo demus, pro quo per commutationem debeatur nobis præmium. Ibid.

[128] Cum nullus bene operando secundum se et secundum statum aliquid de condigno mereatur, sed potius Deo majori obligatione astringitur, quia majora bona recepit. Ibid.

[129] Ex quibus concluditur, quod justus sit in remunerando; quia justa dispositione sua disposuit ex gratia acceptationis minus meritum majori præmio coronare, non justitia debiti, sed gratia et dispositione beneplaciti divini. Ibid.

[130] Dixi contra baccalarium Prædicatorum conferendo cum ipso, quod homo meretur vitam æternam de condigno; id est, quod si non daretur, ei fieret injuria. Et scripsi quod Deus faceret sibi injuriam; et hanc probavi. Istam revoco tanquam falsam, hæreticum, et blasphemam. Guid. Revocat. Errorum Fact. Paris. ann. 1354, Tom. XIV. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Colon. p. 347.

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new divines of Rheims stick not to tell us, that it "[131]is most clear to all not blinded in pride and contention, that good works be meritorious and the very cause of salvation, so far that God should be unjust if he rendered not heaven for the same." Where to the judgment of the indifferent reader I refer it, whether side in this case is more likely to have been blinded in pride: we who abase ourselves before God's footstool, and utterly disclaim all our own merits; or they who have so high a conceit of them, that they dare in this presumptuous manner to challenge God of injustice, if he should judge them to deserve a less reward than heaven itself: and whether that sentence of our Saviour Christ be not fulfilled in them, as well as in the proud and blind Pharisees their predecessors: [132]*For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind.* And so leaving these blind leaders of the blind, who say they [133]*see*, by that means making their *sin to remain*, and say they [134]*are rich and increased with goods, not knowing that they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked*, I proceed, and out of the fifteenth century or hundred of years after Christ, produce other two witnesses of this truth. The one is Paulus Burgensis, who, expounding those words of David, Psalm xxxvi. 5, *Thy mercy, O Lord, is in heaven*, or, *reacheth unto the heavens*, writeth thus: "[135]No man according to the common law can merit by condignity the glory of heaven; whence the Apostle saith, in the eighth to the Romans, *that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed in us;* and so it is manifest that in heaven most of all the mercy of God shineth forth in the blessed." The other is Thomas Walden, who, living in England the same time that the other did in Spain, professeth plainly his dislike of that saying, "[136]that a man

[131] Rhem. Annotat. in Heb. vi. 10.

[132] Joh. ix. 39. [133] Joh. ix. 41.

[134] Rev. iii. 17.

[135] Gloriam cœlestem nullus de condigno secundum legem communem meretur; unde apostolus ad Rom. viii. Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus seculi ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis: et sic manifestum est, quod in cœlo maxime relucet misericordia Dei in beatis. Paul. Burgens. addit. ad Lyran. in Psalm. xxxv.

[136] Quod homo ex meritis est dignus regno cœlorum, aut hac gratia vel illa gloria; quamvis quidam scholastici invenerunt ad hoc dicendum terminos de con-

by his merits is worthy of the kingdom of heaven, or this grace or that glory, howsoever certain schoolmen, that they might so speak, had invented the terms of *condignity* and *congruity*." But "[137] I repute him," saith he, "the sounder divine, the more faithful Catholic, and more consonant with the holy Scriptures, who doth simply deny such merit, and with the qualification of the Apostle and of the Scriptures confesseth, that simply no man meriteth the kingdom of heaven, but by the grace of God or will of the giver." "[138] As all the former saints until the late schoolmen, and the universal Church hath written."

Out of which words of his you may further observe both the time when, and the persons by whom, this innovation was made in these latter days of the Church, namely, that the late schoolmen were they that corrupted the ancient doctrine of the Church, and to that end devised their new terms of the merit of *congruity* and *condignity*. I say, in these latter days; because if we look unto higher times, Walden himself in that same place doth affirm, that it was a branch of the [139] Pelagian heresy to hold, "that according to the measure of meritorious works God will reward a man so meriting." Neither indeed can this proud generation of merit-mongers be derived from a more proper stock than from the old either Pelagians or Catharists. For as these do now-a-days maintain that they do "[140] work by their own free-will, and thereby deserve their salvation;" so was this wont to be a part of Pelagius's song: "[141] No man shall take away from me the power of free-will, lest if God be my helper in my works the reward be not due to me, but to him that did work in me." And to "[142] glory

digno et congruo. Waldens. Tom. III. de Sacramentalib. tit. I. cap. 7.

[137] Reputo igitur saniorem theologum, fideliorem Catholicum, et scripturis sanctis magis concordem, qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat, et cum modificatione apostoli et scripturarum concedit, quia simpliciter quis non meretur regnum cœlorum, sed ex gratia Dei aut voluntate largitoris. Ibid.

[138] Sicut omnes sancti priores usque ad recentes scholasticos, et communis scripsit ecclesia. Ibid.

[139] Pelagiana est hæresis, quod Deus secundum mensuram operum meritoriorum præmiabit hominem sic merentem. Ibid.

[140] Rhemists' Annotat. in Rom. ix. 14.

[141] Mihi nullus auferre poterit liberi arbitrii potestatem, ne si in operibus meis Deus adjutor exstiterit, non mihi debeatur merces, sed ei qui in me operatus. Pelag. apud Hieronym. in Dialog. advers. Pelag. lib. i.

[142] Gloriantes de suis meritis. Isidor. lib. viii. Origen. cap. 5, de Catharis.

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of their merits," was a special property noted in the Catharists or ancient Puritans; who standing thus upon their own purity, [143]do thereby declare, as Cassiodorus noteth, "that they have no portion with the holy Church," which professeth that her sins are many. Nay, "[144]while these men call themselves Puritans," saith Epiphanius, "by this very ground they prove themselves to be impure; for whosoever pronounceth himself to be pure, doth therein absolutely condemn himself to be impure." For, as St Jerome in this case disputeth against the Pelagians, and so against the Puritan and Pelagian Romanists, "[145]then are we righteous when we confess ourselves to be sinners; and our righteousness consisteth not in our own merits, but in God's mercy:" with whose resolution against them we will now conclude this point against their new offspring, that "[146]the righteous are saved, not by their own merit, but by God's clemency."

And thus have I gone over all the particular Articles propounded by our Challenger, and performed therein more a great deal than he required at my hands. That which he desired in the name of his fellows was, that we would allege but "any one text of Scripture which condemneth any of the above-written points." He hath now presented unto him not texts of Scripture only, but testimonies of the Fathers also, justifying our dissent from them, not in one but in all those points wherein he was so confident, that "they of our side that had read the Fathers could well testify" that all antiquity did in judgment concur with the now Church of Rome. And if he look into every one of them more nearly, he may perhaps find that

[143] Et memoria reconde, quod ecclesia dicit pro parte membrorum, copiosa sua esse peccata; ut qui se prædicant esse mundos, sicut Catharistæ, intelligant se portionem cum sancta ecclesia non habere. Cass. in Psalm. xxiv.

[144] Οὗτοι ἑαυτοὺς φήσαντες καθαροὺς, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀκαθάρτους ἑαυτοὺς ἀποτελοῦσι. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἀποφήνας καθαρὸν, ἀκάθαρτον ἑαυτὸν τελείως κατέκρινε. Epiphan. Hæres. LIX. p. 216, 217.

[145] Tunc ergo justi sumus, quando nos peccatores fatemur; et justitia nostra non ex proprio merito, sed ex Dei consistit misericordia. Hieron. Dialog. advers. Pelag. lib. i.

[146] Pro nihilo, inquit, salvos faciet eos; haud dubium quin justos, qui non proprio merito, sed Dei salvantur clementia. Id. ibid. lib. ii.

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we are not such strangers to the original and first breedings of these Romish errors as he did imagine. It now remaineth on his part that he make good what he hath undertaken, namely, that "for the confirmation of all the above-mentioned points of his religion" he produce both "good and certain grounds out of the sacred Scriptures," and the general consent likewise of "the saints and Fathers of the primitive Church." Wherein as I advise him to spare his pains in labouring to prove those things which he seeth me beforehand readily to have yielded unto; so I wish him also not to forget his own motion, made in the perclose of his Challenge, that all "may be done with Christian charity and sincerity, to the glory of God, and instruction of them that are astray."

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A

CATALOGUE OF THE AUTHORS

HERE ALLEGED;

DISPOSED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF THE TIMES WHEREIN THEY ARE ACCOUNTED TO HAVE LIVED.

AN. DOM.

40. NICODEMUS. The author of the counterfeit Gospel attributed unto him lived within the first 600 years, being cited by Gregorius Turonensis.

43. Thaddæus, vouched by Eusebius.

60. Hermes.

70. Clemens I. Romanus Episc. Counted the author of the Apostolical Constitutions.

Dionysius Areopagita. The books that bear his name seem to be written in the fourth or fifth age after Christ.

106. Ignatius Antiochenus.

150. Justinus Martyr.

169. Smyrnensis Ecclesia, de Martyrio Polycarpi.

AN. DOM.

170. Tatianus.

180. Theophilus Antiochenus.

Irenæus Lugdunensis.

190. Maximus; out of whom the Dialogues against the Marcionists, attributed to Origen, are collected; as appeareth by the large fragment cited out of him by Eusebius in the end of the seventh book *de Præparatione Evangelica*.

200. Clemens Alexandrinus.

Tertullianus.

210. Caius.

220. Hippolytus Martyr.

230. Origenes.

Ammonius.

Minucius Felix.

240. Novatianus.

250. Gregorius Neocæsariensis.

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AN. DOM.

250. Cyprianus.
260. Zeno Veronensis.
270. Victorinus Pictaviensis.
290. Pamphilus Martyr.
300. Arnobius.
Lactantius.
303. Concilium Sinuessanum, supposititium.
310. Concilium Eliberinum, seu Illiberitanum.
325. Concilium Romanum sub Silvestro, supposititium.
Concilium Nicænum, Universale I.
Macarius Hierosolymitanus.
330. Eusebius Cæsariensis.
Juvencus.
340. Eusebius Emesenus.
Athanasius Alexandrinus.
350. Eustathius Antiochenus.
Julius Firmicus Maternus.
Acacius Cæsariensis.
359. Conciliabula Arianorum, Nicæn. Constantinop. Sirmiens. et Ariminens.
360. Didymus.
Hilarius Pictaviensis.
Titus Bostrensis.
364. Concilium Laodicenum.
370. Macarius Ægyptius.
Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus.
Asterius Amascæ Episc.
Optatus.
Ambrosius Mediolanensis Episc.
Basilius Cæsariensis.
Gregorius Nazianzenus.
Aerius hæreticus.

AN. DOM.

380. Cæsarius.
Gregorius Nyssenus.
Nectarius.
Pacianus.
Prudentius.
Philastrius.
Evagrius Ponticus.
Amphilochius.
381. Concilium Constantinopolitanum, Universale II.
390. Hieronymus.
Paula et Eustochium, apud eund.
Epiphanius.
Ruffinus.
Cœlius Sedulius.
Paulinus Mediolanensis.
400. Jo. Chrysostomus. Cujus epistolam ad Cæsarium monachum, quam in quæstionem vocant Pontificii, citatam invenio in Collectaneis contra Severianos, quæ ex Fr. Turriani versione habentur in Tomo IV. Antiquæ Lectionis Hen. Canisii, p. 238, et in fine libri Jo. Damasceni contra Acephalos, ibid. p. 211, ubi postrema verba testimonii a nobis citati, p. 59, Turrianus ita transtulit: Sic etiam hic, divina natura in ipso insidente, unum filium, unam personam utrumque constituit.
Marcus Eremita.
Polychronius.
Hesychius Presbyter.
410. Palladius, Lausiacæ historiæ auctor.

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AN. DOM.

410. Pelagius hæreticus.
Augustinus.
Philo-Carpathius.
Synesius.
414. Theodorus Daphnopatus, by Henr. Oræus referred to this year; I know not by what warrant.
418. Concilium Africanum Carthagine habitum contra Pelagium.
420. Maximus Taurinensis.
424. Hilarius Arelatensis.
430. Jo. Cassianus.
Vincentius Lirinensis.
Auctor Operis imperfecti in Matthæum.
Cyrillus Alexandrinus.
Synodus Alexandrina contra Nestorium.
Theodoretus.
Proclus Cyzicenus.
431. Concilium Ephesinum, Universale III.
440. Prosper Aquitanicus.
Socrates historicus.
Sozomenus.
Eucherius Lugdunensis.
Petrus Chrysologus.
450. Leo I.
451. Concilium Chalcedonense, Universale IV.
460. Basilius Seleuciensis.
Victor Antiochenus.
Salvianus Massiliensis.
475. Faustus Regensis, seu Reiensis.
476. Gelasius Cyzicenus.
490. Gennadius Massiliensis.
Gelasius Papa I.

AN. DOM.

494. Concilium Romanum I. sub Gelasio.
500. Paschasius Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconus.
Olympiodorus.
Andrea Cæsariensis.
Stephanus Gobarus hæreticus.
507. Laurentius Novariensis.
510. Ennodius Ticinensis.
520. Aurelius Cassiodorus.
Eusebius Gallicanus.
Cæsarius Arelatensis.
Fulgentius Ruspensis Episc.
Johannes Maxentius.
527. Ephræm Antiochenus.
Agapetus Diaconus.
529. Concilium Arausican. II.
530. Bonifacius II.
Fulgentius Ferrandus.
Dionysius Exiguus.
Benedictus Monachus.
Procopius Gazæus.
540. Arator.
550. Primasius Apameæ Episcopus (Catena Græca in Job. MS. in Biblioth. D. Lindselli.)
553. Concilium Constantinopolitanum, Universale V.
560. Andreas Hierosolymitanus, Cretensis Archiepisc.
Dracontius.
570. Cresconius.
580. Venantius Fortunatus.
Johannes Climacus.
589. Concilium Toletanum III.
600. Gregorius I.
Johan. Nestenta.

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AN. DOM.

600. Agapius Manichæus.
610. Eustratius Constantinopolitanus.
630. Isidorus Hispalensis.
633. Concilium Toletanum IV.
640. Maximus Monachus.
Jonas.
Anastasius Sinaita.
660. Eligius Noviomensis.
680. Julianus Toletanus.
690. Theodorus Cantuariensis Archiepisc.
700. Liber Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ, MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.
Nico.
710. Isidorus Mercator.
720. Beda.
Germanus Constantinop.
730. Bonifacius Moguntinus.
740. Gregorius III.
Jo. Damascenus.
Antonius auctor Melissæ.
745. Synodus Romana sub Zacharia.
754. Constantinopolitanum Concilium contra Imagines.
760. Ambrosius Ansbertus.
773. Hadrianus I.
780. Johannes Hierosolymitanus.
785. Etherius et Beatus.
787. Concilium Nicænum II.
Epiphanius Diaconus.
790. Elias Cretensis.
Alcuinus.
794. Concilium Francofurtense.
800. Carolus Magnus.
813. Concilium Arelatense IV.
Concilium Cabilonense II.

AN. DOM.

816. Concilium Aquisgranense sub Ludovico Pio.
824. Synodus Parisiensis, de Imaginibus.
830. Christianus Druthmarus.
840. Amalarius Lugdunensis.
Paschasius Radbertus.
Rabanus Maurus.
Haymo Halberstattensis.
Agobardus Lugd. Episc.
Walafridus Strabus.
842. Concilium Aquisgranense sub Pipino.
850. Synodus Carisiaca.
Johannes Erigena Scotus.
Ecclesia Lugdunensis contra eundem.
Grimoldus.
Hincmarus Rhemensis.
860. Photius.
Johannes Diaconus.
870. Egolismensis Monachus, qui Caroli Magni vitam descripsit.
Otfridus Wissenburgensis.
876. Ratrannus, vulg. Bertramus.
890. Leo Imperator.
Michael Syncellus.
Ado Viennensis.
Nicetas Serronius.
Gregorius Cerameus.
920. Regino Prumiensis.
950. Smaragdus.
975. Ælfrick.
1000. Fulbertus Carnotensis.
1020. Burchardus.
1030. Simeon Metaphrastes.
1050. Petrus Damiani.

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AN. DOM.

1050. Œcumenius.
Berengarius.
1058. Hermannus Contractus.
1060. Radulphus Ardens.
Lanfrancus Cantuariensis Archiepisc.
Algerus.
1070. Osbernus.
Theophylactus.
1080. Euthymius Zigabenus.
Anselmus Cantuariensis Archiepisc.
1090. Waltramus Naumbergensis.
1100. Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Conradus Bruwilerensis.
ZachariasChrysopolitanus.
Ivo Carnotensis.
1110. Anselmus Laudunensis.
1112. Berengosius Abbas.
1120. Eadmerus.
Michael Glycas.
Johannes Zonaras.
Rupertus Tuitiensis.
1130. Hugo de S. Victore.
Gulielmus Malmesburiensis.
Innocentius II.
Bernardus Clarævallensis.
Auctor Vitæ Godefridi ComitisCappenbergensis.
1140. Petrus Lombardus.
Gilbertus Porretanus.
1146. Otto Frisingensis.
1150. Petrus Cluniacensis.
Constantinus Harmenopulus.
Bernardus Morlanensis.
Leo Thuscus.

AN. DOM.

1160. Arnaldus Carnotensis, Abbas Bonævallis. Opus de Cardinalibus Christi operibus, Cypriano perperam adscriptum, huic auctori in exemplaribus MSS. tribuitur: quorum duo Oxonii ipsi vidimus; in Bodleiana Bibliotheca unum, in Collegii Omnium Animarum Biblioth. alterum.
Petrus Blesensis.
Johannes Tzetzes.
1170. Hugo Etherianus.
Gratianus.
1180. Theodorus Balsamon.
Simeon Dunelmensis.
1200. Cyrus Theodorus Prodromus.
Innocentius III.
1204. Rogerus Hoveden.
1206. Guillermus Altissiodorensis.
1210. Nicetas Choniates.
1215. Concilium Lateranense.
1220. Jacobus de Vitriaco.
1230. Gulielmus Alvernus, Parisiensis Episc.
1235. Rogerus de Wendover.
1240. Alexander de Hales.
Albertus Magnus.
1250. Matthæus Parisiensis.
Hugo Cardinalis.
Bernardus Glossator Decretalium.
1252. Dominicani contra Græcos.
1260. Thomas Aquinas.
Bonaventura.
1270. Jo. Semeca.
1280. Richardus de Media villa.

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1280. Ægidius Romanus, a Trithemio auctor fuisse dicitur Compendii Theologicæ veritatis, quod p. 165 Alberti Magni nomine citavimus. Idem opus Bonaventuræ nomine legitur in Appendice septimi tomi operum ejus Romæ edit.
1283. Johan. Peckham Cantuar. Archiepisc.
1300. Johannes Duns, Scotus.
Georgius Pachymeres.
Athanasius Constantinopolitanus.
Nicolaus Cabasilas.
Matthæus Quæstor.
1310. Hugo de Prato.
Gulielmus Nangiacus.
1320. Gulielmus Ockam.
Durandus de S. Porciano.
Petrus Paludanus.
Theodorus Metochita.
Nicolaus Lyranus.
1327. Andronicus.
1330. Alvarus Pelagius.
1340. Thomas Bradwardin.
Nicephorus Gregoras.
1348. Johannes Andreas, auctor Glossarum in VI. Decretalium.
1350. Richardus Armachanus.
Robertus Holcot.
Thomas de Argentina.
1354. Guido Augustinianus.
Germanus, Patriarcha Constantinop.
1370. Matthæus Westmonasteriensis.
Henricus de Iota vel Huecta.

AN. DOM.

1386. Gregorius Ariminensis.
1390. Michael Agrianus de Bononia.
Johannes Scharpe.
1400. Petrus de Alliaco, Cameracensis.
Johannes Herolt, auctor Sermonum Discipuli.
Jacobus de Everbaco.
1410. Johannes Gerson.
1414. Constantiense Concilium.
1415. Johannes Capreolus.
1420. Theodoricus de Niem.
1430. Paulus Burgensis.
Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis Episcopus.
Thomas Walden.
Bernardinus Senensis.
1438. Græcorum Apologia ad Basiliense Concilium de igne Purgatorio.
Concilium Ferrariense.
1439. Concilium Florentinum.
Eugenii IV. Bulla Unionis.
1440. Nicolaus Tudeschius, Abbas Panormitanus.
Marcus Eugenicus, Ephesius.
1450. Gennadius Scholarius.
1460. Johannes de Turre-Cremata.
Æneas Sylvius.
Dionysius Carthusianus.
Alanus de Rupe.
1479. Congregatio Complutensis.
Michael ab Insulis.
1480. Bernardinus de Busti.
Johannes Capgravius.
Gabriel Biel.

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AN. DOM.
1490. Marsilius de Inghen.
Jacobus Perez de Valentia.
1500. Johannes Major.
Raphael Volaterranus.
Johannes de Selva.

Erasmus, Adrian the Sixth, Cardinal Cajetan, and the other writers of this last age, I pass over, as also the Hebrews and Heathen writers cited in the question of the Descent into Hell; because the designing of the precise time wherein they lived serveth to little use. Only I think it not amiss to add here a list of the Liturgies and ritual books which I have had occasion to make use of.

Liturgiæ Græcæ, nomen præferentes
Jacobi.
Petri.
Marci.
Clementis.
Basilii.
Chrysostomi.
Gregorii Romani, a Codino Græce reddita.
Liturgia Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ, Latine a Leone Thusco edita.
Græcorum
Euchologium.
Menæa.
Octoëchum Anastasimum.
Pentecostarium.
Novum Anthologium Græce editum Romæ anno 1598.
Basilii Anaphora Syriaca, ab Andr. Masio conversa.
Missa Angamallensis Christianorum S. Thomæ, ex Syriaco conversa, in Itinerario Alexii Menesii.
Armenorum Liturgia, ab Andrea Lubelczyck Latine conversa.
Liturgiæ Ægyptiacæ
Basilii,
Gregorii Nazianzeni,
Cyrilli Alexandrini,
a Victorino Scialach ex Arabico conversæ.
Missa Ambrosiana.
Gregorii I. Antiphonarium et Sacramentarium.
Officium Muzarabum in Hispania.
Missale Gothicum, tomo VI. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Paris. anno 1589, et XV. edit. Colon. anno 1622.
Ordo Romanus antiquus.
Missa Latina antiqua, edit. Argentinæ anno 1557.
Baptizatorum et Confitentium Ceremoniæ antiquæ, una cum præfationibus vetustis, edit. Colon. anno 1530.
Alcuini Sacramentorum liber, et Officium per ferias.
Grimoldi Sacramentorum liber.
Preces Ecclesiasticæ veteres, a Georgio Cassandro editæ.
Pontificiale Romanum vetus, edit. Venet. anno 1572, et

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reformatum Clementis VIII. jussu, Romæ edit. anno 1595.

Missale Romanum vetus, edit. Paris. anno 1529, et jussu Pii V. et Clementis VIII. reformatum, edit. Romæ anno 1604.

Breviarium Romanum.

Sacerdotale Romanum, edit. Venet. anno 1585.

Ceremoniale Romanum, edit. Colon. anno 1574.

Ordo Baptizandi, cum modo visitandi infirmos. Venet. 1575.

Sacra institutio Baptizandi juxta Ritum S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ex decreto Concilii Tridentini restitut. Paris. 1575.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis, secundum Consuetudinem Romanæ Curiæ, Græce ab Aldo editæ.

Breviarium secundum usum Ecclesiæ Sarum.

Preces Syrorum, ab Alb. Widmanstadio edit. Viennæ, anno 1555.

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A

DISCOURSE

OF

THE RELIGION

ANCIENTLY PROFESSED BY

THE IRISH AND BRITISH.

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TO

MY VERY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND

SIR CHRISTOPHER SIBTHORP, KNIGHT,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S JUSTICES
OF HIS COURT OF CHIEF PLACE IN IRELAND.

WORTHY SIR,

I CONFESS I somewhat incline to be of your mind, that if unto the authorities drawn out of Scriptures and Fathers, which are common to us with others, a true discovery were added of that religion which anciently was professed in this kingdom, it might prove a special motive to induce my poor countrymen to consider a little better of the old and true way from whence they have hitherto been misled. Yet, on the one side, that saying in the Gospel runneth much in my mind, [1]*If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead;* and on the other, that heavy judgment mentioned by the Apostle, [2]*Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies.* The woeful experience whereof we may see daily before our eyes in this poor nation, where such as are slow of heart to believe the saving truth of God, delivered by the Prophets and Apostles, do with all greediness embrace, and with a most strange kind of credulity entertain, those lying legends wherewith their monks and friars in these latter days have polluted the religion and lives of our ancient saints.

[1] Luke xvi. 31. [2] 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.

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I do not deny but that in this country, as well as in others, corruptions did creep in by little and little, before the devil was let loose to procure that seduction which prevailed so generally in these last times: but as far as I can collect by such records of the former ages as have come unto my hands, either manuscript or printed, the religion professed by the ancient bishops, priests, monks, and other Christians in this land, was for substance the very same with that which now by public authority is maintained therein, against the foreign doctrine brought in thither in later times by the Bishop of Rome's followers. I speak of the more substantial points of doctrine that are in controversy betwixt the Church of Rome and us at this day, by which only we must judge whether of both sides hath departed from the religion of our ancestors; not of matters of inferior note, much less of ceremonies, and such other things as appertain to the discipline rather than to the doctrine of the Church.

And whereas it is known unto the learned that the name of Scoti in those elder times, whereof we treat, was common to the inhabitants of the greater and the lesser Scotland, (for so heretofore they have been distinguished), that is to say, of Ireland and the famous colony deduced from thence into Albania; I will not follow the example of those that have of late laboured to make dissension betwixt the daughter and the mother, but account of them both as of the same people:

Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habebo.

The religion, doubtless, received by both was the selfsame, and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the Britons, as by comparing the evidences that remain, both of the one nation and of the other, in the ensuing discourse more fully shall appear.

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THE CHIEF HEADS

TREATED OF IN THIS DISCOURSE

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OF

THE RELIGION

PROFESSED BY THE

ANCIENT IRISH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Two excellent rules doth St Paul prescribe unto Christians for their direction in the ways of God; the one, that they [1]*be not unwise, but understanding what the will of God is;* the other, that they [2]*be not more wise than behoveth to be wise, but be wise unto sobriety.* And that we might know the limits within which this wisdom and sobriety should be bounded, he elsewhere declareth, that not to be more wise than is fitting is [3]*not to be wise above that which is written.* Hereupon Sedulius, one of the most ancient writers that remaineth of this country birth, delivereth this for the meaning of the former rule: "[4]Search the law, in which the will of God is contained;" and this for the latter: "[5]He would be more wise" than is meet, "who searcheth those things that the law doth not speak of." Unto whom we will adjoin Claudius, another famous divine, counted one of the founders of the University of Paris, who for the illustration of the former affirmeth that men "[6]therefore err, because they know not

[1] Ephes. v. 17.

[2] Rom. xii. 3. Μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

[3] 1 Cor. iv. 6. Μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν.

[4] Scrutamini legem, in qua voluntas ejus continetur. Sedul. in Ephes. v.

[5] Plus vult sapere, qui illa scrutatur quæ lex non dicit. Id. in Rom. xii.

[6] Propterea errant, quia scripturas nesciunt; et quia scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus et Dei sapientia. Claud. in Matth. lib. iii. Habetur MS. Romæ in Bibliotheca Vallicellana, et Cantabrigiæ in Bibliothec. Colleg. Benedict. et Aulæ Pembrochianæ.

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the Scriptures; and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not Christ, who is the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" and for the clearing of the latter, bringeth in that known Canon of St Jerome: "[7]This, because it hath not authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility contemned wherewith it is avowed."

Neither was the practice of our ancestors herein different from their judgment. For as Bede, touching the latter, recordeth of the successors of Colum-kill, the great saint of our country, that they "[8]observed only those works of piety and chastity which they could learn in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings;" so, for the former, he especially noteth of one of the principal of them, to wit, Bishop Aidan, that "[9]all such as went in his company, whether they were of the clergy or of the laity, were tied to exercise themselves either in the reading of Scriptures or in the learning of Psalms." And long before their time it was the observation which St Chrysostom made of both these islands, that "[10]although thou didst go unto the ocean and those British Isles, although thou didst sail to the Euxine Sea, although thou didst go unto the southern quarters, thou shouldst hear ALL men everywhere discoursing matters out of the SCRIPTURE, with another voice indeed, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an according judgment." Which is in effect the same with that which venerable Bede pronounceth of the island of Britain in his own days, that "[11]in the language of five nations it did search and confess one and the same

[7] Hoc, quia de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. Id. ibid.

[8] Tantum ea quæ in propheticis, evangelicis, et apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. Bed. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. cap. 4.

[9] In tantum autem vita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat, ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. Id. ibid. cap. 5.

[10] Κἂν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέλθῃς, κἂν πρὸς τὰς Βρεταννικας νήσους ἐκείνας, κἂν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πλεύσῃς πόντον, κἂν πρὸς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθῃς μέρη· πάντων ἀκούσῃ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ, πίστει δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρᾳ, καὶ γλώσσῃ μὲν διαφόρῳ, διανοίᾳ δὲ συμφώνῳ. Chrysost. in Serm. de Utilitate Lectionis Scripturæ, Tom. VIII. edit. Savil. p. 111.

[11] Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur; Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum; quæ meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis. Bed. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 1.

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knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity, to wit, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins." Which last although he affirmeth "by the meditation of the Scriptures to have become common to all the rest," yet the *community* of that one among the learned did not take away the *property* of the other four among the vulgar; but that such as understood not the Latin might yet in their own mother tongue have those Scriptures, wherein they might "search the knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity." Even as at this day in the reformed churches the same Latin tongue is common to all the learned in the meditation and exposition of the Scriptures, and yet the common people, for all that, do in their own vulgar tongues [12]*search the Scriptures, because in them they think to have eternal life.* For as by us now, so by our forefathers then, the "[13]continual meditation of the Scriptures" was held to give special vigour and "vegetation to the soul," as we read in the book attributed unto St Patrick, of the Abuses of the World; and the holy documents delivered therein were esteemed by Christians as their chief riches, according to that of Columbanus,

[14]Sint tibi divitiæ divinæ dogmata legis.

In which heavenly riches our ancient Scottish and Irish did thrive so well, that many worthy personages in foreign parts were content to undergo a voluntary exile from their own country, that they might more freely traffic here for so excellent a commodity. And by this means Alfred, King of Northumberland, purchased the reputation of "[15]a man most learned in the Scriptures."

> Scottorum qui tum versatus incola terris,
> Cœlestem intento spirabat corde sophiam.
> Nam patriæ fines et dulcia liquerat arva,
> Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul;

[12] John v. 39.

[13] Bonis semper moribus delectatur et consentit, et assiduis scripturarum meditationibus et eloquiis animam vegetat. Patric. de Abusionibus Seculi, cap. 5, de Pudicitia.

[14] Columban. in Monasticis, et in Epistola ad Hunaldum.

[15] Successit Ecgfrido in regnum Altfrit, vir in scripturis doctissimus. Bed. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 26.

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as Bede writeth of him in his poem of the life of our countryman St Cuthbert.

So when we read in the same Bede of [16]Furseus, and in another ancient author of [17]Kilianus, that "from the time of their very childhood" they had a care to learn the holy Scriptures; it may easily be collected, that in those days it was not thought a thing unfit that even children should give themselves unto the study of the Bible. Wherein how greatly some of them did profit in those tender years, may appear by that which Boniface, the first Archbishop of Mentz, relateth of Livinus, who was trained up in his youth by Benignus in [18]the singing of David's Psalms, and the reading of the holy Gospels, and other divine exercises; and Jonas of Columbanus, in whose "[19]breast the treasures of the holy Scriptures were so laid up, that within the compass of his youthful years he set forth an elegant exposition of the book of the Psalms:" by whose industry likewise afterward the study of God's word was so propagated, that in the monasteries which were founded "[20]according to his rule" beyond the seas, not the men only, but the religious women also, did carefully attend the same, that *through patience and comfort of the Scriptures they might have hope.* See for this the practice of the Virgin [21]Bitihildis lying upon her death-bed, reported by the same Jonas, or whosoever else was the author of the Life of Burgundofora.

As for the edition of the Scriptures used in these parts at those times, the Latin translation was so received into common use among the learned, that the principal authority

[16] Ab ipso tempore pueritiæ suæ curam non modicam lectionibus sacris, simul et monasticis exhibebat disciplinis. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 19. Ab infantia sacris literis et monasticis disciplinis eruditus. Johannes de Tinmouth (et ex eo Jo. Capgrar.) in Vita Fursei.

[17] A puerili ætate magnum habet studium sacras discere literas. Tom. IV. Antiqu. Lect. Henr. Canis. p. 642.

[18] Davidicis Psalmorum melodiis, et sanctorum evangeliorum mellifluis lectionibus atque ceteris divinis exercitationibus. Bonifac. in Vita Livini.

[19] Tantum in ejus pectore divinarum thesauri scripturarum conditi tenebantur, ut intra adolescentiæ ætatem detentus, Psalmorum librum elimato sermone exponeret. Jonas in Vita Columbani, cap. 2.

[20] B. Burgundofora monasterium quod Fuoriacas appellatur, &c. secundum regulam S. Columbani instituit. Id. in Vita Burgundof.

[21] Cum jam in extremis posita posceret per successiones noctium lumen coram se accendi, et sacræ lectionis præconia ante se legi, &c. Id. ibid.

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was still reserved to the original fountains. Therefore doth Sedulius in the Old Testament commend unto us "[22]the Hebrew verity," for so with St Jerome doth he style it; and in the New correct oftentimes the vulgar Latin, according to the truth of the Greek copies. For example, in 1 Cor. vii. 34, he readeth as we do, *There is difference between a wife and a virgin;* and not as the Rhemists have translated it out of the Latin. Rom. xii. 19, he readeth, *Non vosmetipsos vindicantes, not avenging yourselves,* where the vulgar Latin hath corruptly, *Non vosmetipsos defendentes, not defending yourselves.* Rom. iii. 4, where the Rhemists translate according to the Latin, *God is true,* he sheweth that in the Greek copies it is found, *Let God be true,* or, *Let God be made true.* Rom. xv. 17, he noteth that the Latin books have put *glory* for *gloriation.* Galat. i. 16, where the Rhemists have, according to the Latin, *I condescended not to flesh and blood,* he saith, that in *Græco melius habet,* (for so must his word be here corrected out of St Jerome, whom he followeth), the Greek hath it better, *I conferred not.* Rom. viii. 3, where the Rhemists say of God, according to the Latin translation, *that of sin* he *damned sin in the flesh,* Sedulius affirmeth, that *verius habetur apud Græcos,* it is more truly expressed in the Greek books, that *for sin* he *damned sin in the flesh.* Lastly, where the Rhemists translate after their Latin copy, Galat. v. 9, *A little leaven corrupteth the whole paste,* he saith it should be *leaveneth,* as we have it, and [23]not *corrupteth,* as it is ill read in the Latin books. So where they translate by the same authority, Galat. vi. 1, *Instruct such an one in the spirit of lenity,* [24]Claudius, following St Jerome, affirmeth that it is better in the Greek, *Restore* or *perfect him.* And where they make St Peter say, Matt. xvi. 22, *Lord, be it far from thee,* [25]he noteth that it is better in the Greek, *Lord, favour thyself.*

In the Old Testament I observe that our writers do more usually follow the translation taken out of the Septuagint than the vulgar Latin, which is now received in

[22] Hebraicam veritatem. Sedul. in Gal. iii. et Hebr. vii.

[23] Non, ut male in Latinis codicibus, corrumpit. Sedul. in Gal. v.

[24] Instruat, sive, ut melius habetur in Græco, Perficiat in spiritu lenitatis. Claud. in Gal. vi.

[25] Absit a te, Domine, vel, ut melius habetur in Græco, Propitius esto tibi, Domine. Id. lib. ii. Comment. in Matt.

the Church of Rome. So, for example, where the vulgar Latin hath, Isaiah xxxii. 4, [26] *The tongue of the stammerers* (or *mafflers*, as the Douay translation would have it Englished,) *shall speak readily and plainly*, in the Confession of St Patrick [27] we find it laid down more agreeably to the [28] Greek lection, *The stammering tongues shall swiftly learn to speak peace.* And in his Epistle to Coroticus or Cereticus, [29] Malach. iv. 2, [30] *You shall dance as calves loosed out of bands*, where our common Latin hath, *You shall leap as calves of the herd.* And Job xx. 15, 16, [31] *The riches which he shall gather unjustly shall be vomited out of his belly; the angel of death draweth him: he shall be mulcted with the wrath of dragons; the tongue of the serpent shall kill him:* where the vulgar Latin readeth, [32] *The riches which he hath devoured he shall vomit out, and God shall draw them forth out of his belly; he shall suck the head of asps, and the viper's tongue shall kill him.* The same course is likewise observed by Sedulius in his citations. But Gildas the Briton, in some books, as Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, for example, useth to follow the vulgar Latin translated out of the Hebrew; in others, as the books of Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the small Prophets, the elder Latin translated out of the Greek; as also long after him his countryman [33] Nennius, in reckoning the years of the age of the world, followeth the Seventy; and Asser allegeth the text, Gen. iv. 7, [34] *If thou offer aright, and dost not divide aright, thou sinnest*, according to the [35] Greek reading; whereas the vulgar Latin hath it, [36] *If thou*

[26] Lingua balborum velociter loquetur et plane.

[27] Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem.

[28] Αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι ταχὺ μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.

[29] Exultabitis sicut vituli ex vinculis resoluti. Græc. Σκιρτήσετε ὡς μοσχάρια ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνειμένα.

[30] Salietis sicut vituli de armento.

[31] Divitiæ, quas congregabit injuste, evomentur de ventre ejus; trahet illum angelus mortis. Ira draconum mulctabitur; interficiet illum lingua colubri. Græc. Πλοῦτος ἄδικος συναγόμενος ἐξεμεθήσεται, ἐξ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἐξελκύσει αὐτὸν ἄγγελος· θυμὸν δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσειεν, ἀνέλοι δὲ αὐτὸν γλῶσσα ὄφεως.

[32] Divitias quas devoravit evomet, et de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum suget, et occidet eum lingua viperæ.

[33] Nenn. Histor. Briton. cap. i.

[34] Si recte offeras, recte autem non dividas, peccas. Asser Menevens. de Gestis Ælfredi R.

[35] Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες;

[36] Nonne si bene egeris, recipies? sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum aderit?

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do well, shalt thou not receive again? but if thou doest ill, shall not thy sin forthwith be present at the door?

Of the Psalter, there are extant four or five Latin translations out of the Greek, namely, the old Italian, the Gallican, the Roman, the Gothic, and that of Milan, and one out of the Hebrew, composed by St Jerome, which, though it be now excluded out of the body of the Bible, and the Gallican admitted in the room thereof, yet in some [37]manuscript copies it still retaineth its ancient place; three whereof I have seen myself in Cambridge, one in Trinity, another in Bene't, and the third in Jesus College library, where this translation out of the Hebrew, and not the vulgar out of the Greek, is inserted into the context of the Bible. In the citations of Gildas, and the Confession of Saint Patrick, I observe that the Roman Psalter is followed rather than the Gallican; in the quotations of Sedulius, on the other side, the Gallican rather than the Roman. Claudius, speaking of a text in the 118th (or, as he accounteth it, the 117th) [38]Psalm, saith that where the seventy interpreters did translate it, *O Lord, save me*, it was written in the Hebrew, "*Anna Adonai Osanna;* which our interpreter Jerome," saith he, "more diligently explaining," translated thus: "*I beseech thee, O Lord, save, I beseech thee.*" Before this translation of St Jerome [39]I have seen an epigram prefixed by Ricemarch the Briton, who by Caradoc of Lhancarpan [40]is commended for "the godliest, wisest, and greatest clerk that had been in Wales many years before" his time, his Father "Sulgen, Bishop of St David's," only excepted, "who had brought him up, and a great number of learned disciples." He having in this epigram

[37] Gothicis nostrorum libris antiquissimis adjuti sumus, in quibus magis sincera sacrorum librorum versio ab Hieronymo facta conservatur, argumento præter alia, ejus etiam in Psalmos interpretationem iis libris contineri, pro qua nostri codices Septuaginta interpretum versionem in illos mutarunt. Jo. Marian. Præfat. Scholior. in Biblia, ad Card. Bellarmin.

[38] In Psalmo cxvii. ubi LXX. interpretes transtulerunt, *O Domine, salvum me fac*, in Hebræo scriptum est, *Anna Adonai Osanna*, quod interpres noster Hieronymus diligentius elucidans ita transtulit, *Obsecro, Domine, salva obsecro.* Claud. Scot. in Matt. lib. iii.

[39] MS. in Bibliotheca eruditissimi antistitis D. Gulielmi Bedelli, Kilmorensis et Ardachadensis apud nos Episcopi.

[40] Caradoc. in Chronico Cambriæ, circa annum 1099, ad quem in aliis etiam Annalibus Britannicis MSS. annotatum reperi: Sub hujus anni ambitum morti succumbit Richmarch cognomine Sapiens, filius Sulgeni Episcopi, cum jam annum 43 ætatis ageret.

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said of those who translated the Psalter out of Greek, that they did "darken the Hebrew rays with their Latin cloud," addeth of St Jerome, that being "replenished with the Hebrew fountain, he did more clearly and briefly discover the truth," as drawing it out of the "first vessel" immediately, and not taking it at the "second-hand:" to this purpose thus expresseth he himself:

> Ebræis nablam custodit litera signis:
> Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
> Edidit, innumeros lingua variante libellos;
> Ebræumque jubar suffuscat nube Latina.
> Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
> Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebræo fonte repletus,
> Lucidius nudat verum, breviusque ministrat:
> Namque secunda creat, nam tertia vascula vitat.

Now for those books annexed to the Old Testament, which St Jerome calleth apocryphal, others ecclesiastical, true it is that in our Irish and British writers some of them are alleged as parcels of Scripture and prophetical writings; those especially that commonly bare the name of Solomon. But so also is the fourth book of Esdras cited by Gildas, in the name of "[41]blessed Esdras the prophet," which yet our Romanists will not admit to be canonical; neither do our writers mention any of the rest with more titles of respect than we find given unto them by others of the ancient Fathers, who yet in express terms do exclude them out of the number of those books which properly are to be esteemed canonical. So that from hence no sufficient proof can be taken that our ancestors did herein depart from the tradition of the elder Church, [42]delivered by St Jerome in his Prologues, and explained by Brito (a Briton, it seemeth, by nation as well as by appellation,) in his Commentaries upon the same; which being heretofore joined with the ordinary gloss upon the Bible, have of late proved so distasteful unto our popish divines, that in their new editions, printed at Lyons anno 1590, and at Venice afterward, they have quite crossed them out of their books.

[41] Quid præterea beatus Esdras Propheta ille, bibliotheca legis, minatus sit, attendite. Gild. Epist.

[42] Vide Richard. Armachanum, de Quæstionib. Armeniorum, lib. xviii. cap. 1.

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Yet Marianus Scotus, who was born in Ireland in the 1028th year of our Lord, was somewhat more careful to maintain the ancient bounds of the Canon set by his forefathers. For he in his Chronicle, following Eusebius and St Jerome, at the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus writeth thus: "[43]Hitherto the divine Scripture of the Hebrews containeth the order of times; but those things that after this were done among the Jews are represented out of the book of the Maccabees and the writings of Josephus and Africanus." But before him more plainly the author of the book *de Mirabilibus Scripturæ*, who is accounted to have lived here about the year 657: "[44]In the books of the Maccabees howsoever some wonderful things be found which might conveniently be inserted into this rank, yet will we not weary ourselves with any care thereof, because we only purposed to touch in some measure a short historical exposition of the wonderful things contained in the divine Canon." As also in the apocryphal additions of Daniel, he telleth us that what is reported "[45]touching the lake, or den, and the carrying of Abackuk, in the fable of Bel and the Dragon, is not therefore placed in this rank, because these things have not the authority of divine Scripture."

And so much concerning the holy Scriptures.

[43] Hucusque Hebræorum divina Scriptura temporum seriem continet. Quæ vero post hæc apud Judæos sunt gesta, de libro Maccabæorum et Josephi atque Africani scriptis exhibentur. Marian. Chron. MS.

[44] In Maccabæorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inserendum conveniens fuisse huic ordini inveniatur; de hoc tamen nulla cura fatigabimur, quia tantum agere proposuimus, unde divini canonis mirabilibus exiguam, quamvis ingenioli nostri modulum excedentem, historicam expositionem ex parte aliqua tangeremus. Lib. ii. de Mirabilib. Script. cap. 34, inter Opera B. Augustini, Tom. III.

[45] De lacu vero iterum et Abacuk translato in Belis et Draconis fabula, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur, quod in auctoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur. Ibid. cap. 32.

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CHAPTER II.

OF PREDESTINATION, GRACE, FREE-WILL, FAITH, WORKS, JUSTIFICATION, AND SANCTIFICATION.

THE doctrine which our learned men observed out of the Scriptures and the writings of the most approved Fathers, was this: That God "[1]by his immoveable counsel," as Gallus speaketh in his sermon preached at Constance, ordained some of his creatures "to praise him, and live blessedly from him, and in him, and by him;" namely, "[2]by his eternal predestination, his free calling, and his grace, which was due to none:" that "[3]he hath mercy with great goodness, and hardeneth without any iniquity; so as neither he that is delivered can glory of his own merits, nor he that is condemned complain but of his own merits: forasmuch as grace only maketh the distinction betwixt the redeemed and the lost, who by a cause drawn from their common original were framed together into one mass of perdition." For "[4]all mankind stood condemned in the apostatical root" of Adam "with so just and divine a judgment, that although none should be freed from thence, no man could rightly blame the justice of God; and such as were freed must so have been freed, that by those many which were not freed, but left in their most just condemnation, it might be shewed what the whole lump had deserved, that the due judgment of God should have condemned even

[1] Præscitam et prædestinatam immobili consilio creaturam, ad se laudandum, et ex se et in se et per se beate vivendum. S. Gallus in Serm. habit. Constant.

[2] Prædestinatione scilicet æterna, non creatione temporaria, sed vocatione gratuita, vel indebita gratia. Id. ibid.

[3] Miseretur magna bonitate, et obdurat nulla iniquitate; ut neque liberatus de suis meritis glorietur, neque damnatus nisi de suis meritis conqueratur. Sola enim gratia redemptos discernit a perditis, quos in unam perditionis concreaverat massam, ab origine ducta causa communi. Sedul. in Rom. ix.

[4] Videt universum genus humanum tam justo judicio divinoque in apostatica radice damnatum, ut etiamsi nullus inde liberatur, nemo recte posset Dei vituperare justitiam; et qui liberantur, sic oportuisse liberari, ut ex pluribus non liberatis, atque damnatione justissima derelictis, ostenderetur quid meruisset universa conspersio, quod etiam justos debitum judicium Dei damnaret, nisi in ejus debitum misericordia subveniret; ut volentium de suis meritis gloriari omne os obstruatur, et qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur. Id. ibid.

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those that are justified, unless mercy had relieved them from that which was due; that so all the mouths of them which would glory of their merits might be stopped, and he that glorieth might glory in the Lord."

They further taught, as St Augustine did, that "[5]man using ill his free-will lost both himself and it:" that, as one "by living is able to kill himself, but by killing himself is not able to live, nor hath power to raise up himself when he hath killed himself, so when sin had been committed by free-will, sin being the conqueror, free-will also was lost; *forasmuch as of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he also brought in bondage*, 2 Peter ii. 19:" that "unto a man thus brought in bondage and sold there is no liberty left to do well, unless he redeem him whose saying is this, *If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed*, John viii. 36:" that "[6]the mind of men from their very youth is set upon evil, there being not a man which sinneth not:" that a man "[7]hath nothing from himself but sin:" that "[8]God is the author of all good things, that is to say, both of good nature and of good will; which, unless God do work in him, man cannot do, because this good will is prepared by the Lord in man, that by the gift of God he may do that which of himself he could not do by his own free-will:" that "[9]the good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, but not all; and of those which it doth not go before itself is one. For both of

[5] Libero arbitrio male utens homo et se perdidit et ipsum. Sicut enim qui se occidit, utique vivendo se occidit, sed se occidendo non vivit, neque seipsum poterit resuscitare cum occiderit; ita cum libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato amissum est et liberum arbitrium; a quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est. Sed ad bene faciendum ista libertas unde erit homini addicto et vendito, nisi redimat, cujus illa vox est, Si vos Filius liberaverit, vere liberi eritis? Id. ibid.

[6] Quod ab adolescentia mens hominum apposita sit ad malitiam; non est enim homo qui non peccet. Id. in Ephes. ii.

[7] Quid habes ex teipso nisi peccatum? Id. in 1 Cor. iv.

[8] Deus auctor est omnium bonorum, hoc est, et naturæ bonæ et voluntatis bonæ, quam nisi Deus in illo operetur, non facit homo. Quia præparatur voluntas a Domino in homine bona, ut faciat Deo donante, quod a seipso facere non poterat per liberi arbitrii voluntatem. Claud. lib. i. in Matt.

[9] Præcedit bona voluntas hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia; quæ autem non præcedit ipsa, in eis est et ipsa. Nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis, et, Misericordia ejus præveniet me, et, Misericordia ejus subsequetur me: nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit. Cur enim admonemur petere ut accipiamus, nisi ut ab illo fiat quod volumus, a quo factum est ut velimus? Sedul. in Rom. ix.

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these is read in the holy Scriptures, *His mercy shall go before me*, and, *His mercy shall follow me;* it preventeth him that is unwilling that he may will, and it followeth him that is willing that he will not in vain;" and that therefore "we are admonished to ask, that we may receive, to the end that what we do will, may be effected by him by whom it was effected that we did so will."

They taught also, that "[10]the law was not given that it might take away sin, but that it might shut up all under sin;" to the end that men, being "by this means humbled, might understand that their salvation was not in their own hand, but in the hand of a Mediator:" that by the law cometh "[11]neither the remission nor the removal, but the knowledge of sins:" that it "[12]taketh not away diseases, but discovereth them;" "[13]forgiveth not sins, but condemneth them:" that "[14]the Lord God did impose it, not upon those that served righteousness, but sin; namely, by giving a just law to unjust men, to manifest their sins, and not to take them away; forasmuch as nothing taketh away sins but the grace of faith, which worketh by love:" that our "[15]sins are freely forgiven us," "[16]without the merit of our works:" that "[17]*through grace we are saved, by faith*, and not *by works;*" and that therefore we are to rejoice, "[18]not in our own righteousness or learning, but in the faith of the cross, by which all our sins are forgiven us:" that "[19]grace is abject and vain, if it alone do not

[10] Non ergo lex data est, ut peccatum auferret, sed ut sub peccato omnia concluderet. Lex enim ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi per consuetudinem cœcati possent putare justitiam; ut hoc modo humiliati cognoscerent non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu Mediatoris. Id. in Gal. iii.

[11] Non remissio nec ablatio peccatorum, sed cognitio. Id. in Rom. iii.

[12] Lex quæ per Moysen data est, tantum peccata ostendit, non abstulit. Claud. in Gal. ii. Perque illam legem morbos ostendentem, non auferentem, etiam prævaricationis crimine contrita superbia est. Id. in Gal. iii.

[13] Lex non donat peccata, sed damnat. Sedul. in Rom. iv.

[14] Dominus Deus imposuerat non justitiæ servientibus, sed peccato; justam scilicet legem injustis hominibus dando, ad demonstranda peccata eorum, non auferenda. Non enim aufert peccata nisi gratia fidei, quæ per dilectionem operatur. Claud. in Argument. Epist. ad Gal.

[15] Gratis nobis donantur peccata. Sedul. in Gal. i. A morte redemptis gratis peccata dimittuntur. Id. in Ephes. i.

[16] Absque operum merito et peccata nobis concessa sunt pristina, et pax indulta post veniam. Claud. in Gal. i.

[17] Gratia estis salvati per fidem, id est, non per opera. Sedul. in Ephes. ii.

[18] Non in propria justitia vel doctrina, sed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimissa sunt. Sedul. et Claud. Gal. vi.

[19] Abjecta et irrita gratia est, si mihi sola non sufficit. Sedul. in Gal. ii.

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suffice" us; and that we "[20]esteem basely" of Christ, "when we think that he is not sufficient for us to salvation:" that "[21]God hath so ordered it, that he will be gracious to mankind, if they do believe that they shall be freed by the blood" of Christ: that as "[22]the soul is the life of the body, so faith is the life of the soul;" and that we live "[23]by faith only, as owing nothing to the law:" that "[24]he who believeth in Christ hath the perfection of the law. For whereas none might be justified by the law, because none did fulfil the law, but only he which did trust in the promise of Christ; faith was appointed, which should be accepted for the perfection of the law, that in all things which were omitted faith might satisfy for the whole law:" that this righteousness therefore is "[25]not ours, nor in us, but in Christ," in whom we are considered "as members in the head:" that "[26]faith, procuring the remission of sins by grace, maketh all believers the children of Abraham:" and that "[27]it was just, that as Abraham was justified by faith only, so also the rest that followed his faith should be saved" after the same manner: that "[28]through adoption we are made the sons of God, by believing in the Son of God;" and that this is "[29]a testimony of our adoption, that we have the Spirit, by which we pray" and cry, Abba, Father; "forasmuch as none can receive so great a pledge as this but such as be sons only:" that "[30]Moses himself

[20] Christum vilem habetis, dum putatis eum vobis non sufficere ad salutem. Id. in Gal. iii.

[21] Disposuit Deus propitium se futurum esse humano generi, si credant in sanguine ejus se esse liberandos. Id. in Rom. iii.

[22] Vita corporis anima, vita animæ fides est. Id. in Heb. x.

[23] In fide vivo Filii Dei, id est, in sola fide, qui nihil debeo legi. Id. in Gal. ii.

[24] Perfectionem legis habet qui credit in Christo. Cum enim nullus justificaretur ex lege, quia nemo implebat legem, nisi qui speraret in promissionem Christi; fides posita est, quæ cederet pro perfectione legis, ut in omnibus prætermissis fides satisfaceret pro tota lege. Id. in Rom. x.

[25] Non nostra, non in nobis, sed in Christo, quasi membra in capite. Id. in 2 Cor. v.

[26] Fides, dimissis per gratiam peccatis, omnes credentes filios efficit Abrahæ. Id. in Rom. iv.

[27] Justum fuerat, ut quomodo Abraham credens ex gentibus per solam fidem justificatus est, ita ceteri fidem ejus imitantes salvarentur. Id. in Rom. i.

[28] Per adoptionem efficimur filii Dei, credendo in Filium Dei. Claud. lib. i. in Matt.

[29] Testimonium adoptionis, quod habemus Spiritum, per quem ita oramus; tantam enim arrham non poterat nisi filii accipere. Sedul. in Rom. viii.

[30] Ipse Moses distinxit inter utramque justitiam, fidei scilicet atque factorum; quia altera operibus, altera sola credulitate justificet accedentem. Id. in Rom. x.

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made a distinction betwixt both the justices, to wit, of faith and of deeds; that the one did by works justify him that came, the other by believing only:" that "[31]the patriarchs and the prophets were not justified by the works of the law, but by faith:" that "[32]the custom of sin hath so prevailed, that none now can fulfil the law; as the Apostle Peter saith, Acts xv. 10, *Which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear.* But if there were any righteous men which did escape the curse, it was not by the works of the law, but for their faith's sake, that they were saved."

Thus did Sedulius and Claudius, two of our most famous divines, deliver the doctrine of free-will and grace, faith and works, the law and the Gospel, justification and adoption; no less agreeably to the faith which is at this day professed in the reformed churches, than to that which they themselves received from the more ancient doctors, whom they did follow therein. Neither do we in our judgment one whit differ from them, when they teach that "[33]faith alone is not sufficient to life." For when it is said, that "faith alone justifieth," this word *alone* may be conceived to have relation either to the former part of the sentence, which in the schools they term the *subject*, or to the latter, which they call the *predicate*. Being referred to the former, the meaning will be, that such a faith as is alone, that is to say, not accompanied with other virtues, doth justify; and in this sense we utterly disclaim the assertion. But being referred to the latter, it maketh this sense, that faith is it which alone or only justifieth; and in this meaning only do we defend that proposition; understanding still by faith not a dead carcase thereof, for how should the just be able to *live* by a *dead* faith? but a true and lively faith, [34]*which worketh by love.* For as it is a certain truth, that among all the members of the body the

[31] Patriarchæ et prophetæ non ex operibus legis, sed ex fide justificati sunt. Id. in Gal. ii.

[32] Ita prævaluit consuetudo peccandi, ut nemo jam perficiat legem; sicut Petrus Apostolus ait, Quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus. Si qui vero justi non erant maledicti, non ex operibus legis, sed fidei gratia salvati sunt. Id. in Gal. iii.

[33] Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. Sedul. in Ephes. v. Non ergo sola ad vitam sufficit fides. Claud. in Gal. v. bis. Hæc sententia illos revincit, qui solam fidem ad salutem animarum suarum sufficere arbitrantur. Id. ibid. in fine.

[34] Gal. v. 6.

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eye is the only instrument whereby we see; and yet it is as true also, that the eye being alone and separated from the rest of the members is dead, and for that cause doth neither see only, nor see at all: so these two sayings likewise may stand well enough together, that among all the virtues in the soul faith is the only instrument whereby we lay hold upon Christ for our justification; and yet that faith, being alone and disjoined from the society of other graces, *is dead in itself*, as [35]St James speaketh, and in that respect can neither only justify, nor justify at all.

So though Claudius do teach as we do, that "[36]faith alone saveth us, because *by the works of the law no man shall be justified*," yet he addeth withal this caution: "[37]Not as if the works of the law should be contemned, and without them a simple faith" (so he calleth that *solitary* faith whereof we spake, which is a *simple* faith indeed) "should be desired; but that the works themselves should be adorned with the faith of Christ. For that sentence of the wise man is excellent, that the faithful man doth not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith." In like manner Sedulius acknowledgeth with us, that God "[38]hath purposed by faith only to forgive our sins freely," and "[39]by faith only to save the believers;" and that when men have fallen, they are to be renewed "[40]only by the faith of Christ, which worketh by love:" intimating by this last clause, that howsoever faith only be it which justifieth the man, yet the work of love is necessarily required, for all that, to justify the faith. And "this faith," saith [41]he, "when it hath been justified, sticketh in the soil of the soul like a root which hath received a shower; that when it hath begun to be manured by the

[35] Jam. ii. 17.

[36] Si gentes fides sola non salvat, nec nos; quia ex operibus legis nemo justificabitur. Claud. in Gal. ii.

[37] Non quo legis opera contemnenda sint, et absque eis simplex fides adpetenda; sed ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia, non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide. Id. in Gal. iii.

[38] Gratis proposuit per solam fidem dimittere peccata. Sedul. in Rom. iv.

[39] Ut sola fide salvarentur credentes. Id. in Gal. iii.

[40] Per solam fidem Christi, quæ per dilectionem operatur. Id. in Heb. vi.

[41] Hæc fides cum justificata fuerit, tanquam radix imbre suscepto, hæret in animæ solo; ut cum per legem Dei excoli cœperit, rursum in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix justitiæ, sed ex radice justitiæ fructus operum crescit; illa scilicet radice justitiæ, cui Deus acceptum fert justitiam sine operibus. Id. in Rom. iv.

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law of God, it may rise up again into boughs which may bear the fruit of works. Therefore the root of righteousness doth not grow out of works, but the fruit of works out of the root of righteousness; namely, out of that root of righteousness which God doth accept for righteousness without works." The conclusion is, That saving faith is always a fruitful faith; and though it never go alone, yet may there be some gift of God which it alone is able to reach unto, as [42]Columbanus also implieth in that verse:

Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur almo.

The greatest depressers of God's grace, and the advancers of man's abilities, were Pelagius and Celestius; the one born in Britain, as appeareth by Prosper Aquitanus, the other in Scotland or Ireland, as [43]Mr Persons doth gather out of those words of St Jerome in one of the prefaces of his commentaries, not upon Ezekiel, as he quoteth it, but upon Jeremiah: "[44]He hath his offspring from the Scottish nation, near to the Britains." These heretics, as our Marianus noteth out of Prosper in his Chronicle, preached, among other of their impieties, [45]that for "attaining of righteousness every one was governed by his own will, and received so much grace as he did merit:" whose venomous doctrine was in Britain repressed, first by Palladius, Lupus, Germanus, and Severus from abroad; afterward by David Menevensis and his successors at home: agreeably to whose institution Asser Menevensis doth profess, that God is always to be esteemed both the mover of the will and the bestower of the good that is willed; for he is, saith he, "[46]the instigator of all good wills, and withal the most bountiful provider, that the good things desired may be had; forasmuch as he would never stir up any to will well, unless he did

[42] Columban. in Monasticis.

[43] Pers. three Convers. part. i. chap. 3, sect. 10.

[44] Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia. Hieron. Proœm. lib. iii. Commentar. in Jerem.

[45] Unumquemque ad justitiam voluntate propria regi; tantumque accipere gratiæ quantum meruerit. Marian. Scot. Chron. ad ann. Dom. 413 vel 414; whereof see more particularly the Answer to the Jesuit, in the question of Free-will.

[46] Omnium bonarum voluntatum instigator; necnon etiam, ut habeantur bona desiderata, largissimus administrator; neque enim unquam aliquem bene velle instigaret, nisi et hoc, quod bene et juste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administraret. Asser de rebus gestis Ælfredi R.

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also liberally supply that which every one doth well and justly desire to obtain."

Among our Irish the grounds of sound doctrine in these points were at the beginning well settled by Palladius and Patricius, [47]sent hither by Celestinus, Bishop of Rome. And when the poison of the Pelagian heresy, about two hundred years after that, began to break out among them, the clergy of Rome, in the year of our Lord 639, during the vacancy of the see, upon the death of Severinus, directed their letters unto them for the preventing of this growing mischief; wherein, among other things, they put them in mind, that "[48]it is both blasphemy and folly to say that a man is without sin, which none at all can say but that one mediator betwixt God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who was conceived and born without sin." Which is agreeable partly to that of Claudius, that "[49]it is manifest unto all wise men, although it be contradicted by heretics, that there is none who can live upon earth without the touch of some sin;" partly to that of Sedulius, that "[50]there is none of the elect so great whom the devil doth not dare to accuse, but him alone who did no sin, and who said, *The prince of this world cometh now, and in me he findeth nothing.*"

For touching the imperfection of our sanctification in this life, these men held the same that we do, to wit, that the law "[51]cannot be fulfilled;" that "[52]*there is none that doth good*, that is to say, perfect and entire good:" that [53]God's elect shall be perfectly "holy and immaculate in the life to come, where the Church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle;" whereas "in this present life they are

[47] Prosp. Aquitan. advers. Collator. circa finem.

[48] Blasphemia et stultiloquium est dicere, esse hominem sine peccato; quod omnino non potest, nisi unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui sine peccato est conceptus et partus. Epist. Cler. Roman. apud Bedam, Hist. lib. ii. cap. 19.

[49] Quia, (quod omnibus sapientibus patet, licet hæretici contradicant) nemo est, qui sine adtactu alicujus peccati vivere possit super terram. Claud. lib. ii. in Matth.

[50] Nullus electus est ita magnus, quem diabolus non audeat accusare, nisi illum solum qui peccatum non fecit, qui et dicebat, Nunc venit princeps hujus mundi, et in me nihil invenit. Sed. in Rom. viii.

[51] Non potest impleri. Id. in Rom. vii.

[52] Non est qui faciat bonum, hoc est, perfectum et integrum bonum. Id. in Rom. iii.

[53] Ad hoc nos elegit, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in futura vita; quoniam Ecclesia Christi non habebit maculam neque rugam. Licet etiam in præsenti vita justi, et sancti, et immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconvenienter dici possunt. Id. in Ephes. i.

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righteous, holy, and immaculate, not wholly, but in part" only: that "[54]the righteous shall then be without all kind of sin, when there shall be no law in their members that shall resist the law of their mind;" that although "[55]sin do not now reign in their mortal body to obey the desires thereof," yet "sin dwelleth in that mortal body, the force of that natural custom being not yet extinguished," which we have gotten by our original, and increased by our actual, transgressions. And as for the matter of merit, Sedulius doth resolve us out of St Paul, that we are saints "[56]by the calling of God, not by the merit of our deed;" that God *is able to do exceeding abundantly above that we ask or think*, "[57]*according to the power that worketh in us*, not according to our merits;" that "[58]whatsoever men have from God is grace, because they have nothing of due;" and that "[59]nothing can be found worthy or to be compared with the glory to come."

CHAPTER III.

OF PURGATORY AND PRAYER FOR THE DEAD.

The next point that offereth itself unto our consideration is that of Purgatory: whereof if any man do doubt, [1]Cæsarius, a German monk of the Cistercian order, adviseth him for his resolution to make a journey into Scotland, the greater

[54] Tunc erit justus sine ullo omnino peccato, quando nulla lex erit in membris ejus, repugnans legi mentis ejus. Claud. in Gal. v.

[55] Non enim jam regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis ejus; quamvis habitet in eodem mortali corpore peccatum, nondum extincto impetu consuetudinis naturalis, qua mortaliter nati sumus, et ex propriis vitæ nostræ, cum et nos ipsi peccando auximus quod ab origine peccati humani damnationis trahebamus. Id. ibid.

[56] Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. Sedul. in Rom. i.

[57] Secundum virtutem quæ operatur in nobis, non secundum merita nostra. Id. in Ephes. iii.

[58] Sciendum est, quia omne quod habent homines a Deo, gratia est; nihil enim ex debito habent. Id. in Rom. xvi.

[59] Nihil dignum inveniri vel comparari ad futuram gloriam potest. Id. in Rom. viii.

[1] Qui de purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, purgatorium sancti Patricii intret, et de purgatorii pœnis amplius non dubitabit. Cæsar. Heisterbach. Dialog. lib. xii. cap. 38.

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Scotland he meaneth, and there to "enter into St Patrick's purgatory;" and then he giveth him his word, that "he shall no more doubt of the pains of purgatory." If Doctor Terry, who commendeth this unto us as the testimony of "[2]a most famous author," should chance to have a doubtful thought hereafter of the pains of purgatory, I would wish his ghostly father to enjoin him no other penance but the undertaking of a pilgrimage unto St Patrick's purgatory, to see whether he would prove any wiser when he came from thence than when he went thither. In the mean time, until he hath made some further experiment of the matter, he shall give me leave to believe him that hath been there, and hath cause to know the place as well as any, (the island wherein it is seated being held by him as a part of the inheritance descended unto him from his ancestors), and yet professeth that he found nothing therein, which might afford him any argument to think there was a purgatory. I pass by that Nennius and Probus, and all the elder writers of the life of St Patrick that I have met withal, speak not one word of any such place, and that [3]Henry, the monk of Saltrey, in the days of King Stephen, is the first in whom I could ever find any mention thereof. This only would I know of the Doctor, what the reason might be, that where he bringeth in the words of Giraldus Cambrensis touching this place, as "[4]an authentical authority," he passeth over that part of his relation wherein he affirmeth that St Patrick intended by this means to bring the rude people to a persuasion of the certainty "[5]of the infernal pains of the reprobate, and of the true and everlasting life of the elect after death."

[2] Cujus loci fama ita sparsim per omnes Europæ partes volare visa est, ut Cæsarius celeberrimus auctor de eo nihil dubitans sic scribat. Guil. Thyræus, in Discurs. Panegyric. de S. Patric. p. 151.

[3] Henr. Saltereyens. in lib. de Visione Œni Militis MS. in publica Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliotheca, et privata viri doctissimi M. Thomæ Alani Oxoniensis, et in Nigro libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinitat. Dublin.

[4] De posteriori non minus authentica videtur auctoritas Giraldi Cambrensis, rerum Ibernicarum diligentissimi investigatoris, qui taliter loquitur. Thyr. Discurs. Panegyric. p. 153.

[5] De infernalibus namque reproborum pœnis, et de vera post mortem perpetuaque electorum vita, vir sanctus cum gente incredula dum disputasset; ut tanta, tam inusitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas rudibus infidelium animis oculata fide certius imprimeretur, efficaci orationum instantia magnam et admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duræque cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere. Giral. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. II. cap. 5.

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The Grecians allege this for one of their arguments against purgatory: that whereas "[6]their fathers had delivered unto them many visions and dreams and other wonders concerning the everlasting punishment," wherewith the wicked should be tormented in hell, yet none of them had "declared anything concerning a purgatory temporary fire." Belike the Doctor was afraid that we should conclude upon the same ground, that St Patrick was careful to plant in men's minds the belief of heaven and hell, but of purgatory taught them never a word. And sure I am, that in the book ascribed unto him, *de Tribus Habitaculis*, which is to be seen in his majesty's library, there is no mention of any other place after this life, but of these two only. I will lay down here the beginning of that treatise, and leave it to the judgment of any indifferent man, whether it can well stand with that which the Romanists teach concerning purgatory at this day: "[7]There be three habitations under the power of Almighty God, the first, the lowermost, and the middle; the highest whereof is called the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, the lowermost is termed hell, the middle is named the present world, or the circuit of the earth. The extremes whereof are altogether contrary one to another; (*for what fellowship can there be betwixt light and darkness, betwixt Christ and Belial?*) but the middle hath some similitude with the extremes. For in this world there is a mixture

[6] Οἱ τὸν ἰσάγγελον ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτευσάμενοι βίον, ὅσοι πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλαχοῦ καὶ πολλάκις δι' ὀπτασιῶν καὶ ἐνυπνίων καὶ ἑτέρων θαυμάτων τὰ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν, αὐτοί γε μυούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μυοῦντες, &c. περὶ καθαρτικοῦ προσκαίρου πυρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς διεσάφησαν. Marcus Ephesius, in Græcorum Apolog. de Igne Purgatorio ad Concil. Basileens.

[7] Tria sunt sub omnipotentis Dei nutu habitacula; primum, imum, medium. Quorum summum regnum Dei vel regnum cœlorum dicitur, imum vocatur infernus, medium mundus præsens vel orbis terrarum appellatur. Quorum extrema omnino sibi invicem sunt contraria et nulla sibi societate conjuncta; (quæ enim societas potest esse luci ad tenebras, et Christo ad Belial?) medium vero nonnullam habet similitudinem ad extrema, &c. Commixtio namque malorum simul et bonorum in hoc mundo est. In regno autem Dei nulli mali sunt, sed omnes boni; at in inferno nulli boni sunt, sed omnes mali. Et uterque locus ex medio suppletur. Hominum enim hujus mundi alii elevantur ad cœlum, alii trahuntur ad infernum. Similes quippe similibus junguntur, id est, boni bonis, et mali malis; justi homines justis angelis, transgressores homines transgressoribus angelis; servi Dei Deo, servi diaboli diabolo. Benedicti vocantur ad regnum sibi paratum ab origine mundi; maledicti expelluntur in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Patric. de trib. Habitac. MS. in Bibliotheca Regia Jacobæa.

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of the bad and of the good together; whereas in the kingdom of God there are none bad, but all good; but in hell there are none good, but all bad. And both those places are supplied out of the middle. For of the men of this world, some are lifted up to heaven, others are drawn down to hell: namely, like are joined unto like, that is to say, good to good, and bad to bad; just men to just angels, wicked men to wicked angels; the servants of God to God, the servants of the devil to the devil. The blessed are called to the *kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world;* the cursed are driven into the *everlasting fire* that is *prepared for the devil and his angels.*" Thus far there.

Hitherto also may be referred that ancient Canon of one of our Irish Synods, wherein it is affirmed, that the soul being separated from the body is "[8]presented before the judgment-seat of Christ, who rendereth its own unto it according as it hath done;" and that "neither the archangel can lead it unto life until the Lord hath judged it, nor the devil transport it unto pain unless the Lord do damn it:" as the sayings of Sedulius likewise, that after the end of this life "[9]either death or life succeedeth," and that "[10]death is the gate by which we enter into our kingdom;" together with that of Claudius, that "[11]Christ did take upon him our punishment without the guilt, that thereby he might loose our guilt and finish also our punishment." Cardinal Bellarmine indeed allegeth here against us the vision of Furseus, who "[12]rising from the dead, told many things which he saw concerning the pains of purgatory;" as Bede, he saith, doth write. But, by his good leave, we

[8] Custodit animam usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi, cui refert sua prout gesserit propria. Nec archangelus potest ducere ad vitam usque dum judicaverit eam Dominus, nec diabolus ad pœnam traducere, nisi Dominus damnaverit eam. Synod. Hibern. in vet. cod. Canonum, titulorum LXVI. MS. in Bibliotheca D. Robert. Cottoni. Cujus initium: Inter vetera Concilia, quatuor esse venerabiles Synodos, &c.

[9] Finem dixit exitum vitæ et actuum; cui aut mors aut vita succedit. Sedul. in Rom. vii.

[10] Mors porta est per quam itur ad regnum. Id. in 1 Cor. iii.

[11] Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum, ut inde solveret reatum nostrum, et finiret etiam supplicium nostrum. Claud. in Gal. iii.

[12] Beda, Hist. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. 19, scribit, B. Furseum a mortuis resurgentem narrasse multa quæ vidit de purgatoriis pœnis. Bellarm. de Purgator. lib. i. cap. 11.

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will be better advised before we build articles of faith upon such visions and dreams as these; many whereof deserve to have a place among "[13]the strange narrations of souls appearing after death," collected by Damascius the heathen idolater, rather than among the histories and discourses of sober Christians.

As for this vision of Furseus, all that Bede relateth of it to this purpose is concerning certain great fires above the air, appointed to "[14]examine every one according to the merits of his works." Which peradventure may make something for Damascius's purgatory in *circulo lacteo*, (for in that circle made he [15]a way for the souls that went to the *hades* in heaven, and [16]would not have us wonder that there they should be purged by the way,) but nothing for the Papists' purgatory, which Bellarmine, by the common consent of the schoolmen, determineth to be within the bowels of the earth. Neither is there anything else in the whole book of the Life of Furseus, whence Bede borrowed these things, that looketh toward purgatory, unless peradventure that speech of the devil may be thought to give some advantage unto it: "[17]This man hath not purged his sins upon earth, neither doth he receive punishment for them here: where is therefore the justice of God?" As if God's justice were not sufficiently satisfied by the sufferings of Christ, but man also must needs give further satisfaction thereunto by penal works or sufferings, either here or in the other world. Which is the ground upon which our Romanists do lay the rotten frame of their devised purgatory.

The later visions of Malachias, Tundal, Owen, and others that lived within these last five hundred years, come not within the compass of our present enquiry; nor yet the fables that have been framed in those times touching the lives and actions of elder saints, whereof no wise man will

[13] *Δαμασκίου περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν παραδόξων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια ρέ.* Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

[14] Etsi terribilis iste et grandis rogus videtur, tamen juxta merita operum singulos examinat; quia uniuscujusque cupiditas in hoc igne ardebit. Bed. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[15] *'Ο ὁδός ἐστι τὸ γάλα τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ ᾅδην.* Damasc. apud Jo. Philoponum in 1 Meteor. fol. 104. b.

[16] *Καὶ οὐ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ καὶ ψυχαὶ καθαίρονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ γενέσεως.* Id. ibid.

[17] Hic homo non purgavit delicta sua in terra, nec vindictam hic recipit. Ubi est ergo justitia Dei? Lib. Vitæ Fursei.

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make any reckoning. Such, for example, is that which we read in the life of St Brendan, that the question being moved in his hearing, "[18] Whether the sins of the dead could be redeemed by the prayers or alms-deeds of their friends remaining in this life?" (for that was still a question in the Church,) he is said to have told them, that on a certain night, as he sailed in the great ocean, the soul of one Colman, [19] who "had been an angry monk and a sower of discord betwixt brethren," appeared unto him; who, complaining of his grievous torments, entreated that prayers might be made to God for him, and after six days thankfully acknowledged that by means thereof he had gotten into heaven. Whereupon it is concluded, "[20] that the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead." But of St Brendan's sea-pilgrimage we have the censure of Molanus, a learned Romanist, that there be "[21] many apocryphal fooleries" in it; and whosoever readeth the same with any judgment, cannot choose but pronounce of it, as Photius doth of the Strange Narrations of Damascius formerly mentioned, that it containeth not only "apocryphal," but also "[22] impossible, incredible, ill-composed, and monstrous" fooleries. Whereof though the old legend itself were not free, (as by the heads thereof, touched by Glaber Rodulphus and Giraldus Cambrensis, may appear,) yet for the tale that I recited out of the [23] New Legend of England, I can say that in the manuscript books which I have met withal here, in St Brendan's own country, one whereof was transcribed for the use of the friars minors of Kilkenny, about the year of our Lord 1350, there is not the least footstep thereof to be seen.

And this is a thing very observable in the ancient lives of our saints, (such I mean as have been written before the time of Satan's loosing, beyond which we do not now look,) that the prayers and oblations for the dead mentioned

[18] Si peccata mortuorum redimi possunt ab amicis suis remanentibus in hac vita, orando, vel eleemosynas faciendo. Vit. Brendani, in Legenda Jo. Capgravii.

[19] Colmannus, inquit, vocor, qui fui monachus iracundus discordiæque seminator inter fratres. Ibid.

[20] In hoc ergo, dilectissimi, apparet, quod oratio vivorum multum mortuis prodest. Ibid.

[21] Multa apocrypha deliramenta. Molan. in Usuard. Martyrolog. Mai. XXVI.

[22] Ἀδύνατά τε καὶ ἀπίθανα, καὶ κακόπλαστα τερατολογήματα καὶ μωρά. Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

[23] Nova Legenda Angliæ. Impress. Londin. ann. 1516.

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therein are expressly noted to have been made for them whose souls were supposed at the same instant to have rested in bliss. So Adamnanus reporteth, that St Colme, called by the Irish, both in [24] Bede's and our days, Columkill, [25] caused all things to be prepared for the sacred ministry of the Eucharist, when he had seen the soul of St Brendan received by the holy angels; and that he did the like when Columbanus, Bishop of Leinster, departed this life. For "I must to day," saith St Colme [26] there, "although I be unworthy, celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist for the reverence of that soul which this night, carried beyond the starry firmament betwixt the holy quires of angels, ascended into paradise." Whereby it appeareth that an honourable commemoration of the dead was herein intended, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation, rather than of propitiation for their sins. In Bede also we find mention of the like obsequies celebrated by St Cuthbert for one Hadwaldus, after [27] he "had seen his soul carried by the hands of angels unto the joys of the kingdom of heaven." So Gallus and Magnus, as Walafridus Strabus relateth in the life of the one, and Theodorus Campidonensis, or whosoever else was author of the life of the other, "[28] said Mass," which what it was in those days we shall afterward hear, "and were instant in prayers for the commemoration" of Abbot Columbanus their countryman; "[29] frequenting the memory of that great Father with holy prayers and healthful sacrifices." Where that speech of Gallus unto his Deacon Magnus or Magnoaldus is worthy of special consideration: "[30] After this night's

[24] Qui videlicet Columba nunc a nonnullis, composito a cella et Columba nomine, Columcelli vocatur. Bed. Hist. lib. v. cap. 10.

[25] Adamn. Vit. Columb. lib. iii. cap. 15.

[26] Meque, ait, hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hac in nocte inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta ultra siderea cœlorum spatia ad paradisum ascendit, sacra oportet Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria. Id. cap. 16.

[27] Vidi, inquit, animam cujusdam sancti manibus angelicis ad gaudia regni cœlestis ferri. Bed. in Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 34.

[28] Cœperunt missas agere, et precibus insistere pro commemoratione B. Columbani. Walafrid. Vit. Gall. lib. i. cap. 26. Theodor. Vit. Magni, lib. i. cap. ult. edit. Goldasti, cap. 12, Canisii.

[29] Deinde tanti patris memoriam precibus sacris et sacrificiis salutaribus frequentaverunt. Ibid.

[30] Post hujus vigilias noctis cognovi per visionem, Dominum et patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitæ angustiis hodie ad paradisi gaudia commigrasse. Pro ejus itaque requie sacrificium salutis debeo immolare. Ibid.

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watch I understood by a vision that my master and father, Columbanus, is to-day departed out of the miseries of this life unto the joys of paradise. For his rest therefore I ought to offer the sacrifice of salvation." In like manner also, when Gallus himself died, "[31]John, Bishop of Constance, prayed to the Lord for his rest, and offered healthful sacrifices for him," although he were certainly persuaded that he had attained the blessing of everlasting life; as may be seen in Walafridus. And when Magnus afterwards was in his death-bed, he is said to have used these words unto Tozzo, Bishop of Ausburgh, that came to visit him: "[32]Do not weep, reverend prelate, because thou beholdest me labouring in so many storms of worldly troubles, because I believe in the mercy of God, that my soul shall rejoice in the freedom of immortality. Yet I beseech thee, that thou wilt not cease to help me a sinner and my soul with thy holy prayers." Then followeth, that at the time of his departure this voice was heard: "[33]Come, Magnus, come, receive the crown which the Lord hath prepared for thee:" and that thereupon Tozzo said unto Theodorus, the supposed writer of this history, "[34]Let us cease weeping, brother; because we ought rather to rejoice, having heard this sign of the receiving of his soul unto immortality, than to make lamentation. But let us go to the church, and be careful to offer healthful sacrifices to the Lord for so dear a friend."

I dispute not of the credit of these particular passages: it is sufficient that the authors from whom we have received them lived within the compass of those times whereof we

[31] Presbyter eum ut surgeret monuit, et pro requie defuncti ambitiosius Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque ecclesias, et episcopus pro carissimo salutares hostias immolavit amico. Finito autem fraternæ commemorationis obsequio, &c. Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gal. lib. i. cap. 30, *qui etiam addit postea*, Discipulos ejus pariter cum episcopo orationem pro illo fecisse, cap. 33.

[32] Noli flere, venerabilis præsul, quia me in tot mundialium perturbationum procellis laborantem conspicis; quoniam credo in misericordia Dei, quod anima mea in immortalitatis libertate sit gavisura. Tamen deprecor, ut orationibus tuis sanctis me peccatorem et animam meam non desinas adjuvare. Theodor. Campidon. vel quicunque auctor fuit Vitæ Magni, lib. ii. cap. 13, edit. Goldasti, cap. 28, Canisii.

[33] Veni, Magne, veni, accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus præparatam habet. Ibid.

[34] Cessemus flere, frater, quia potius nos oportet gaudere de animæ ejus in immortalitate sumptæ hoc signo audito, quam luctum facere; sed eamus ad ecclesiam, et pro tam carissimo amico salutares hostias Domino immolare studeamus. Finito itaque fraternæ commemorationis obsequio, &c. Ibid.

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now do treat. For thereby it is plain enough (and if it be not, it shall elsewhere be made yet more plain), that in those elder days it was an usual thing to make prayers and oblations for the rest of those souls which were not doubted to have been in glory; and consequently that neither the commemoration, nor the praying for the dead, nor the requiem masses of that age, have any necessary relation to the belief of purgatory. The lesson, therefore, which Claudius teacheth us here out of St Jerome, is very good, that "[35]while we are in this present world, we may be able to help one another either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we shall come before the judgment-seat of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can entreat for any one, but every one must bear his own burden." And the advice which the no less learned than godly Abbot Columbanus giveth us is very safe, not to pitch upon uncertainties hereafter, but now to "trust in God and follow the precepts of Christ, while our life doth yet remain, and while the times wherein we may obtain salvation are certain:"

> Vive Deo fidens, (saith [36]he,) Christi præcepta sequendo;
> Dum modo vita manet, dum tempora certa salutis.

Whereunto John the Briton, another son of Sulgen, Bishop of St David's, seemeth also to have an eye, when, at the end of the poem which he wrote of his own and his father's life, he prayeth for himself in the same manner:

> Ut genitor clemens solita pietate remittat
> Factis aut dictis quæ gessi corde nefando;
> Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina possunt:
> Nam cum tartareis nullius cura subintrat.

[35] Dum in præsenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari; cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noe, rogare posse pro quoquam, sed unumquemque portare onus suum. Claud. in Gal. vi.

[36] Columban. in Epist. ad Hunaldum.

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CHAPTER IV.

OF THE WORSHIP OF GOD, THE PUBLIC FORM OF LITURGY, THE SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Touching the worship of God Sedulius delivereth this general rule, that "[1]to adore any other beside the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is the crime of impiety;" and that "[2]all that the soul oweth unto God, if it bestow it upon any beside God, it committeth adultery." More particularly in the matter of images, [3]he reproveth the wise men of the heathen for thinking that they had found out a way, "how the invisible God might be worshipped by a visible image;" with whom also accordeth Claudius, that [4]God is to be "known neither in metal nor in stone." And for oaths, there is a canon ascribed to St Patrick, wherein it is determined that "[5]no creature is to be sworn by, but only the Creator." As for the form of the Liturgy, or public service of God, which the same St Patrick brought into this country, it is said that he received it from Germanus and Lupus, and that it originally descended from St Mark the Evangelist: for so have I seen it set down in an ancient fragment written well nigh 900 years since, remaining now in the library of Sir Robert Cotton, my worthy friend, who can never sufficiently be commended for his extraordinary care in preserving all rare monuments of this kind. Yea, St Jerome's authority is there vouched for proof hereof: *Beatus Hieronymus adfirmat, quod ipsum cursum, qui dicitur præsente tempore Scotorum, beatus Marcus decantavit.* Which being not now to be found in any of St Jerome's works, the truth thereof I leave unto the credit of the reporter.

[1] Adorare alium præter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, impietatis crimen est. Sedul. in Rom. i.

[2] Totum quod debet Deo anima, si alicui præter Deum reddiderit, mœchatur. Id. in Rom. ii.

[3] Recedentes a lumine veritatis sapientes, quasi qui invenissent quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. Id. in Rom. i.

[4] Deus non in manufactis habitat, nec in metallo aut saxo cognoscitur. Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.

[5] Non adjurandam esse creaturam aliam, nisi Creatorem. Synod. Patricii, Can. XXIII. MS.

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But whatsoever Liturgy was used here at first, this is sure, that in the succeeding ages no one general form of divine service was retained, but divers rites and manners of celebrations were observed in divers parts of this kingdom, until the Roman use was brought in at last by Gillebertus and Malachias and Christianus, who were the Pope's legates here about 500 years ago. This Gillebertus, an old acquaintance of [6] Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the prologue of his book *de Usu Ecclesiastico*, directed to the whole clergy of Ireland, writeth in this manner: "[7] At the request, yea, and at the command of many of you, dearly beloved, I endeavoured to set down in writing the canonical custom in saying of hours and performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order, not presumptuously, but in desire to serve your most godly command; to the end that those divers and schismatical orders, wherewith in a manner all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office. For what may be said to be more undecent or schismatical, than that the most learned in one order should be made as a private and lay man in another man's church?"

These beginnings were presently seconded by Malachias, in whose life, written by Bernard, we read as followeth: "[8] The apostolical constitutions and the decrees of the holy Fathers, but especially the customs of the holy Church of Rome, did he establish in all churches. And hence it is, that at this day the canonical hours are chanted and sung therein according to the manner of the whole earth; whereas

[6] Anselm. lib. iii. Epist. CXLIII.

[7] Episcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Rogatu, nec non et præcepto multorum ex vobis, carissimi, canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis horis et peragendo totius ecclesiastici ordinis officio, scribere conatus sum, non præsumptivo, sed vestræ cupiens piissimæ servire jussioni; ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est, uni Catholico et Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit, quam doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius ecclesia idiotam et laicum fieri? &c. Prolog. Gille. sive Gilberti Lunicensis Episc. de Usu Ecclesiastic. MS. in Colleg. S. Benedict. et Publica Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Bibliotheca.

[8] Apostolicas sanctiones ac decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, in cunctis ecclesiis statuebat. Hinc est quod hodieque in illis ad horas canonicas cantatur et psallitur juxta morem universæ terræ; nam minime id ante fiebat, ne in civitate quidem. Ipse vero in adolescentia cantum didicerat, et in suo cœnobio mox cantari fecit; cum necdum in civitate seu in episcopatu universo cantare scirent, vel vellent. Bernard. in Vita Malachiæ.

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before that this was not done, no, not in the city itself:" the poor city of Armagh he meaneth. "But Malachias had learned song in his youth, and shortly after caused singing to be used in his own monastery, when as yet, as well in the city as in the whole bishoprick, they either knew not or would not sing." Lastly, the work was brought to perfection, when Christianus, Bishop of Lismore, as legate to the Pope, was president in the Council of Cashel, wherein a special order was taken for "[9]the right singing of the ecclesiastical office," and a general act established, that "[10]all divine offices of holy Church should from thenceforth be handled in all parts of Ireland, according as the Church of England did observe them." The statutes of which Council were [11]confirmed by the regal authority of King Henry the Second, [12]by whose "mandate" the bishops that met therein were assembled, in the year of our Lord 1171, as Giraldus Cambrensis witnesseth in his History of the Conquest of Ireland. And thus late was it before the Roman use was fully settled in this kingdom.

That the Britons used another manner in the administration of the Sacrament of baptism than the Romans did, appeareth by the proposition made unto them by Austin the monk, "[13]that they should perform the ministry of baptism according to the custom of the Church of Rome." That their form of Liturgy was the same with that which was received by their neighbours the Gauls, is intimated by the author of that ancient fragment before alleged, who also addeth, that the "[14]Gallican order was received in the Church throughout the whole world." Yet elsewhere do I meet with a sentence alleged out of Gildas, that "[15]the

[9] Officium etiam ecclesiasticum rite modulandum statuerunt. Johan. Brampton, in Joralanensi Historia MS.

[10] Omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ a modo tractentur. Girald. Cambr. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. i. cap. 34.

[11] Concilii statuta subscripta sunt, et regiæ sublimitatis auctoritate firmata. Id. ibid.

[12] Ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt. Id. ibid.

[13] Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ compleatis. Bed. Histor. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[14] Per universum orbem terrarum in ecclesia ordo cursus Gallorum diffusus est. Fragment. de Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum Origine MS. Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

[15] *Gildas ait*, Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici non solum in missa, sed etiam in tonsura. Cod. Canonum, titulorum 66, MS. in eadem Bibliotheca.

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Britons were contrary to the whole world, and enemies to the Roman customs," as well in their "Mass" as in their "tonsure."

Where, to let pass what I have collected touching the difference of these tonsures, as a matter of very small moment either way, and so to speak somewhat of the Mass, for which so great ado is now-a-days made by our Romanists, we may observe in the first place, that the public Liturgy or service of the Church was of old named the Mass, even then also when prayers only were said without the celebration of the holy Communion. So the last Mass that St Colme was ever present at is noted by [16]Adamnanus to have been *vespertinalis Dominicæ noctis Missa.* He died the midnight following, whence the Lord's day took his beginning, (viz. 9th Junii, Anno Dom. 597,) according to the account of the Romans, which the Scottish and Irish seem to have begun from the evening going before, and then was that evening Mass said, which in all likelihood differed not from those ἑσπεριναὶ μίσσαι mentioned by [17]Leo the Emperor in his Tactics, that is to say, from that which we call Evensong or Evening-prayer. But the name of the Mass was in those days more specially applied to the administration of the Lord's Supper; and therefore in the same [18]Adamnanus we see, that *sacra Eucharistiæ ministeria* and *Missarum solemnia*, the "sacred ministry of the Eucharist" and "the solemnities of the Mass," are taken for the same thing. So likewise in the [19]relation of the passages that concern the obsequies of Columbanus performed by Gallus and Magnoaldus, we find that *Missam celebrare* and *Missas agere* is made to be the same with *divina celebrare mysteria*, and *salutis hostiam*, or *salutare sacrificium immolare*; the saying of Mass the same with the "celebration of the divine mysteries" and the "oblation of the healthful sacrifice;" for by that term was the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at that time usually designed.

For as in our [20]beneficence and communicating unto the necessities of the poor, which are sacrifices wherewith God

[16] Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. iii. cap. 31.
[17] Leon. Tactic. cap. 11, sect. 18.
[18] Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. iii. cap. 15.
[19] Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. i. cap. 26. Theodor. Campidonens. vel quicunque auctor fuit Vit. Magni, lib. i. cap. 9, edit. Goldast. cap. 12, Canisii.
[20] Heb. xiii. 16.

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is well pleased, we are taught to [21]give both ourselves and our alms first unto the Lord, and after unto our brethren by the will of God; so is it in this ministry of the blessed Sacrament. The service is first presented unto God, (from which, as from a most principal part of the duty, the Sacrament itself is called the Eucharist, because therein we [22]offer a special sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving always unto God), and then communicated to the use of God's people. In the performance of which part of the service both the minister was said to *give* and the communicant to "receive the sacrifice;" as well as in respect of the former part they were said to *offer* the same unto the Lord. For they did not distinguish the sacrifice from the Sacrament, as the Romanists do now-a-days, but used the name of sacrifice indifferently, both of that which was offered unto God, and of that which was *given* to and *received* by the communicant. Therefore we read of "offering the sacrifice" to God, as in that speech of Gallus to his scholar Magnoaldus, "[23]My master Columbanus is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brasen vessels;" of "giving the sacrifice" to man, as when it is said in one of the ancient Synods of Ireland, that [24]a bishop by his testament may bequeath a certain proportion of his goods for a legacy "to the priest that giveth him the sacrifice;" and of "receiving the sacrifice" from the hands of the minister, as in that sentence of the Synod attributed unto St Patrick, "[25]He who deserveth not to receive the sacrifice in his life, how can it help him after his death?" and in that gloss of Sedulius upon 1 Cor. xi. 33, "[26]*Tarry one for another*," that is, saith he, "until you do receive the sacrifice;" and in the British antiquities, where we read of Amon, a nobleman in Wales, father to Samson, the saint of Dole, in little Britain, that, "[27]being taken with a grievous sickness, he

[21] 2 Cor. viii. 5. [22] Heb. xiii. 15.

[23] Præceptor meus B. Columbanus in vasis æneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. i. cap. 19.

[24] Testamentum episcopi sive principis est, 10 scripuli sacerdoti danti sibi sacrificium. Synod. Hibern. in vet. lib. Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.

[25] Qui in vita sua non merebitur sacrificium accipere, quomodo post mortem illi potest adjuvare? Synod. Patric. cap. 12, MS.

[26] Invicem exspectate, id est, usquequo sacrificium accipiatis. Sedul. in 1 Cor. xi.

[27] Gravi infirmitate depressus, a suis commonitus est vicinis, ut juxta morem susciperet sacrificium communionis. Ex Vita S. Samsonis MS. in libro Landavensis Ecclesiæ vocat. *Tilo.*

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was admonished by his neighbours, that according to the usual manner he should receive the sacrifice of the Communion." Whereby it doth appear that the sacrifice of the elder times was like not unto the new Mass of the Romanists, wherein the priest alone doth all, but unto our Communion, where others also have free liberty given unto them to [28]eat of the altar, as well as they that serve the altar.

Again, they that are communicants in the Romish Sacrament receive the Eucharist in one kind only: the priest in offering of the sacrifice receiveth the same distinctly both by way of meat and by way of drink; which, they tell us, [29]is chiefly done "for the integrity of the sacrifice, and not of the Sacrament." For in the sacrifice, they say, "[30]the several elements be consecrated, not into Christ's whole person as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in heaven; but the bread into his body apart, as betrayed, broken, and given for us; the wine into his blood apart, as shed out of his body for remission of sins and dedication of the New Testament; which be conditions of his person, as he was in sacrifice and oblation." But our ancestors, in the use of their Sacrament, received the Eucharist in both kinds, not being so acute as to discern betwixt the things that belonged unto the integrity of the sacrifice and of the Sacrament, because in very truth they took the one to be the other.

Thus Bede relateth that one Hildmer, an officer of Egfrid, King of Northumberland, entreated our Cuthbert [31]to send a priest that might "minister the Sacraments of the Lord's body and blood" unto his wife that then lay a-dying; and Cuthbert himself, immediately before his own departure out of this life, received the "Communion of the Lord's body and blood," as [32]Herefride, Abbot of the monastery of Lendisfarne, who was the man that at that time ministered the Sacrament unto him, made report unto

[28] Heb. xiii. 10.

[29] Id fit potissimum ob sacrificii, non ob sacramenti integritatem. Bellarmin. de Sacrament. Eucharist. lib. iv. cap. 22, in fine.

[30] Rhem. Annotat. in Matt. xxvi. 26.

[31] Mittas presbyterum qui illam, priusquam moriatur, visitet; eique Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramenta ministret. Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. Pros. cap. 15.

[32] Acceptis a me sacramentis salutaribus exitum suum, quem jam venisse cognovit, Dominici corporis et sanguinis communione munivit. Ibid. cap. 39.

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the same Bede; who elsewhere also particularly noteth that he then tasted of the cup:

> [33]Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum
> Sanguine munit iter:

lest any man should think that under the forms of bread alone he might be said to have been partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, by way of concomitance, which is a toy that was not once dreamed of in those days. So that we need not to doubt, what is meant by that which we read in the book of the Life of Furseus, which was written before the time of Bede, that "[34]he received the Communion of the holy body and blood," and that he was wished to admonish [35]the pastors of the Church that they should strengthen the souls of the faithful "with the spiritual food of doctrine, and the participation of the holy body and blood:" or of that which Cogitosus writeth in the Life of St Bridget, touching the place in the church of Kildare, [36]whereunto the Abbatess with her maidens and widows used to resort, "that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ:" which was agreeable to the practice, not only of the nunneries founded beyond the seas, according to the rule of Columbanus, where the virgins "[37]received the body of the Lord, and sipped his blood," as appeareth by that which Jonas relateth of Domna, in the Life of Burgundofora; but also of St Bridget herself, who was the foundress of the monastery of Kildare, one of whose miracles is reported, even in the latter legends, to have happened when she was about to "drink out of the chalice" at the time of her receiving of the Eucharist. Which they that list to look after may find in the collections of Capgrave, Surius, and such like.

[33] Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. Carm. cap. 36.

[34] Petivitque et accepit sacri corporis et sanguinis communionem. Auctor antiqu. Vitæ Fursei.

[35] Principes et doctores ecclesiæ Christi animas fidelium ad pœnitentiæ lamentum post culpas provocent, et eas spirituali pastu doctrinæ ac sacri corporis et sanguinis participatione solidas reddant. Ib.

[36] Per alterum ostium abbatissa cum suis puellis et viduis fidelibus tantum iverat, (*leg.* intrat), ut convivio corporis et sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi. Cogitos. Vit. Brigid.

[37] Quædam ex his nomine Domna, cum jam corpus Domini accepisset ac sanguinem libasset. Jon. Vit. Burgundof.

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But, you will say, these testimonies that have been alleged make not so much for us in proving the use of the "Communion under both kinds," as they make against us in confirming the opinion of transubstantiation; seeing they all specify the receiving, not of bread and wine, but of the body and blood of Christ. I answer, that forasmuch as Christ himself, at the first institution of his holy Supper, did say expressly, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, he deserveth not the name of a Christian that will question the truth of that saying, or refuse to speak in that language which he hath heard his Lord and Master use before him. The question only is, in what sense and after what manner these things must be conceived to be his body and blood. Of which there needed to be little question, if men would be pleased to take into their consideration these two things, which were never doubted of by the ancient, and have most evident ground in the context of the Gospel. *First*, That the subject of those sacramental propositions delivered by our Saviour, that is to say, the demonstrative particle THIS, can have reference to no other substance but that which he then held in his sacred hands, namely, bread and wine, which are of so different a nature from the body and blood of Christ, that the one cannot possibly in proper sense be said to be the other, as the light of common reason doth force the Romanists themselves to confess. *Secondly*, That in the predicate, or latter part of the same propositions, there is not mention made only of Christ's body and blood, but of his body broken and his blood shed; to shew that his body is to be considered here apart, not "as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in heaven," but as it was broken and crucified for us; and his blood likewise apart, not as running in his veins, but "as shed out of his body," which the Rhemists have told us to be "conditions of his person as he was in sacrifice and oblation."

And lest we should imagine that his body were otherwise to be considered in the Sacrament than in the sacrifice, in the one alive, as it is now in heaven, in the other dead, as it was offered upon the cross, the Apostle putteth the matter out of doubt, that not only the minister in offering, but also the people in receiving, even [38] *as often as they eat this*

[38] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

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bread and drink this cup, do shew the Lord's death until he come. Our elders, surely, that held the sacrifice to be given and received (for so we have heard themselves speak), as well as offered, did not consider otherwise of Christ in the Sacrament than "as he was in sacrifice and oblation." If here, therefore, Christ's body be presented as broken and lifeless, and his blood as shed forth and severed from his body, and it be most certain that there are no such things now really existent any where, as is confessed on all hands; then must it follow necessarily, that the bread and wine are not converted into these things really. The [39] Rhemists indeed tell us, that when the Church doth offer and sacrifice Christ daily, "he in mystery and sacrament dieth." Further than this they durst not go; for if they had said he died really, they should thereby not only make themselves daily killers of Christ, but also directly cross that principle of the Apostle, Rom. vi. 9, *Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more.* If, then, the body of Christ, in the administration of the Eucharist, be propounded as dead, as hath been shewed, and die it cannot really, but only in "mystery and sacrament," how can it be thought to be contained under the outward elements, otherwise than "in sacrament and mystery?" And such as in times past were said to have received the sacrifice from the hand of the priest, what other body and blood could they expect to receive therein, but such as was suitable to the nature of that sacrifice, to wit, "mystical and sacramental?"

Cœlius Sedulius, (to whom Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, with his Synod of seventy bishops, giveth the title of "[40] venerable Sedulius," as Venantius Fortunatus of "[41] conspicuous Sedulius," and Hildephonsus Toletanus of the "[42] good Sedulius, the evangelical poet, the eloquent orator, and the catholic writer,") is by Trithemius and others supposed to be the same with our [43] Sedulius of Scotland, or

[39] Rhem. in Matt. xxvi. 26.

[40] Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude præferimus. Synod. Roman. sub Gelasio.

[41] Hinc quoque conspicui radiavit lingua Seduli. Venant. Fortunat. de Vita S. Martini, lib. i.

[42] Bonus Sedulius, poeta evangelicus, orator facundus, scriptor catholicus. Hildephons. Toletan. Serm. v. de Assumpt. Mariæ.

[43] Sedulii, Scoti Hiberniensis, in omnes Epistolas Pauli Collectan. Excus. Basil. ann. 1528.

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Ireland, whose collections are extant upon St Paul's Epistles, although I have forborne hitherto to use any of his testimonies, because I have some reason to doubt whether he were the same with our Sedulius or no. But Cœlius Sedulius, whatsoever countryman he was, intimateth plainly that the things offered in the Christian sacrifice are "the fruit of the corn and of the vine:"

> [44]Denique Pontificum princeps summusque Sacerdos
> Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libaminis auctor,
> Ordine Melchisedech, cui dantur munera semper
> Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, et gaudia vitis.

Or, as he expresseth it in his prose, "[45]The sweet meat of the seed of wheat, and the lovely drink of the pleasant vine." Of Melchisedech, according to whose order Christ, and he only, was Priest, our own Sedulius writeth thus: "[46]Melchisedech offered wine and bread to Abraham for a figure of Christ offering his body and blood unto God his Father upon the cross." Where note that, *first*, he saith Melchisedech offered bread and wine to Abraham, not to God; and *secondly*, that he was a figure of Christ offering his body and blood "upon the cross," not in the Eucharist. But "we," saith [47]he, "do offer daily, for a commemoration of the Lord's passion, once" performed, "and our own salvation." And elsewhere, expounding those words of our Saviour, *Do this in remembrance of me*, he bringeth in this similitude, used before and after him by others: "[48]He left a memory of himself unto us, even as if one that were going a far journey should leave some token with him whom he loved, that as oft as he beheld it he might call to remembrance his benefits and friendship."

Claudius noteth that our Saviour's [49]pleasure was, first

[44] Sedul. Carm. Paschal. lib. iv.

[45] Triticeæ sementis cibus suavis, et amœnæ vitis potus amabilis. Id. Pros. lib. iv. cap. 14.

[46] Melchizedech vinum et panem obtulit Abraham, in figuram Christi corpus et sanguinem suum Deo Patri in cruce offerentis. Sedul. in Heb. v.

[47] Nos vero in commemorationem Dominicæ semel passionis quotidie nostræque salutis offerimus. Id. in Heb. x.

[48] Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat, ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari. Id. in 1 Cor. xi.

[49] Voluit ante discipulis suis tradere sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui, quod significavit in fractione corporis et effusione calicis, et postea ipsum corpus immolari in ara crucis. Claud. lib. iii. in Matt.

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"to deliver unto his disciples the Sacrament of his body and blood, and afterwards to offer up the body itself upon the altar of the cross." Where at the first sight I did verily think, that in the words *fractione corporis* an error had been committed in my transcript, *corporis* being miswritten for *panis;* but afterwards comparing it with the original, whence I took my copy, I found that the author retained the manner of speaking used both [50]before and [51]after his time, in giving the name of the thing signified unto the sign, even there where the direct intention of the speech was to distinguish the one from the other. For he doth expressly distinguish "the Sacrament of the body" which was delivered unto the disciples, from "the body itself" which was afterwards offered upon the cross; and for the sacramental relation betwixt them both, he rendereth this reason: "[52]Because bread doth confirm the body, and wine doth work blood in the flesh, therefore the one is mystically referred to the body of Christ, the other to his blood." Which doctrine of his, that the Sacrament is in its own nature *bread* and *wine*, but the *body* and *blood* of Christ by mystical relation, was in effect the same with that which long afterwards was here in Ireland delivered by Henry Crump, the monk of Baltinglas, [53]that "the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar was only a looking-glass to the body of Christ in heaven:" yea, and within fifty or threescore years of the time of Claudius Scotus himself, was so fully maintained by Johannes Scotus, in a book that he purposely wrote of that argument, that when it was alleged and extolled by Berengarius, Pope Leo the Ninth, with his Bishops, assembled *in Synodo Vercellensi*, Anno Domini 1050, which was 235 years after the time that Claudius wrote his Commentaries upon St Matthew, had no other means to avoid it but by flat [54]condemning of it. Of what great esteem this John was with King Alfred, may be seen

[50] See Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Ephræmius Antiochenus in the *Answer to the Jesuit*, p. 59, 60.

[51] Apud Rathramnum, sive Bertramum, et Elfricum, passim.

[52] Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne; hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. Id. ibid.

[53] Quod corpus Christi in altaris sacramento est solum speculum ad corpus Christi in cœlo. Ex Actis Willielmi Andreæ Midensis Episcopi contra Henr. Crumpe, ann. 1384, quæ MSta habeo.

[54] Johannis Scoti liber de Eucharistia lectus est ac damnatus. Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contr. Berengar.

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in William of Malmesbury, Roger Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and other writers of the English history. The king himself, in the preface before his Saxon translation of St Gregory's Pastoral, professeth that he was holpen in that work by [55]John, his mass-priest. By whom if he did mean this John of ours, you may see how in those days a man might be held a mass-priest, who was far enough from thinking that he offered up the very *body* and *blood* of Christ really present under the forms of bread and wine; which is the only Mass that our Romanists take knowledge of.

Of which wonderful point how ignorant our elders were, even this also may be one argument, that the author of the book of the Wonderful Things of the Holy Scripture, before alleged, passeth this quite over, which is now esteemed to be the wonder of all wonders. And yet doth he profess, that he "[56]purposed to pass over nothing of the wonders of the Scripture, wherein they might seem notably to swerve from the ordinary administration in other things."

CHAPTER V.

OF CHRISM, SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION, PENANCE, ABSOLUTION, MARRIAGE, DIVORCES, AND SINGLE LIFE IN THE CLERGY.

THAT the Irish [1]did baptize their infants without any consecrated Chrism, Lanfranc maketh complaint in his letters to Terdeluacus, or Tirlagh, the chief king of that country. And Bernard reporteth, that Malachias in his time, which was after the days of Lanfranc and Pope Hildebrand, did "[2]of the new institute the most wholesome use of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and the contract of mar-

[55] Johanne minum mæsse preost. Ælfred. Præfat. in Gregor. Pastoral. Saxonic.

[56] Præsertim cum ex mirabilibus scripturæ dominicæ nil præterire disposui, in quibus a ministerio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur. De Mirabilib. Scriptur. lib. ii. cap. 21.

[1] Quod infantes baptismo sine Chrismate consecrato baptizantur. Lanfranc. Epist. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana; et apud Baron. ann. 1089, num. 16, ubi-tamen *sive* male habetur pro *sine*.

[2] Usum saluberrimum confessionis, sacramentum confirmationis, contractum conjugiorum, quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant, Malachias de novo instituit. Bernard. in Vita Malachiæ.

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riages; all which," he saith, the Irish before were "either ignorant of, or did neglect." Which, for the matter of Confession, may receive some further confirmation from the testimony of Alcuinus, who, writing unto the Scottish, or, as other copies read, the Gothish, and commending the religious conversation of their laity, who "[3]in the midst of their worldly employments were said to lead a most chaste life," condemneth notwithstanding another custom which was said to have continued in that country: for "[4]it is said," quoth he, "that no man of the laity will make his confession to the priests, whom we believe to have received from the Lord Christ the power of binding and loosing together with the holy Apostles."

They had no reason indeed to hold, as Alcuinus did, that they ought to confess unto a priest all the sins they could remember; but upon special occasions they did, no doubt, both publicly and privately make confession of their faults, as well that they might receive counsel and direction for their recovery, as that they might be made partakers of the benefit of the keys for the quieting of their troubled consciences. Whatsoever the Gothish did herein, by whom we are to understand the inhabitants of Languedoc in France, where Alcuinus lived, sure we are that this was the practice of the ancient Scottish and Irish. So we read of one Fiachna or Fechnaus, that being touched with remorse for some offence committed by him, he fell at St Colme's feet, lamented bitterly, and "[5]confessed his sins before all that were there present." Whereupon the holy man, weeping together with him, is said to have returned this answer: "[6]Rise up, son, and be comforted; thy sins which thou hast committed are forgiven; because, as it is written, *a contrite and an humbled heart God doth not despise.*" We read also of Adamnanus, that being very much terrified with

[3] Inter mundanas occupationes castissimam vitam rationabili consideratione degere dicuntur. Alcuin. Epist. XXVI. edit. H. Canisii, LXXI. Andreæ Quercetani.

[4] Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare; quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus. Ibid.

[5] Coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata sua confessus est. Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. i. cap. 16, vel 20 in MS.

[6] Surge, fili, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua, quæ commisisti, peccamina, quia, sicut scriptum est, Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit. Ibid.

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the remembrance of a grievous sin committed by him in his youth, he "[7]resorted unto a priest, by whom he hoped the way of salvation might be shewed unto him; he confessed his guilt, and entreated that he would give him counsel, whereby he might flee from the wrath of God that was to come."

Now the counsel commonly given unto the penitent after confession was, that he should [8]wipe away his sins "by meet fruits of repentance;" which course Bede observeth to have been usually prescribed by our Cuthbert. For penances were then exacted as testimonies of the sincerity of that inward repentance, which was necessarily required for obtaining remission of the sin; and so had reference to the taking away of the guilt, and not of the temporal punishment remaining after the forgiveness of the guilt; which is the new-found use of penances invented by our later Romanists. One old penitential Canon we find laid down in a Synod held in this country about the year of our Lord 450, by St Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, which is as followeth: "[9]A Christian who hath killed a man, or committed fornication, or gone unto a soothsayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every of those crimes shall do a year of penance: when his year of penance is accomplished he shall come with witnesses, and afterward he shall be absolved by the priest." These Bishops did take order, we see, according to the discipline generally used in those times, that the penance should first be performed; and when long and good proof had been given by that means of the truth of the party's repentance, they wished the priest to impart unto him the benefit of Absolution. Whereas by the new device of sacramental penance, the matter is now far more easily transacted; by virtue of the keys the sinner is instantly of *attrite* made *contrite*, and thereupon as soon as he hath made his con-

[7] Accedens ad sacerdotem, a quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari, confessus est reatum suum, petiitque ut consilium sibi daret, quo posset fugere a ventura Dei ira. Bed. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 25.

[8] Confessa dignis, ut imperabat, pœnitentiæ fructibus abstergerent. Id. ibid. cap. 27.

[9] Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more Gentilium ad aruspicem meaverit, per singula crimina annum pœnitentiæ agat; impleto cum testibus veniat anno pœnitentiæ, et postea resolvetur a sacerdote. Synod. Patricii, Auxilii et Issernini MS. in Bibliotheca Collegii Benedict. Cantabrig.

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fession he presently receiveth his absolution; after this some sorry penance is imposed, which upon better consideration may be converted into pence; and so a quick end is made of many a foul business.

But for the right use of the keys we fully accord with Claudius, that "[10]the office" of remitting and retaining sins which was given unto the Apostles, "is now in the bishops and priests committed unto every church: namely, that having taking knowledge of the causes of such as have sinned, as many as they shall behold humble and truly penitent, those they may now with compassion absolve from the fear of everlasting death; but such as they shall discern to persist in the sins which they have committed, those they may declare to be bound over unto never-ending punishments." And in thus absolving such as be truly penitent, we willingly yield that the pastors of God's Church do "remit sins after" their manner, that is to say, ministerially and improperly; so that the privilege of forgiving sins properly and absolutely be still reserved unto God alone. Which is at large set out by the same Claudius, where he expoundeth the history of the man sick of the palsy that was cured by our Saviour, in the ninth of St Matthew: for, following Bede upon that place, he writeth thus: "[11]The scribes say true, *that none can forgive sins but God alone;* who also forgiveth by them to whom he hath given the power of forgiving. And therefore is Christ proved to be truly God, because he forgiveth sins as God. They render a true testimony unto God; but in denying the person of Christ they are deceived." And again, "[12]If it be God that, according to the Psalmist,

[10] Necnon etiam nunc in episcopis ac presbyteris omni ecclesiæ officium idem committitur; ut videlicet agnitis peccantium causis, quoscunque humiles ac vere pœnitentes aspexerint, hos jam a timore perpetuæ mortis miserantes absolvant; quos vero in peccatis quæ egerint persistere cognoverint, illos perennibus suppliciis obligandos insinuent. Claud. in Matth. lib. ii.

[11] Verum dicunt scribæ, quia nemo dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus potest; qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit potestatem. Et ideo Christus vere Deus esse probatur, quia dimittere peccata quasi Deus potest. Verum Deo testimonium reddunt; sed personam Christi negando falluntur. Id. in Matth. lib. i.

[12] Si et Deus est, juxta Psalmistam, qui quantum distat oriens ab occasu elongavit a nobis iniquitates nostras, et Filius hominis potestatem habet in terra dimittendi peccata; ergo idem ipse et Deus et filius hominis est, ut et homo Christus per divinitatis suæ potentiam peccata dimittere possit; et idem Deus Christus per humanitatis suæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. Ibid.

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removeth our sins as far from us as the east is distant from the west, and *the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins*; therefore he himself is both God and the Son of man: that both the man Christ might, by the power of his divinity, forgive sins; and the same Christ, being God, might, by the frailty of his humanity, die for sinners." And out of St Jerome: "[13]Christ sheweth himself to be God, who can know the hidden things of the heart, and after a sort holding his peace he speaketh, By the same majesty aud power whereby I behold your thoughts, I can also forgive sins unto men." In like manner doth the author of the book of the Wonderful Things of the Scripture observe these "[14]divine works" in the same history; "the forgiving of sins, the present cure of the disease, and the answering of the thoughts by the mouth of God who searcheth all things." With whom, for the property of beholding the secret thoughts, Sedulius also doth concur in those sentences: "[15]God alone can know the hidden things of men." "[16]To know the hearts of men, and to discern the secrets of their mind, is the privilege of God alone."

That the Contract of Marriages was either unknown or neglected by the Irish before Malachias did institute the same anew among them, as Bernard doth seem to intimate, is a thing almost incredible; although [17]Giraldus Cambrensis doth complain, that the case was little better with them after the time of Malachias also. The licentiousness of those ruder times, I know, was such as may easily induce us to believe that a great both neglect and abuse of God's ordinance did get footing among this people: which enormities Malachias, no doubt, did labour to reform, and withal, peradventure, brought in some new matters not

[13] Ostendit se Deum, qui potest cordis occulta cognoscere; et quodammodo tacens loquitur: Eadem majestate et potentia qua cogitationes vestras intueor, possum et hominibus delicta dimittere. Ibid.

[14] In paralytico a quatuor viris portato, quatuor divina opera cernuntur. Dum dimittuntur ei peccata, et præsentis ægritudinis plaga verbo tunc solvitur, et cogitationibus in ore Dei omnia scrutantis respondetur. Auct. lib. de Mirabilib. S. Scriptur. lib. iii. cap. 7.

[15] Deus solus potest occulta hominum scire. Sedul. in Rom. ii.

[16] Corda hominum nosse solius Dei est, et mentis secreta agnoscere. Id. ibid.

[17] Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt; nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestus vitant. Girald. Camb. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. III. cap. 19. Vide etiam Lanfranci Epist. ad Gothricum et Terdeluacum reges Hibern. apud Baronium, ann. 1089, num. 13 et 16.

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known here before, as he was very desirous his countrymen should generally conform themselves unto the traditions and customs of the Church of Rome. But our purpose is here only to deal with the doctrine and practice of the elder times; in which, *first*, that marriage was not held to be a *Sacrament*, may be collected from [18] Sedulius, who reckoneth it among those things which are "gifts indeed, but not spiritual."

Secondly, For the *degrees of consanguinity* hindering marriage, the Synod attributed unto St Patrick seemeth to refer us wholly unto the Levitical law, prescribing therein "[19] neither less nor more than the law speaketh;" and particularly against matching with "the wife of the deceased brother," which was the point so much questioned in the case of King Henry the Eighth, this [20] Synodical decree is there urged: "The brother may not ascend into the bed of his deceased brother, the Lord having said, *They two shall be one flesh*. Therefore the wife of thy brother is thy sister." Whereupon we find also, that our Kilianus did suffer martyrdom for [21] dissolving such an incestuous marriage in Gozbertus, Duke of Franconia; and that Clemens Scotus, for maintaining the contrary, was both by [22] Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and the [23] Council held at Rome by Pope Zachary in the year 745, condemned as a bringer in of Judaism amongst Christians. Yet how far this condemned opinion of his prevailed afterward in this country, and how foul a crime it was esteemed to be by others abroad, notwithstanding the Pope doth now by his bulls of dispensation take upon him to make a fair matter of it,

[18] Videtur indicare, esse aliquid quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale, ut nuptiæ. Sedul. in Rom. i.

[19] De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid lex loquitur, non minus nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur; nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse. Synod. Patric. cap. 29, MS.

[20] Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Frater torum defuncti fratris non ascendat, Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est. Ibid. cap. 25, et in excerptis e Jure Sacerdotali Egberti Archiepisc. per Hucarium Levitam. MS.

[21] Vit. Kiliani, Tom. IV. Antiqu. Lect. Henr. Canisii, p. 633 and 644.

[22] Judaismum inducens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut si voluerit viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachar. Tomo III. Concil. part. I. p. 382, edit. Colon. ann. 1618.

[23] Inferens Christianis Judaismum, dum prædicat fratris defuncti accipere uxorem. Concil. Roman. II. sub Zachar. ibid. p. 383. e.

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may easily be perceived by this censure of Giraldus: "[24]Moreover," saith he, "which is very detestable, and most contrary not only to the faith, but also unto common honesty, brethren in many places throughout Ireland do, I say not marry, but mar rather and seduce the wives of their deceased brothers, while in this sort they filthily and incestuously have knowledge of them; cleaving herein not to the marrow, but to the bark of the Old Testament, and desiring to imitate the ancient in vices more willingly than in virtues."

Thirdly, Touching *Divorces*, we read in Sedulius, that "[25]it is not lawful, according to the precept of our Lord, that the wife should be put away but for the cause of fornication." And in the Synod ascribed to St Patrick, "[26]It is not lawful for a man to put away his wife but for the cause of fornication. As if he should say, for this cause" he may. "Whence if he marry another, as it were after the death of the former, they forbid it not." Who they were that did not forbid this second marriage, is not there expressed. That St Patrick himself was of another mind, would appear by this constitution following, which in another ancient Canon book I found cited under his name: "[27]If any man's wife have committed adultery with another man, he shall not marry another wife as long as the first wife shall be alive. If peradventure she be converted, and do penance, he shall receive her, and she shall serve him in the place of a maid-servant. Let her for a whole year do penance in bread and water, and that by measure; neither let them remain in the same bed together."

[24] Quinimo, quod valde detestabile est, et non tantum fidei, sed et cuilibet honestati valde contrarium, fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imo verius seducunt, dum turpiter eas et tam incestuose cognoscunt; veteris in hoc testamenti non medullæ sed cortici adhærentes, veteresque libentius in vitiis quam virtutibus imitari volentes. Girald. Camb. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. III. cap. 19.

[25] Non licet secundum præceptum Domini ut dim[illegible]atur conjux, nisi causa fornicationis. Sedul. in 1 Cor. vii.

[26] Non licet viro dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis; ac si dicat, ob hanc causam. Unde si ducat alteram, velut post mortem prioris, non vetant. Synod. Patric. cap. 26, MS.

[27] Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro, non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiu viva fuerit uxor prima. Si forte conversa fuerit, et agat pœnitentiam, suscipiet eam, et serviet ei in vicem ancillæ; et annum integrum in pane et aqua per mensuram pœniteat; nec in uno lecto permaneant. Ex libro Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum LXVI.

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Fourthly, Concerning *Single Life*, I do not find in any of our records that it was generally imposed upon the clergy, but the contrary rather. For in the Synod held by St Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, there is a special order taken [28]that their wives shall not walk abroad with their heads uncovered. And St Patrick himself confesseth, at leastwise the confession which goeth under his name saith so, and Probus, Jocelinus, and others that write his life, agree therewith, that he [29]had to his father Calphurnius, a deacon, and to his grandfather Potitus, a priest. For that was no new thing then among the Britons, whose bishops therefore Gildas doth reprehend, as for the same cause he did the chief of the laity, that they were not content to be the husbands of one, but of many wives, and that they corrupted their children by their evil example; whereas "[30]the chastity of the Fathers was to be esteemed imperfect, if the chastity of their sons were not added thereunto."

Nennius, the eldest historiographer of the Britons which we have after him, who in many copies also beareth his own name, wrote that book which we have extant of his to "[31]Samuel the child of Benlanus the priest, his master;" counting it a grace rather than any kind of disparagement unto him to be esteemed the son of a learned priest. Which maketh him, in the [32]verses prefixed before the work, to say,

Christe, tribuisti patri Samuelem, [33]Læta matre.

But about 60 or 70 years after I find some partial eclipse here, and the first, I think, of this kind that can be shewed among the Britons, in the laws of Howel Dha; where it is

[28] Quicunque clericis, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, &c. et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit; pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur. Synod. Patric. Auxil. Isserniu.

[29] Patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri. S. Patricii Confessio. MS.

[30] Imperfecta est patrum castitas, si eidem non et filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conspicitur castus? Gild.

[31] Sic inveni ut tibi Samuel, infans magistri mei Benlani presbyteri, in ista pagina scripsi. Nennius in MSto Dunelmensi.

[32] Versus Nennii ad Samuelem filium magistri sui Benlani, viri religiosi, ad quem historiam istam scripserat. Nenn. MS. in Publica Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliotheca.

[33] Hinc apud Balæum, Centur. I. cap. 77. Benlani presbyteri conjux Læta est nominata.

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ordered, that [34]if a clerk of a lower degree should match with a woman and have a son by her, and that clerk afterward, having received the order of priesthood, should have another son by the same woman, the former son should enjoy his father's whole estate, without being bound to divide the same with his other brother. Yet these marriages for all that were so held out, that the fathers, not content their sons should succeed them in their temporal estate alone, prevailed so far that they continued them in the succession of their spiritual promotions also: which abuse Giraldus Cambrensis [35]complaineth to have been continued in Wales unto his time, and out of [36]Hildebertus Cenomanensis sheweth to have prevailed in little Britain also; whence he inferreth, [37]that "this vice was of old common to the whole British nation, as well on this side as on the other side of the sea." Whereunto for Ireland also we may add the letters written by Pope Innocent the Third unto Johannes Salernitanus the Cardinal, his legate, [38]for abolishing the custom there, whereby sons and grandchildren did use to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices.

[34] Si clericus haberet fœminam datam a suo genere, et sic habet filium ex ea, et postea ille clericus presbyteratus ordinem accipiens, si post votum consecrationis filium haberet de eadem fœmina, prior filius non debet partiri cum filio post nato. Ex Legib. Howel Dha, MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

[35] Successive et post patres filii ecclesias obtinent, non elective sed hæreditate possidentes et polluentes sanctuarium Dei, quia, si prælatus alium eligere et instituere forte præsumpserit, in instituentem proculdubio, vel institutum, genus injuriam vindicabit. Girald. Cambrensis Descript. Cambriæ, libro xx. MS. Successionis quippe vitium non solum in sedibus cathedralibus, verumetiam adeo per totam in clero, sicut et in populo, Walliam pertinaciter invaluit; quod et post patres filii passim ecclesias et consequenter obtineant, tanquam hæreditate possidentes et polluentes sanctuarium Dei, &c. Id. in Dialogo de Ecclesia Menevensi, Distinct. I. MS.

[36] Hildebert. Epist. LXV. ad Honorium II. (Tomo XII. Biblioth. Patr. part. I. p. 338, 339, edit. Colon.)

[37] Ex quibus constare potest, utrumque vitium toti huic genti Britanniæ tam cismarinæ quam transmarinæ ab antiquo commune fuisse. Girald. Camb. in utroque.

[38] Alphons. Ciacon. in Vitis Pontificum et Cardinalium, p. 515.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF OUR ANCIENT MONKS, AND ABSTINENCE FROM MEATS.

WHAT hath been said of the married clergy concerneth the *seculars*, and not the *regulars*, whereof there was a very great number in Ireland; because here "[1]almost all the prelates were wont to be chosen into the clergy out of monasteries." For our monasteries in ancient time were the seminaries of the ministry, being as it were so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people did usually resort for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers. The benefit whereof was not only contained within the limits of this island, but did extend itself to foreign countries likewise. For this was it that drew [2]Egbert and Ceadda, for example, into Ireland, that they might there "lead a monastical life in prayers and continency, and meditation of the holy Scriptures:" and hence were those famous monasteries planted in England by Aidan, Finan, Colman, and others, unto which "[3]the people flocked apace on the Lord's day, not for the feeding of their body, but for the learning of the word of God," as Bede witnesseth. Yea, this was the principal means whereby the knowledge both of the Scriptures and of all other good learning was preserved in that inundation of barbarism, wherewith the whole West was in a manner overwhelmed. "Hitherto," saith [4]Curio, "it might seem that

[1] Fere omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in clerum electi sunt. Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. III. cap. 29.

[2] Egbertus cum Ceadda adolescente et ipse adolescens in Hibernia monasticam in orationibus et continentia et meditatione divinarum scripturarum vitam sedulus agebat. Bed. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 3.

[3] Sed et diebus Dominicis ad ecclesiam sive ad monasteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, sed erudiendi sermonis Dei gratia confluebant. Id. lib. iii. cap. 26.

[4] Hactenus videri poterat actum esse cum sapientiæ studiis, nisi semen Deus servasset in aliquo mundi angulo. In Scotis et Hibernis hæserat aliquid adhuc de doctrina cognitionis Dei et honestatis civilis; quod nullus fuerit in ultimis illis mundi finibus armorum terror, &c. Et summam possumus ibi conspicere et adorare Dei bonitatem; quod in Scotis, et locis ubi nemo putasset, tam numerosi coaluerint sub strictissima disciplina cœtus. Jacob. Curio, lib. ii. Rerum Chronologic.

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the studies of wisdom should quite have perished, unless God had reserved a seed in some corner of the world. Among the Scottish and the Irish something as yet remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God and of civil honesty; because there was no terror of arms in those utmost ends of the world. And we may there behold and adore the great goodness of God, that among the Scots, and in those places where no man would have thought it, so many great companies should be gathered together under a most strict discipline."

How strict their discipline was, may appear partly by the Rule, and partly by the Daily Penances of Monks, which are yet extant of Columbanus's writing. In the latter of these, for the disobedience of monks these penances are prescribed: "[5]If any brother be disobedient," he shall fast "two days, with one biscuit and water. If any say, I will not do it, three days with one biscuit and water. If any murmur, two days with one biscuit and water. If any do not ask leave or tell an excuse, two days with one biscuit and water;" and so in other particulars. In his Rule, these good lessons doth he give unto his monks, among many others: That "[6]it profited them little if they were virgins in body, and were not virgins in mind:" that they "[7]should daily profit as they did daily pray and daily read:" that "[8]the good things of the Pharisee being vainly praised, were lost, and the sins of the publican being accused, vanished away; and therefore that a great word should not come out of the mouth of a monk, lest his great labour should perish." They were not taught to vaunt of their state of perfection and works of supererogation, or to argue from thence, as Celestius the Pelagian monk sometime did, that "[9]by the nature of their free-will they had such a

[5] Si quis frater inobediens fuerit, duos dies uno paxmate et aqua. Si quis dicit, Non faciam, tres dies uno paxmate et aqua. Si quis murmurat, duos dies uno paxmate et aqua. Si quis veniam non petit, aut dicit excusationem, duos dies uno paxmate et aqua. Columban. lib. de Quotidianis Pœnitentiis Monachor. cap. 10, MS. in monasterio S. Galli.

[6] Quid prodest, si virgo corpore sit, et non sit virgo mente? Id. in Regula Monachor. cap. 8.

[7] Quotidie proficiendum est, sicut quotidie orandum, quotidieque est legendum. Ibid. cap. 5.

[8] Bona vane laudata Pharisæi perierunt, et peccata publicani accusata evanuerunt. Non exeat igitur verbum grande de ore monachi, ne suus grandis pereat labor. Ibid. cap. 7.

[9] Tantam nos habere per naturam liberi arbitrii non peccandi possibilitatem, ut plus etiam quam præceptum est faciamus; quoniam perpetua servatur a pleris-

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possibility of not sinning, that they were able also to do more than was commanded; because they did observe perpetual virginity, which is not commanded, whereas for not sinning it is sufficient to fulfil the precepts." It was one of the points which Gallus, the scholar of Columbanus, delivered in his sermon preached at Constance, that our Saviour "[10]did so persuade the Apostles and their followers to lay hold upon the good of virginity, that yet they should know it was not of human industry, but of divine gift." And it is a good observation which we read in Claudius, that "[11]not only in the splendour of bodily things, but also in mournful abasing of one's self, there may be boasting; and that so much the more dangerous, as it deceiveth under the name of the service of God."

Our monks were religious indeed, and not in name only; far from the hypocrisy, pride, idleness, and uncleanness, of those *evil beasts* and *slothful bellies* that afterward succeeded in their room. Under colour of forsaking all, they did not hook all unto themselves, nor under semblance of devotion did they devour widows' houses: they held begging to be no point of perfection, but [12]remembered the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, *It is a more blessed thing to give rather than to take.* When King Sigebert made large offers unto Columbanus and his companions to keep them within his dominions in France, he received such another answer from them as [13]Thaddæus, in the Ecclesiastical History, is said to have given unto Abgarus, the governor of Edessa: "[14]We who have forsaken our own, that according to the commandment of the Gospel we might follow the Lord, ought not to embrace other men's riches, lest peradventure we should prove transgressors of the divine

que virginitas, quæ præcepta non est, cum ad non peccandum præcepta implere sufficiat. Aug. de Gestis Synod. Palæstin. contra Pelag. cap. 13.

[10] Ipsis Apostolis et eorum sequacibus ita bonum virginitatis arripiendum persuasit, ut hoc scirent non humanæ industriæ, sed muneris esse divini. S. Gallus, in Serm. habit. Constant.

[11] Non in solo rerum corporearum nitore, sed etiam in ipsis sordibus luctuosis esse posse jactantiam; et eo periculosiorem, quo sub nomine servitutis Dei decipit. Claud. lib. i. in Matt.

[12] Acts xx. 35.

[13] Εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα; Euseb. Histor. lib. i. cap. ult.

[14] Qui nostra reliquimus, ut secundum evangelicam jussionem Dominum sequeremur, non debemus alienas amplecti divitias; ne forte prævaricatores simus divini mandati. Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Galli, lib. i. cap. 2.

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commandment." How then did these men live? will you say. Walafridus Strabus telleth us, that "[15]some of them wrought in the garden, others dressed the orchard, Gallus made nets" and took fish, wherewith he not only relieved his own company, but was helpful also unto strangers. So Bede reporteth of Cuthbert, that when he retired himself unto an anchoretical life, he "[16]first indeed received a little bread from his brethren to feed upon, and drank out of his own well, but afterwards he thought it more fit to live by the work of his own hands, after the example of the fathers; and therefore entreated that instruments might be brought him wherewith he might till the earth, and corn that he might sow."

> [17]Quique suis cupiens victum conquirere palmis,
> Incultam pertentat humum proscindere ferro,
> Et sator edomitis anni spem credere glebis.

The like doth he relate of [18]Furseus, and Bonifacius of [19]Livinus, and Theodorus Campidonensis, or whosoever else wrote that book, of [20]Gallus, Magnoaldus, and the rest of the followers of Columbanus, that they got their living by the labour of their own hands. And the [21]Apostle's rule is generally laid down for all monks, in the Life of Furseus: "[22]They which live in monasteries should *work with silence, and eat their own bread.*"

But now there is started up a new generation of men, that refuse to *eat their own bread*, and count it a high point of sanctity to live by begging of other men's bread, if yet the course they take may rightly be termed *begging*. For, as Richard Fitz-Ralph, that famous Archbishop of Armagh, objected to their faces, before the Pope himself

[15] Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt; B. vero Gallus texebat retia, &c. et de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. Ibid. cap. 6.

[16] Et primum quidem permodicum ab eis panem, quo vesceretur, accipiebat, ac suo bibebat e fonte; postmodum vero proprio manuum labore juxta exempla patrum vivere magis aptum ducebat. Rogavit ergo afferri sibi instrumenta quibus terram exerceret, et triticum quod sereret. Bed. Vit. Cuthbert. Pros. cap. 19. Vide Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 28.

[17] Id. in Carm. de Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 17.

[18] Id. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 19.

[19] Bonifac. in Vita Livini, p. 240.

[20] Theod. Campid. Vit. Magni, lib. i. cap. 5, edit. Goldasti, 6 Canisii.

[21] 2 Thess. iii. 12.

[22] Qui in monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent. Vit. Fursei.

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and his cardinals in [23]his time, (and the matter is little amended, I wis, in ours), "scarce could any great or mean man of the clergy or the laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would be at his elbow; not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or the door (as Francis did command and teach them in his testament) by begging, but without shame intruding themselves into courts or houses, and lodging there, where, without any inviting at all, they eat and drink what they do find among them; and not with that content, carry away with them either wheat, or meal, or bread, or flesh, or cheeses, although there were but two in an house, in a kind of an extorting manner, there being none that can deny them, unless he would cast away natural shame."

This did that renowned primate, whose anniversary memory is still celebrated in Dundalk, where he was born and buried, by the name of St Richard, publicly deliver in the year 1357, at the Consistory of Avignon; where he stoutly maintained, against the whole rabble of the friars, what he had preached the year before at Paul's Cross unto the people; namely, "[24]That our Lord Jesus Christ, although in his human conversation he was always poor," "[25]yet did he never voluntarily beg himself," "[26]nor taught others so to do," "[27]but taught the plain contrary:" and "[28]That

[23] Jam enim istis in temporibus non poterat magnus aut mediocris in clero et populo aut vix cibum sumere, ubi tales non affuerunt mendicantes; non more pauperum petentes ad portas vel ostia humiliter eleemosynam (ut Franciscus in testamento præcepit et docuit) mendicando; sed curias sive domos sine verecundia penetrantes, et inibi hospitantes, nullatenus invitati, edunt et bibunt, quæ apud eos reperiunt, secum nihilominus aut grana, aut similam, aut panes, aut carnes, seu caseos, etiamsi in domo non fuerint nisi duo, secum extorquendo reportant; nec eis quisquam poterit denegare, nisi verecundiam naturalem abjiciat. Rich. Armachanus, in Defensorio Curatorum, p. 56, 57, edit. Paris. ann. 1625, collat. cum vetere editione Ascensiana.

[24] Prima conclusio erat, quod Dominus Jesus Christus in conversatione sua humana semper pauper erat, non quia propter se paupertatem dilexit aut voluit. Ibid. p. 104, 105.

[25] Secunda conclusio erat, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus nunquam spontanee mendicavit. Ibid. p. 107.

[26] Tertia conclusio fuit, quod Christus nunquam docuit spontanee mendicare. Ibid. p. 121.

[27] Quarta conclusio fuit, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus docuit non debere homines spontanee mendicare. Ibid. p. 123.

[28] Quinta conclusio erat, quod nullus potest prudenter et sancte spontaneam mendicitatem super se assumere perpetuo asservandam, quoniam ex quo talis mendicitas vel mendicatio est dissuasa a Christo, a suis apostolis et discipulis, et ab ecclesia ac sacris Scripturis, ac etiam re-

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no man could prudently and holily take upon himself the perpetual observation of voluntary beggary; forasmuch as such kind of begging, as well by Christ as by his Apostles and disciples, by the Church and by the holy Scriptures, was both dissuaded and also reproved."

His countryman Henry Crump, a monk of the Cistercian order in Baltinglas, not long after, treading in his steps, was accused for delivering in his determinations at Oxford, that "[29]the friars of the four Mendicant orders are not nor ever were instituted by God's inspiration; but that contrary to the general Council of Lateran, held under Innocent the Third," which prohibited the bringing in of any more new religious orders into the Church, "and by feigned and false dreams, Pope Honorius, being persuaded by the friars, did confirm them;" and [30]that "all the doctors which did determine for the friars' side were either afraid to speak the truth, lest their books should be condemned by the friars that had gotten to be inquisitors, or said, *As it seemeth*, or proceeded only by way of disputation, and not of determination; because if they had spoken the truth plainly in the behalf of the Church, the friars would have persecuted them, as they did persecute the holy doctor Armachanus." Which Crump himself found afterwards to be too true by his own experience; for he was forced to deny and abjure these assertions in the house of the Carmelite Friars at Stanford, before William Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, and then silenced, that he should not exercise publicly any act in the schools, either by reading, preaching, disputing, or determining, until he should have a special licence from the said Archbishop so to do.

But to leave the begging friars, being a kind of crea-

probata, consequitur quod non potest prudenter et sancte assumi hoc modo. Ibid. p. 131. Vide ejusd. Richardi Sermonem III. apud Crucem Londin. edit. Paris. ann. 1512.

[29] Quod fratres de quatuor ordinibus Mendicantium non sunt nec fuerunt Domino inspirante instituti; sed contra Concilium generale Lateranense sub Innocentio Tertio celebratum, ac per ficta et falsa somnia, Papa Honorius suasus a fratribus eos confirmavit. Act. contra Hen. Crump, in Thomæ Waldensis Fasciculo Zizaniorum, quem MSum habeo.

[30] Quod omnes doctores determinantes pro parte fratrum e capitulo *Dudum*, vel timuerunt veritatem dicere, ne eorum libri per fratres inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis damnarentur; vel dixerunt, *Ut videtur*; vel solum disputative processerunt; quia si plane veritatem pro ecclesia dixissent, persecuti eos fuissent fratres, sicut persequebantur sanctum doctorem Armachanum. Ibid.

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tures unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ, and to return to the labouring monks. We find it related of our Brendan, that he "[31]governed three thousand such monks, who by their own labours and handy-work did earn their living:" which agreeth well with that saying ascribed to him by the writer of his Life: "[32]A monk ought to be fed and clothed by the labour of his own hands." Neither was there any other order observed in that famous monastery of Bangor, among the Britons, "[33]wherein there is said to have been so great a number of monks, that the monastery being divided into seven portions, together with the rectors appointed over them, none of all those portions had less than three hundred persons in them; all which," saith Bede, "were wont to live by the labour of their own hands." From the destruction of which monastery unto the erection of Tuy Gwyn, or *White-house*, which is said to have been about the year 1146, the setter-forth of the [34]Welsh Chronicle observeth, that there were no abbeys among the Britons.

Here in Ireland Bishop Colman founded the monastery of Magio, in the [35]county of Limerick, for the entertainment of the English, where they "[36]did live according to the example of the reverend Fathers," as Bede writeth, "under a rule and a canonical abbot, in great continency and sincerity, with the labour of their own hands." Like whereunto was the monastery of Mailros also, planted by Bishop Aidan and his followers in Northumberland, where St Cuthbert had his education, who affirmed that "[37]the life of such monks was justly to be admired, which were

[31] Tribus monachorum, qui suis sibi ipsi laboribus victum manibus operando suppeditabant, millibus præfuisse creditur. Nicol. Harpsfield. Histor. Eccles. Angl. lib. i. cap. 25.

[32] Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci et vestiri. Vit. S. Brendani.

[33] In quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant. Bed. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[34] Chronicle of Wales, p. 253, 254.

[35] Vide Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno edit. ad ann. 1370.

[36] Ad exemplum venerabilium Patrum, sub regula et abbate canonico, in magna continentia et sinceritate proprio labore manuum vivunt. Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iv. cap. 4.

[37] Jure, inquit, est cœnobitarum vita miranda, qui abbatis per omnia subjiciuntur imperiis, ad ejus arbitrium cuncta vigilandi, orandi, jejunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur. Bed. Vit. Cuthbert. Pros. cap. 22.

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in all things subject to the commands of their abbot, and ordered all the times of their watching, praying, fasting, and working, according to his direction:"

> [38] Excubiasque, famemque, preces, manuumque laborem
> Ad votum gaudent proni frænare regentis.

As for their fasting, (for of their watching and praying there is no question made, and of their working we have already spoken sufficiently), by the Rule of Columbanus they were "[39] every day to fast and every day to eat," that by this means "[40] the enabling of them for their spiritual proficiency might be retained, together with the abstinence that did macerate the flesh." He would therefore have them "[41] every day to eat, because they were every day to profit," and because "[42] abstinence, if it did exceed measure, would prove a vice and not a virtue." And he would have them to fast every day too, that is, not to eat any meat at all (for other fasts were not known in those days) until evening. "[43] Let the food of monks," saith he, be "mean, and taken at evening, flying satiety and excess of drink, that it may both sustain them and not hurt them." This was the "daily fasting" and "feeding" of them that lived according to Columbanus's Rule, although the strictness of the fast seemeth to have been kept on Wednesdays and Fridays only, which were the days of the week wherein the ancient Irish, agreeable to the custom of the Grecian rather than the Roman Church, were wont to observe abstinence both from meat and from the [44] marriage-bed. Whence in the book before alleged, of the Daily Penance of Monks, we find this order set down by the same Columbanus, that "[45] if

[38] Id. Carm. cap. 20.

[39] Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est. Columb. Regul. cap. 5.

[40] Quia hæc est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. Ibid.

[41] Ideo quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est. Ibid.

[42] Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium, non virtus erit. Ibid.

[43] Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum, satietatem fugiens et potus ebrietatem, ut et sustineat et non noceat. Ibid.

[44] Synodus Hiberniensium dicit: In tribus quadragesimis anni, in die Dominico et in quarta feria et sexta, conjugales continere se debent. Canonum Collectio, cujus initium, *Sancta Synodus bis in anno decrevit habere Concilia.* MS. in Bibliotheca Cotton.

[45] Si quis ante horam nonam quarta sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus, duos dies in pane et aqua. Columban. lib. de Quotidianis Pœnitent. Monachor. cap. 13.

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any one, unless he were weak, did upon the Wednesday or Friday eat before the ninth hour," that is to say, before three of the clock in the afternoon, according unto our account, he should be punished with fasting "two days in bread and water:" and in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, that [46]such as followed the information of Aidan did upon the same days observe their fast until the same hour. In which history we also read of Bishop Cedd, who was brought up at Lindisfarne with our Aidan and Finan, that keeping a strict fast, upon a special occasion in the time of Lent, he did "[47]every day, except the Lord's day, continue his fast, as the manner was, until the evening; and then also did eat nothing but a small pittance of bread and one egg with a little milk mingled with water:" where, by the way, you may note, that in those days eggs were eaten in Lent, and the Sundays excepted from fasting, even then when the abstinence was precisely and in more than an ordinary manner observed.

But generally for this point of the difference of meats, it is well noted by Claudius out of St Augustine, that "[48]the children of wisdom do understand, that neither in abstaining nor in eating is there any virtue, but in contentedness of bearing the want, and temperance of not corrupting a man's self by abundance, and of opportunely taking or not taking those things, of which not the use but the concupiscence is to be blamed." And in the Life of Furseus the hypocrisy of them is justly taxed, that being "[49]assaulted with spiritual vices, do yet omit the care of them, and afflict their body with abstinence;" who, "[50]abstaining from meats which God hath created to be

[46] Cujus exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac fœminæ consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimæ paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 5.

[47] Quibus diebus cunctis, excepta Dominica, jejunium ad vesperam juxta morem protelans, nec tunc nisi panis permodicum et unum ovum gallinaceum cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. Ibid. cap. 23.

[48] Ostendens evidenter, filios sapientiæ intelligere, nec in abstinendo nec in manducando esse justitiam, sed in æquanimitate tolerandi inopiam, et temperantia per abundantiam non se corrumpendi, atque opportune sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus sed concupiscentia reprehendenda est. Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.

[49] Sunt nonnulli qui spiritualibus vitiis impugnantur, sed his omissis corpus in abstinentia affligunt. Vit. S. Fursei.

[50] Multi enim cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione creavit, abstinentes, hæc nefanda quasi licita sumunt; hoc est, superbiam, avaritiam,

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received with thanksgiving, fall to wicked things, as if they were lawful; namely, to pride, covetousness, envy, false witnessing, backbiting." Of whom Gildas giveth this good censure in one of his epistles, which now are lost: "[51]These men, while they do feed on bread by measure, for this same very thing do glory without measure; while they use water, they are withal drenched with the cup of hatred; while they feed on dry meats, they use detractions; while they spend themselves in watchings, they dispraise others that are oppressed with sleep: preferring fasting before charity, watching before justice, their own invention before concord, severity before humility, and lastly, man before God. Such men's fasting, unless it be proceeded unto by some virtues, profiteth nothing at all; but such as accomplish charity do say with the harp of the Holy Ghost, *All our righteousnesses are as the cloth of a menstruous woman.*" Thus Gildas, who upon this ground layeth down this sound conclusion, wherewith we will shut up this whole matter: "[52]Abstinence from corporal meats is unprofitable without charity. They are therefore the better men who do not fast much, nor abstain from the creature of God beyond measure, but carefully keep their heart within pure before God, from whence they know cometh the issue of life, than they who eat no flesh, nor take delight in secular dinners, nor ride with coaches or horses, thinking themselves hereby to be as it were superior to others, upon whom death hath entered through the windows of haughtiness."

invidiam, falsum testimonium, blasphemiam. Ibid.

[51] Gildas in Epistolis suis: Hi dum pane ad mensuram vescuntur, pro hoc ipso sine mensura gloriantur; dum aqua utuntur, simul odii poculo potantur; dum siccis ferculis vescuntur, detractionibus utuntur; dum vigiliis expendunt, alios somno pressos vituperant: jejunium caritati, vigilias justitiæ, propriam adinventionem concordiæ, clausulam ecclesiæ, (*al.* cellæ), severitatem humilitati, postremo hominem Deo anteponunt. Horum jejunium, nisi per aliquas virtutes adfectatur, nihil prodest: qui vero caritatem perficiunt, cum cithara Spiritus sancti dicunt, Quasi pannus menstruatæ omnes justitiæ nostræ sunt. Ex libro Canonum Cott. titulorum LXVI.

[52] Abstinentia corporalium ciborum sine caritate inutilis est. Meliores ergo sunt qui non magnopere jejunant, nec supra modum a creatura Dei abstinent, cor intrinsecus nitidum coram Domino sollicite servantes, a quo sciunt exitum vitæ; quam illi qui carnem non edunt, nec prandiis secularibus delectantur, neque vehiculis et equis vehuntur, pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putantes, quibus mors intravit per fenestras elationis. Gild. ibid.

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CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CHURCH, AND VARIOUS STATE THEREOF, ESPECIALLY IN THE DAYS OF ANTICHRIST; OF MIRACLES ALSO; AND OF THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

Concerning the Catholic Church our doctors taught with St Gregory, that God "[1]hath a vineyard, to wit, the universal Church, which from just Abel until the last of the elect that shall be born in the end of the world, as many saints as it hath brought forth, so many branches as it were hath it budded:" that "[2]the congregation of the just is called the kingdom of heaven, which is the Church of the just:" that "[3]the sons of the Church be all such as, from the beginning of mankind until now, have attained to be just and holy:" that [4]what is said of the body may be said also of the members; and that in this respect, "as well the Apostles and all believers, as the Church itself, have the title of a pillar given them in the Scriptures:" that [5]the Church may be considered two manner of ways; both that which "*neither hath spot nor wrinkle*, and is truly the body of Christ, and that which is gathered in the name of Christ without full and perfect virtues;" which, notwithstanding, by the warrant of the Apostle, may have the name of the Church given unto it, although it be "depraved with error:" that "[6]the Church is said not

[1] Habet vineam, universam scilicet ecclesiam, quæ ab Abel justo usque ad ultimum electum qui in fine mundi nasciturus est, quot sanctos protulit, quasi tot palmites misit. Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.

[2] Congregatio quippe justorum regnum cœlorum dicitur, quod est ecclesia justorum. Id. lib. iii. in Matt.

[3] Ecclesiæ filii sunt omnes ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot justi et sancti esse potuerunt. Id. lib. ii. in Matt.

[4] His et ceteris instruimur, tam Apostolos omnesque credentes, quam ipsam quoque ecclesiam, columnam in Scripturis appellari, et nihil interesse de corpore quid dicatur in membris, cum et corpus dividatur in membra, et membra sint corporis. Id. in Gal. ii. ex Hieronymo.

[5] Ecclesias vocat, quas postea errore arguit depravatas. Ex quo noscendum dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici; et eam quæ non habeat maculam aut rugam, et vere corpus Christi sit; et eam quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. Id. in Galat. i. ex eodem.

[6] Ecclesiam non habituram maculam neque rugam dicitur, respectu futuræ vitæ. Sedul. in Ephes. i.

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to have *spot or wrinkle* in respect of the life to come:" that when the Apostle saith, *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold*, &c. but *some to honour and some to dishonour*, (2 Tim. ii. 20), by this "[7]*great house* he doth not understand the Church, as some have thought, which *hath not spot nor wrinkle;* but the world, in which the *tares are mingled with the wheat:*" that yet in "[8]the holy Church" also "the evil are mingled with the good, and the reprobate with the elect;" and that in this respect it is resembled unto *the wise and foolish virgins*, as also to "[9]the king's marriage, by which this present Church is designed, wherein the good and the bad do meet together;" so that "[10]in this Church neither the bad can be without the good, nor the good without the bad, whom the holy Church notwithstanding doth both now receive indifferently, and separate afterwards at their going from hence."

The number of the good Gildas complaineth to have been [11]so exceeding short in his time among the Britons in comparison of the other, that their "mother the Church in a manner did not see them lying in her own lap," albeit "they were the only true sons which she had." And for external pressures, our doctors have delivered, that "[12]the Church sometimes is not only afflicted, but also defiled with such oppressions of the Gentiles, that, if it were possible, her Redeemer might seem for a time utterly to have forsaken her;" and that in the raging times of antichrist "[13]the Church shall not appear, by reason that the wicked

[7] Magnum domum non ecclesiam dicit, ut quidam putant, quæ non habet maculam neque rugam; sed mundum, in quo zizania sunt mixta tritico. Id. in 2 Tim. ii.

[8] Sancta ecclesia decem virginibus similis denuntiatur; in qua quia mali cum bonis et reprobi cum electis admixti sunt, recte similis virginibus prudentibus et fatuis esse perhibetur. Claud. lib. iii. in Matth.

[9] Per has regis nuptias præsens ecclesia designatur, in qua cum bonis et mali conveniunt. Id. lib. eodem.

[10] In hac ergo ecclesia nec mali esse sine bonis, nec boni esse sine malis possunt; quos tamen sancta ecclesia et nunc indiscrete suscipit, et postmodum in egressione discernit. Id. ibid.

[11] Exceptis paucis et valde paucis, qui (ob amissionem tantæ multitudinis, quæ quotidie prona ruit ad Tartara) tam brevis numeri habentur, ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater ecclesia in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet. Gild. Epist.

[12] Nonnunquam ecclesia tantis gentilium pressuris non solum afflicta, sed et fœdata est, ut si fieri possit, Redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. Claud. lib. ii. in Matth.

[13] Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc persecutoribus ultra modum sævientibus. Id. lib. iii. in Matth.

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persecutors shall then exercise their cruelty beyond all measure:" that in those "[14]times of antichrist not only more often and more bitter torments shall be put upon the faithful than before were wont to be, but, which is more grievous, the working of miracles also shall accompany those that inflict the torments; as the Apostle witnesseth, saying, *Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all seduction, signs, and lying wonders;*" namely, "[15]juggling" ones, "as it was foretold before, *They shall shew such signs that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived,* by such a fantastical power as Jamnes and Mambres wrought withal before Pharaoh. "[16]What unbeliever, therefore," say they, "will then be converted unto the faith? and who is he that already believeth, whose faith trembleth not and is not shaken? when the persecutor of piety is the worker of wonders, and the same man that exerciseth cruelty with torments that Christ may be denied, provoketh by miracles that antichrist may be believed?" And "[17]what a pure and a single eye is there need of that the way of wisdom may be found, against which so great deceivings and errors of evil and perverse men do make such a noise! all which notwithstanding men must pass through, and so come to most certain peace and the unmoveable stability of wisdom."

Hence concerning *miracles* they give us these instructions: *First,* that "[18]neither if an angel should shew himself unto us to seduce us, being suborned with the deceits of

[14] Temporibus antichristi non solum tormenta crebriora et acerbiora, quam prius consueverant, ingerenda sunt fidelibus; sed, quod gravius est, signorum quoque operatio eos qui tormenta ingerunt, comitabitur; teste apostolo, qui ait, Cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanæ, in omni seductione, signis et prodigiis mendacii. Id. lib. eod.

[15] Præstigiosis, sicut ante prædictum est, Dabunt signa, ita ut seducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi; per phantasticam virtutem, sicut Jamnes et Mambres coram Pharaone fecerunt. Sedul. in 2 Thess. ii.

[16] Quis ergo ad fidem convertitur incredulus? cujus jam credentis non pavet et concutitur fides? quando persecutor pietatis fit etiam operator virtutis, idemque ipse qui tormentis sævit ut Christus negetur, provocat miraculis ut antichristo credatur? Claud. lib. iii. in Matth.

[17] Quam ergo mundo et simplici oculo opus est ut inveniatur via sapientiæ, cui tantæ malorum et perversorum hominum deceptiones erroresque obstrepunt? quas omnes necesse est evadere, hoc est, venire ad certissimam pacem et immobilem stabilitatem sapientiæ. Id. lib. i. in Matth.

[18] Nec si se angelus nobis ostendat, ad seducendos nos subornatus fallaciis patris sui diaboli, prævalere debebit adversum nos; neque si virtus ab aliquo facta siet, sicut dicitur a Simone Mago in aere volasse. Sedul. in Rom. viii.

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his father the devil, ought he to prevail against us; neither if a miracle should be done by any one, as it is said of Simon Magus that he did fly in the air;" "[19]neither that signs should terrify us, as done by the Spirit, because that our Saviour also hath given us warning of this beforehand." (Matt. xxiv. 24, 25.) *Secondly*, that "[20]the faith having increased, miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not:" and therefore, that "[21]now when the number of the faithful is grown, there be many within the holy Church that retain the life of virtues, and yet have not those signs of virtues; because a miracle is to no purpose shewed outwardly, if that be wanting which it should work inwardly: for, according to the saying of the Master of the Gentiles, *Languages are for a sign, not to the faithful, but to infidels*," 1 Cor. xiv. 22. *Thirdly*, that the working of miracles is no good argument to prove the holiness of them that be the instruments thereof; and therefore, "[22]when the Lord doth such things for the convincing of infidels, he yet giveth us warning that we should not be deceived thereby, supposing invisible wisdom to be there where we shall behold a visible miracle:" for he saith, *Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many miracles?* Matth. vii. 22. *Fourthly*, that "[23]he tempteth God, who for his own vainglory will make shew of a superfluous and unprofitable miracle." Such as that, for example, was whereunto the devil tempted our Saviour, Matth. iv. 6, to come down headlong from the

[19] Neque signa vos terreant, tanquam per Spiritum facta, quia hoc et Salvator præmonuit. Id. in 2 Thess. ii.

[20] Hic ostenditur, crescente fide signa cessare; quando fidelium causa danda esse prædicantur. Id. in 1 Cor. xiv.

[21] Unde nunc cum fidelium numerositas excrevit, intra sanctam ecclesiam multi sunt qui vitam virtutum tenent, et signa virtutum non habent; quia frustra miraculum foris ostenditur, si deest quod intus operetur. Nam juxta Magistri Gentium vocem, Linguæ in signum sunt, non fidelibus, sed infidelibus. Claud. lib. i. in Matth.

[22] Qualia propter infideles cum fecerit Dominus, monuit tamen ne talibus decipiamur, arbitrantes ibi esse invisibilem sapientiam, ubi miraculum visibile viderimus. Adjungit ergo et dicit, Multi dicent mihi in illa die, Domine, Domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, et in tuo nomine dæmonia ejecimus, et in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus? Id. lib. eod.

[23] Ille Deum tentat, qui jactantiæ suæ vitio superfluum et inutilem vult ostentare virtutem. Quid enim utilitatis habet, quid commodi confert, si præceps hinc in plana descendero? &c. Id. lib. eod.

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pinnacle of the temple unto the plain; "[24]every miracle being vain, which worketh not some profit unto man's salvation:" whereby we may easily discern what to judge of that infinite number of idle miracles, wherewith the lives of our saints are everywhere stuffed; many whereof we may justly censure, as [25]Amphilochius doth the tales that the poets tell of their gods, for

Μύθους γέλωτος ἀξίους καὶ δακρύων.

Fables, of laughter worthy, and of tears.

Yea, some of them also we may rightly brand as

Μύθους ἀσέμνους, δαιμόνων διδάγματα.

Unseemly fables, and devils' documents.

For what, for example, can be more unseemly, and tend further to the advancement of the "doctrine of devils," than that which Cogitosus relateth in the Life of St Bridget? that she, for saving the credit of a nun that had been gotten with child, "[26]blessed her faithfully" forsooth, (for so the author speaketh,) and so caused her conception to "vanish away without any delivery, and without any pain;" which, for the saving of St Bridget's own credit, either [27]Hen. Canisius, or the friars of Aichstad, from whom he had his copy of Cogitosus, thought fit to scrape out, and rather to leave a blank in the book than to suffer so lewd a tale to stand in it. But I will not stir this puddle any further, but proceed on unto some better matter.

And now are we come at last to the great point that toucheth the Head and the Foundation of the Church. Concerning which Sedulius observeth, that the title of [28]*Foundation* is attributed both to Christ and to the Apostles and Prophets; that where it is said, Isaiah xxviii. 16, *Behold, I lay in Sion a stone*, &c. "[29]it is certain that

[24] Inane est enim omne miraculum, quod utilitatem saluti non operatur humanæ. Ibid.

[25] Amphiloch. in Iambis ad Seleucum.

[26] Cogitos. Vit. Brigit. in Exemplaribus MS. Antiquiss. Bibliothec. Cottonianæ et Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis.

[27] Antiq. Lection. in Lacuna, sub finem, Tom. v. p. 629.

[28] Fundamenta] Christum, et apostolos, et prophetas. Sedul. in Hebr. xi.

[29] Compertum est in petra vel lapide Christum esse significatum. Id. in Rom. ix.

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by the rock or stone Christ is signified;" that in Ephes. ii. 20, "[30]the Apostles are the foundation, or Christ rather the foundation of the Apostles: for Christ," saith he, "is the foundation, who is also called the corner-stone, joining and holding together the two walls. Therefore is he the foundation and chief stone, because in him the Church is both founded and finished;" and we are to account the Apostles "[31]*as ministers of Christ*, and not as the foundation." The famous place, Matth. xvi. 18, whereupon our Romanists lay the main foundation of the Papacy, Claudius expoundeth in this sort: "[32]*Upon this rock will I build my Church*; that is to say, upon the Lord and Saviour, who granted unto his faithful knower, lover, and confessor, the participation of his own name, that from *petra*, the rock, he should be called Peter. The Church is builded" upon him; "because only by the faith and love of Christ, by the receiving of the sacraments of Christ, by the observation of the commandments of Christ, we come to the inheritance of the elect and eternal life, as witnesseth the Apostle, who saith, *Other foundation can no man lay besides that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*."

Yet doth the same Claudius acknowledge, that [33]St Peter received a kind of "primacy for the founding of the Church," in respect whereof he termeth him [34]*Ecclesiæ Principem* and [35]*Apostolorum Principem*, the "prince of the Church," and the "prince or chief of the Apostles;" but he addeth withal, that "St Paul also was chosen in the same manner to have the primacy in founding the churches of the Gentiles,"

[30] Apostoli fundamentum sunt, vel Christus fundamentum est apostolorum. Christus est fundamentum, qui etiam lapis dicitur angularis, duos conjungens et continens parietes. Ideo hic fundamentum et summus est lapis, quia in ipso et fundatur et consummatur ecclesia. Id. in Ephes. ii.

[31] Ut ministros Christi, non ut fundamentum. Id. in 1 Cor. iv.

[32] Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, id est, super Dominum salvatorem, qui fideli suo cognitori, amatori, confessori, participium sui nominis donavit, ut scilicet a petra Petrus vocaretur. Ædificatur ecclesia; quia non nisi per fidem et dilectionem Christi, per susceptionem sacramentorum Christi, per observantiam mandatorum Christi, ad sortem electorum et æternam pertingitur vitam, apostolo attestante qui ait, Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, qui est Christus Jesus. Claud. lib. ii. in Matth.

[33] Petrum solum nominat, et sibi comparat; quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam ecclesiam; se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis gentium Ecclesiis. Id. in Galat. ii.

[34] Id. in Gal. v. [35] Id. in Gal. ii.

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and that he "[36]received this gift from God, that he should be worthy to have the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had it in the preaching of the circumcision;" and therefore that "[37]St Paul challengeth this grace as granted by God to him alone, as it was granted to Peter alone among the Apostles," and that he esteemed himself "[38]not to be inferior to St Peter, because both of them were by one ordained unto one and the same ministry:" and that writing to the Galatians, [39]he did in the "title name himself *an Apostle of Christ*, to the end that by the very authority of that name he might terrify his readers; judging that all such as did believe in Christ ought to be subject unto him."

It is furthermore also observed by Claudius, that [40]as when our Saviour propounded the question "generally unto all the Apostles, Peter did answer as one for all; so what our Lord answered unto Peter, in Peter he did answer unto all;" and therefore, "[41]howsoever the power of loosing and binding might seem to be given by the Lord unto Peter alone, yet without all manner of doubt it is to be known, that it was given unto the rest of the Apostles also, as himself doth witness, who, appearing unto them after the triumph of his passion and resurrection, breathed on them, and said unto them all, *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.*" Gildas the Briton goeth further, affirming that "[42]to the true priest it is

[36] Ab his itaque probatum dicit donum quod accepit a Deo, ut dignus esset habere primatum in prædicatione gentium, sicut et habebat Petrus in prædicatione circumcisionis. Id. in Gal. ii.

[37] Gratiam sibi soli primus vendicat concessam a Deo, sicut et soli Petro concessa est inter apostolos. Id. ibid.

[38] Non illi sum inferior, quia ab uno sumus ambo in unum ministerium ordinati. Id. ibid.

[39] Apostolum se Christi titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipsa lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret; judicans omnes, qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subjectos. Id. in Gal. i.

[40] Nam sicut interrogatis generaliter omnibus, Petrus respondit unus pro omnibus; ita quod Petro Dominus respondit, in Petro omnibus respondit. Id. lib. ii. in Matth.

[41] Quæ solvendi ac ligandi potestas, quamvis soli Petro data videatur a Domino, absque ulla tamen dubietate noscendum est, quia et ceteris apostolis datur; ipso teste, qui post passionis resurrectionisque suæ triumphum apparens eis insufflavit et dixit omnibus, Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. Id. lib. eod.

[42] Vero sacerdoti dicitur, Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Gild. Epist.

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said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church;*" that "[43]to Peter and his successors our Lord saith, *And unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;*" and consequently, that "[44]unto every holy priest it is promised, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound likewise in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed likewise in heaven.*" Whereupon he pronounceth of the good priests of Britain, that they "[45]do lawfully obtain the apostolical state," and "[46]lawfully sit in the chair of St Paul;" and on the other side, of the bad, that "[47]with unclean feet they usurp the seat of the Apostle Peter, but by the demerit of their covetousness fall into the pestilent chair of the traitor Judas;" and so the ordainers of such "[48]place after a sort Judas the betrayer of our Lord in the seat of Peter."

Lastly, as Claudius noteth, that "[49]the foundation of the Church was laid" not only upon St Peter, but also upon St John; so in a certain hymn supposed to be written by Secundinus, known in this country commonly by the name of St Scachlin, in the year of our Lord 448, St Patrick also is thus commended: "[50]He is constant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon Peter; whose apostleship also he hath obtained from God, and *the gates of hell shall not prevail against* him." Yea, [51]Christ is there said to have "chosen him for his Vicar upon earth." His see likewise of Armagh is by one Calvus Perennis, in the days of Brian King of Ireland, who was slain, as appeareth by

[43] Petro ejusque successoribus dicit Dominus, Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum. Ibid.

[44] Itemque omni sancto sacerdoti promittitur, Et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlo; et quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlo. Ibid.

[45] Apostolicam sedem legitime obtinent. Ibid.

[46] Si hunc vos apostoli retinetis in omnibus affectum, ejus quoque cathedræ legitime insidere noscatis. Ibid.

[47] Sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus usurpantes, sed merito cupiditatis in Judæ traditoris pestilentem cathedram decidentes. Ibid.

[48] Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedra, Domini traditorem, statuunt. Ibid.

[49] Super ipsos ecclesiæ sit positum fundamentum. Claud. in Gal. ii.

[50] Constans in Dei timore, et fide immobilis, super quem ædificatur ut Petrum ecclesia; cujusque apostolatum a Deo sortitus est, et inferni portæ adversus eum non prævalebunt. Hymn. in laud. S. Patricii.

[51] Christus illum sibi elegit in terris vicarium. Ibid.

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[52]Marianus, in the year 1014, termed "[53]the city apostolick." So Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors in France, is by our countryman Gallus saluted both [54]*Papa* and *Apostolicus;* and the Bishop of Kildare, in Ireland, honoured by Cogitosus with the style of [55]*Summus Sacerdos* and [56]*Summus Pontifex*, the "highest priest" and the "highest bishop:" those titles and prerogatives which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth unto himself, as ensigns of his monarchy, being heretofore usually communicated unto other bishops, when the universal Church was governed by the way of aristocracy.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE POPE'S SPIRITUAL JURISDICTION, AND HOW LITTLE FOOTING IT HAD GOTTEN AT FIRST WITHIN THESE PARTS.

MASTER Campion telleth us, that "[1]when Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves into the jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal of the See of Rome." But herein he speaketh without book, of the spiritual jurisdiction untruly, of the temporal absurdly. For from the first legation of Palladius and Patricius, who were sent to plant the faith in this country, it cannot be shewed out of any monument of antiquity, that the Bishop of Rome did ever send any of his legates to exercise spiritual jurisdiction here, much less any of his deputies to exercise jurisdiction temporal, before Gillebertus, *quem aiunt prima functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hiberniam,* saith one that lived in his own time, even Bernard

[52] Brianus rex Hiberniæ, parasceve paschæ, sexta feria, IX. Calend. Maii, manibus et mente ad Deum intentus necatur. Marian. Scot. See Caradoc of Lhancarvan, in the Chronicle of Wales, p. 80.

[53] Sanctus Patricius iens ad cœlum, mandavit totum fructum laboris sui, tam baptismi, tam causarum, quam eleemosynarum, deferendum esse apostolicæ urbi, quæ Scotice nominatur Ardmacha. Sic repperi in Bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi, id est, Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani Imperatoris Scotorum. Ex Vet. Cod. Ecclesiæ Armachanæ.

[54] Domino semper suo, et Apostolico Patri, Desiderio Papæ. Gallus peccator.

[55] Cogitos. in Vit. Brigid. Antiq. Lect. Henr. Canisii, Tom. v. p. 625, lin. ult.

[56] Ibid. p. 640, lin. 2.

[1] Edm. Camp. History of Ireland, lib. ii. cap. 2.

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himself in the Life of Malachias. One or two instances, peradventure, may be alleged out of some obscure authors, whose names and times and authority no man can tell us news of; but unless that which is delivered by Bernard, as the tradition that was current in his time, can be controlled by some record that may appear to have been written before his days, we have small reason to detract anything from the credit of so clear a testimony.

This country was heretofore, for the number of holy men that lived in it, termed the Island of Saints. Of that innumerable company of saints whose memory was reverenced here, what one received any solemn canonization from the Pope before Malachias, Archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence of Dublin, who lived as it were but the other day? We read of sundry archbishops that have been in this land betwixt the days of St Patrick and of Malachias: what one of them can be named that ever sought for a pall from Rome? Joceline indeed, a late monk of the abbey of Furness, writeth of St Patrick, that the Bishop of Rome [2]conferred the pall upon him, together with the execution of legatine power in his room. But he is well known to be a most fabulous author; and for this particular Bernard, who was his ancient, informeth us far otherwise; that "[3]from the very beginning unto his time the metropolitical see of Armagh wanted the use of the pall." With whom the author of the Annals of Mailros doth fully accord; noting, that "[4]in the year 1151 Pope Eugenius," the same to whom Bernard did write his books *de Consideratione*, "did by his legate, John Papiron, transmit four palls into Ireland, whither a pall before had never been brought." And therefore Giraldus Cambrensis, howsoever he acknowledgeth that St Patrick did "[5]choose Armagh for his seat, and did appoint it to be as it were a metropolitical see,

[2] Pallio decoravit, illique vices suas committens atque legatum suum constituens, quæcunque in Hibernia gesserat, constituerat, disposuerat, auctoritatis suæ munimine confirmavit. Jocelin. Vit. Patr. cap. 166.

[3] Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc, et defuerat ab initio pallii usus. Bernard. Vit. Malach.

[4] Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum suum Johannem Papirum transmisit in Hiberniam, quo nunquam antea pallium delatum fuerat. Annal. Cœnobii Melros. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

[5] Apud Ardmacham sibi sedem elegit: quam etiam quasi metropolim constituit et proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. Girald. Camb. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. III. cap. 16.

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and the proper place of the primacy of all Ireland," yet doth he affirm withal, that in very deed "[6]there were no archbishops in Ireland, but that bishops only did consecrate one another, until Johannes Papirio, or Paparo, the Pope's legate, brought four palls thither." Whereupon some of our chroniclers after him give this note concerning Gelasius, who was at that time Archbishop of Armagh, that "[7]he is said to have been the first archbishop because he used the first pall," and that "others before him were called archbishops and primates in name only, for the reverence of St Patrick, as the apostle of that nation."

And indeed it might seem that the complaint made by Anselm in his Letters to Muriardach, King of Ireland, that [8]bishops here "were consecrated by bishops alone," might somewhat justify the truth of Giraldus's relation, if we did not find a further complaint there also, that they were often "[9]ordained by one bishop only." But as this latter argueth not the want of a competent number of bishops in the land, (for, as we shall hear presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such,) but a neglect of the observance of the Canon provided by the Nicene Fathers in that behalf; so can it not rightly be inferred out of the former, that we had no archbishops here at that time, but that the bishops rather did fail much in the canonical respect which they ought to shew unto their metropolitan. For that the Irish had their archbishops, beside many other pregnant testimonies that might be produced, Pope Hildebrand's own Brief doth sufficiently manifest, which is directed [10]to "Terdeluachus, or Tirlagh, the illustrious King of

[6] Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant; sed tantum se episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papirio, Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retro annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, &c. Ibid. cap. 17.

[7] Hic primus archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo pallio usus est. Alii vero ante ipsum solo nomine archiepiscopi et primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam et honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam apostoli illius gentis. Pembrigius, auctor Annal. Hibern. a Guil. Camdeno edit. Thomas Caseus in Chronic. Hibern. MS. ad ann. 1174.

[8] Episcopi quoque, qui debent esse forma et exemplum aliis canonicæ religionis, inordinate, sicut audivimus, aut a solis episcopis, aut in locis ubi ordinari non debent, consecrantur. Anselm. lib. iii. Epist. CXLII.

[9] *Dicitur*, ab uno episcopo episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum, ordinari. Id. ibid. Epist. CXLVII.

[10] Terdeluacho inclyto Regi Hiberniæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, proceribus, omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus. Gregor. Epist. VII. ad Hibern. MS. in Bibliotheca Cotton.

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Ireland, the ARCHBISHOPS, Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland." And for the archbishops of Armagh in particular, it appeareth most evidently by Bernard, in the Life of Malachias, that they were so far from being metropolitans and primates "in name only," that they exercised much greater authority before they were put to the charges of fetching palls from Rome, than ever they did afterward; and that they did not only consecrate bishops, but erected also new bishopricks, and archbishopricks too sometimes, according as they thought fitting.

We read in Nennius, that at the beginning St Patrick [11]founded here 365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops, beside 3000 presbyters. In process of time the number of bishops was daily "[12]multiplied according to the pleasure of the metropolitan," whereof Bernard doth much complain; and that not only "so far that every church almost had a several bishop," but also that in some "[13]towns or cities there were ordained more" than one; yea, and oftentimes "[14]bishops were made without any certain place at all" assigned unto them. And as for the erecting of new archbishopricks, if we believe our legends, "[15]King Engus and St Patrick, with all the people, did ordain that in the city and see of Albeus," which is Emelye, now annexed to Cashel, "should be the Archbishoprick of the whole province of Munster." In like manner also "[16]Brandubh, King of the Lagenians,

[11] Ecclesias fundavit 365. Ordinavit episcopos eodem numero 365. Presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit. Nenn. Histor. Britt. MS.

[12] Mutabantur et multiplicabantur episcopi pro libitu metropolitani; ita ut unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos. Bernard. Vit. Malach.

[13] Quod in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. Lanfranc. Epist. ad Terdeluachum regem Hibern. apud Baron. ann. 1089, num. 16.

[14] Dicitur, episcopos in terra vestra passim eligi, et sine certo episcopatus loco constitui. Anselm. lib. iii. Epist. CXLVII. ad Muriardachum regem Hibern.

[15] Rex Engus et S. Patricius cum omni populo ordinaverunt archiepiscopatum Mumeniæ in civitate et in sede sancti Albei, qui tunc ab eisdem archiepiscopus ordinatus est per seculum. Ex Vita S. Declani. Rex Engus et Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate et cathedra sancti Albei esset archiepiscopatus omnium Memonensium semper. Ex Vita S. Albei.

[16] Facta Synodo magna in terra Laginensium, decrevit rex Brandubh, et tam laici quam clerici, ut archiepiscopatus omnium Laginensium semper esset in sede et cathedra sancti Moedog. Et tunc sanctus Moedog a multis catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus. Ex Vita S. Edani. A rege jam Laginensium Brandubh filio Æthach constitutum est, ut archiepiscopatus Laginensium in civitate sancti Moedog esset. Ipsa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ est in terra gentis Kenselach. Ex Vit. S. Molyng.

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with the consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, did appoint that in the city of Fernes," which was the see of Moedog, otherwise called Edanus, "should be the Archbishoprick of all the province of Leinster." But Bernard's testimony we have no reason not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own very time, that [17]Celsus, the Archbishop of Armagh, "had of the new constituted another metropolitical see, but subject to the first see and to the archbishop thereof." By which we may see, that in the erection of new archbishopricks and bishopricks all things were here done at home without consulting with the See of Rome for the matter.

As for the nomination and confirmation of the archbishops and bishops themselves, we find the manner of advancing St Livinus to his archbishoprick thus laid down by Boniface in the description of his life: "[18]When Menalchus the Archbishop was dead, Calomagnus the King of Scots, and the troop of his officers, with the under-courtiers and the concourse of all that country, with the same affection of heart cried out, that the holy priest Livinus was most worthily to be advanced unto the honour of this order. The king, more devout than all of them, consenting thereunto, three or four times placed the blessed man in the chair of the Archbishoprick with due honour, according to the will of the Lord." In like manner also did [19]King Ecgfrid cause our Cuthbert to be ordained Bishop of the church of Landisfarne; and King Pipin [20]granted the Bishoprick of Salzburgh to our Virgilius; and Duke Gunzo would have [21]conferred the Bishoprick of Constance upon our

[17] Erat et altera metropolitica sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primæ tamen sedi et illius archiepiscopo subdita tanquam primati. Bernard. in Vita Malachiæ.

[18] Illo defuncto, Rex Calomagnus et ejus palatinorum chorus cum suis subaulicis, totiusque regionis illius confluentia, pari cordis affectu conclamaverunt, sanctum Sacerdotem Livinum in honorem hujus ordinis dignissime sublimandum fore. His rex omnibus devotior consentiens, ter quaterque beatum virum in cathedra archiepiscopatus debito honore, Domino jubente, collocavit. Bonifac. Vit. Livin.

[19] Rex Ecgfridus episcopum fecit ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiæ virum sanctum et venerabilem Cudbertum. Bed. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 27, et Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 24.

[20] Episcopatum Salzbergensem, pro debito regiæ magnificentiæ, sancto concessit Virgilio. Vit. Episc. Salisburgens. Antiq. Lect. Henr. Canis. Tom. II. p. 259, and Tom. VI. p. 1174.

[21] Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. i. cap. 16, 17, 19, 20.

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Gallus, but that he refused it, and [22]caused another, upon his recommendation, to be preferred thereunto.

In the book of Landaff, which is called Tilo, (either from Teliau, the second bishop of that place, whose life is largely there described, or rather from the place itself, which of old was called [23]Teilo), we read that Germanus and Lupus [24]did consecrate chief Doctor over all the Britons inhabiting the right side of Britain, St Dubricius, being chosen Archbishop by the king and all the diocese; and that by the grant of Mouric the king, the nobility, clergy, and people, they appointed his episcopal see to be at Landaff: that [25]Oudoceus, the third bishop after him, being elected by King Mouric and the chief of the clergy and laity of the whole diocese, was by them sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his consecration: that [26]Gucaunus, the 26th bishop of that church, was consecrated by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the pastoral staff being given him in the court by Edgar, chief king of the English: that next after him, [27]in the year 983, election being made by the kings and the whole clergy and people of Glamorgan,

[22] Theodor. Campidonens. vel quicunque auctor fuit Vitæ Magni, lib. i. cap. 8, edit. Goldasti, x. Canisii.

[23] In the Laws of Howel Dha it is named Ecclesia Teilau; and so in Caradoc of Lhancarvan's Chronicle of Wales, p. 94, Joseph is called Bishop of Teilo or Landaff.

[24] Super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britanniæ B. Dubricium summum doctorem, a rege et ab omni parochia electum archiepiscopum, consecraverunt. Hac dignitate ei a Germano et Lupo data, constituerunt ei episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici Regis, principum, cleri et populi, apud podium Lantavi. Lib. Ecclesiæ Landavensis MS.

[25] Electione cleri et populi succedit in episcopatu Landavensis ecclesiæ, electione cleri Mercguini et Elgoreti et Gunnuini magistri, et trium abbatum, Catgen abbatis Ilduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cetnig abbatis Docguinni, laicorum, Regis Mourici, et filiorum Athruis et Idnerth, Guidgen et Cetiau, Brogmail, Gendoc, Louhonerd, Catgualatyr, et omnium principum totius parochiæ. Missus est S. Oudoceus cum clericis suis prædictis, Merchui et Elguoret et Gunubui, cum legatis trium abbatum et regis et principum, ad Dorobernensem civitatem ad beatum archiepiscopum, ubi sacratus est ecclesiæ Landaviæ in honore S. Petri fundatæ. Ibid.

[26] 982 (vel 872 potius) incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus episcopus Landaviæ consecratus a metropolitano Dunstano Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, data sibi virga pastorali in regali curia a summo rege Anglorum Ætgaro. Ibid.

[27] 983 anno, electione facta regum Morcannuc, Ouein, videlicet et Idguallaun, Catell et Cinuin filiorum Morchanthen, Rotri et Grifud filiorum Elired, et totius cleri et populi Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui et hortum Tivi positi; et dato sibi baculo in regali curia a summo rege Anglorum Adelredo, et a metropolitano Dorobernensis ecclesiæ Albrico archiepiscopo, Bledri episcopus Landaviæ consecratus est; et 1022 anno incarnationis Domini, ordinationis suæ autem 39 anno, migravit ad Dominum. Ibid.

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and the pastoral staff given in the court by Ethelred, chief king of the English, Bledri was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is there named Albricus, though in truth, at the year here assigned, Dunstan did still hold the place; and that after his decease, in the year 1022, [28]by the election of the people and clergy of Landaff, and the kings of the Britons, namely, King Riderch, that reigned at that time through all Wales, and Hivel, the substitute of the King of Glamorgan, Joseph was consecrated bishop by Ælnod, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the word of Cnute, king of England, in whose court the pastoral staff was given unto him.

Here in Ireland, much after the same manner, Mr Campion himself setteth down, that "[29]to the monarch was granted a negative in the nomination of bishops at every vacation, the clergy and laity of the diocese recommending him to their king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury." Although this last clause be wrongly extended by him to the bishops of the whole land, which properly belonged to the Ostman strangers, that possessed the [30]three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick: for these being a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief archbishoprick there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of [31]Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities, the bishops which they made had no other diocese to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the bare circuit of those cities: whereupon we find a certificate made unto

[28] 1022 anno incarnationis Domini consecratus est Joseph episcopus Landaviæ Cantuariæ a metropolitano Dorobernensis ecclesiæ Ælnod archiepiscopo, in kalendis Octobris, et in primo (vel 16 potius) anno cycli decennovennalis, verbo regis Anglorum Cnute, et dato sibi baculo in curia illius; electione populi et cleri Landaviæ, et regum Britanniæ, regis videlicet Riderch regnantis per totam Gualiam tunc tempore, et Hivel subreguli regis Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui et hortum Tivi regnantis. Ibid.

[29] Edm. Campion. Hist. Hibern. lib. i. cap. ult. ad ann. 948.

[30] Girald. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. III. cap. 43.

[31] Eodem tempore Norwagenses sive Ostmanni, qui civitates Hiberniæ et maritima occupaverunt, Normanni vocati sunt. Annal. Dublin. ad ann. 1095.

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Pope Innocent the Third, in the year 1216, by the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, that "[32]John Papiron, the legate of the Church of Rome, coming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a bishop, but such an one as did exercise his episcopal office within the walls only."

The first bishop which they had in Dublin, as it appeareth by the records of that church, was one Donatus, or Dunanus, as others call him, upon whose death, in the year 1074, [33]Gothric their king, with the consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him into England to be consecrated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him back with commendatory [34]letters, as well to the said Gothric, king of the Ostmans, as to Terdeluachus, the chief king or monarch of the Irish. Hereupon, after the decease of this Patrick, [35]in the year 1085, the same Terdeluachus and the bishops of Ireland joined with the clergy and people of Dublin in the election of Donatus, one of Lanfranc's own monks in Canterbury, who was by him there also consecrated. Then when he died, in the year 1095, his nephew Samuel, a monk of St Albans, but born in Ireland, was [36]chosen bishop in his place by Murierdach, King of Ireland, and the clergy and people of the city, by whose common decree he was also sent unto Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his consecration. Not long after the Waterfordians, following the example of the Dublinians, erected a bishoprick among themselves, [37]and sent their new bishop to Canterbury for his consecration; the manner of whose election "the clergy

[32] Dominus Johannes Papiron legatus Romanæ ecclesiæ veniens in Hiberniam, invenit Dublin episcopum habentem, qui tantum intra muros episcopale officium exercebat. Testimon. Tuamens. Archiepisc. in Registro Dublin. Archiepisc. et Nigro Libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis.

[33] Ad regimen Dublinensis ecclesiæ Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, petente Goderico rege, Dublinensis ecclesiæ populo et clero consentientibus et eligentibus, in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londin. Patricium sacravit Antistitem. Annal. Dublin. ad ann. 1074.

[34] Habentur apud Baron. ann. 1089, num. 12 et 15.

[35] Anno Dom. 1085, Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinensis ecclesiæ sacravit Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus eum Terdeluacho Hiberniæ rege, et episcopis Hiberniæ regionis, atque clero et populo præfatæ civitatis. Annal. Dublin.

[36] A rege Hiberniæ, Murierdach nomine, necnon a clero et populo in episcopatum ipsius civitatis electus est, atque ad Anselmum, juxta morem antiquum, sacrandus cum communi decreto directus. Eadmer. Histor. Novor. lib. ii. p. 34.

[37] Ibid. p. 36.

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and people of Waterford," in the letters which they wrote at that time unto Anselm, do thus intimate: "[38]We and our King Murchertach, and Dofnald the bishop, and Dermeth our captain, the king's brother, have made choice of this priest Malchus, a monk of Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester." The same man, without doubt, who was afterward promoted to the bishoprick of Lismore, so much commended by Bernard in the Life of Malachias.

The last bishop of Dublin, in the year 1122, was sent unto Anselm's next successor for his consecration, touching which I have seen this writ of King Henry the First, directed unto him:

> *Henricus Rex Angliæ Radulpho Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, salutem: [39]Mandavit mihi Rex Hiberniæ per breve suum, et burgenses Dubliniæ, quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in episcopum, et eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Unde tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum satisfaciens, ejus consecrationem sine dilatione expleas. Teste Ranulpho Cancellario apud Windelsor.*

> "Henry, King of England, to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting: The King of Ireland hath intimated unto me by his writ, and the burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory for their bishop, and send him unto you to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you, that satisfying their request, you perform his consecration without delay. Witness, Ranulph our Chancellor at Windsor."

All the burgesses of Dublin likewise, and the whole assembly of the clergy, directed their joint letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury the same time, wherein, among other things, they write thus: "[40]Know you for verity, that the bishops

[38] Nos et rex noster Murchertachus, et episcopus Dofnaldus, et Dermeth dux noster frater regis, elegimus hunc presbyterum Malchum, Walkelini Wintoniensis episcopi monachum, nobis sufficientissime cognitum, &c.

[39] Ut apud Græcos κελεύω non est semper δεσποτικὴ λέξις, quemadmodum ad Iliad. Α. notatum est ab Eustathio, p. 884 et 831, edit. Roman. sed aliquando respondet τῷ ἀξιοῦν καὶ τῷ σημαίνειν· ita et vox *mando* apud Latinos mediæ ætatis scriptores, ut apud Vincentium, verbi gratia, Specul. Historial. lib. xxx. cap. 130, *Humiliter ei mandaverunt*, et hoc in loco.

[40] Sciatis vos revera, quod episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent, et maxime ille episcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ, quia nos nolumus obedire

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of Ireland have great indignation toward us, and that bishop most of all that dwelleth at Armagh, because we will not obey their ordination, but will always be under your government." Whereby we may see, that as the Ostmans were desirous to sever themselves from the Irish, and to be esteemed Normans rather, so the Irish bishops on the other side, howsoever they digested in some sort the recourse which they had to Lanfranc and Anselm, who were two of the most famous men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence, yet could they not well brook this continuation of their dependence upon a metropolitan of another kingdom, which they conceived to be somewhat derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. But this jealousy continued not long; for this same Gregory being afterwards made Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishopricks here settled by Johannes Paparo, as well they of Dublin as the others of Waterford and Limerick, (for they also had one Patrick consecrated bishop unto them by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury,) did ever after that time cease to have any relation unto the see of Canterbury.

And now to go forward. As the kings and people of this land in those elder times kept the nominations of their archbishops and bishops in their own hands, and depended not upon the Pope's provisions that way; so do we not find by any approved record of antiquity, that any visitations of the clergy were held in the Pope's name, much less that any indulgences were sought for by our people at his hands. For, as for the "[41]Charter of St Patrick," by some intituled *de Antiquitate Avalonica*, wherein [42]Phaganus and Deruvianus are said to have purchased "ten" or "thirty" years of indulgences from Pope Eleutherius, and St Patrick himself to have procured "twelve" years in his time from Pope Celestinus, it might easily be demonstrated, if this were a place for it, that it is a mere figment, devised by

eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus. MS. ad calcem Collectionis Isidori Mercatoris, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

[41] Charta S. Patricii, in Gulielmi Malmsburiensis libello de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ, MS.

[42] In scriptis recentioribus inveni, quod sancti Phaganus et Deruvianus perquisierant ab Eleutherio Papa, qui eos miserat, 10 (*al.* 30) annos indulgentiæ. Et ego frater Patricius a piæ memoriæ Celestino Papa 12 annos tempore meo acquisivi. Ibid.

the monks of Glastonbury. Neither do I well know what credit is to be given unto that straggling sentence which I find ascribed unto the same author, "[43] If any questions do arise in this island, let them be referred to the see apostolic:" or that other decree, attributed to Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus: "[44] Whensoever any cause that is very difficult and unknown unto all the judges of the Scottish nations shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the see of the Archbishop of the Irish, to wit, Patrick, and to the examination of the prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up, we have decreed it shall be sent to the see apostolic; that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." Only this I will say, that as it is most likely that St Patrick had a special regard unto the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island, so, if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome as to the determination of any church in the whole world: so reverend an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days. But that St Patrick was of opinion that the Church of Rome was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that see that it should never err in judgment, or that the Pope's sentences were always to be held as infallible oracles, that will I never believe. Sure I am that my countrymen after him were of a far other belief, who were so far from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the see of Rome, that they oftentimes stood out against it when they had little cause so to do.

[43] Patricius ait, Si quæ quæstiones in hac insula oriuntur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur. Vet. Collect. Canonum, Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, cujus initium: Synodicorum exemplariorum innumerositatem conspiciens.

[44] Quæcunque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judiciis, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est, Patricii, atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam; id est, ad Petri Apostoli cathedram, auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem. Hi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. Vet. Codex Ecclesiæ Armachanæ.

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For proof whereof I need to seek no further than to those very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the supremacy of the Pope and Church of Rome in this country.

First, Mr Coppinger cometh upon us with this wise question: "[45]Was not Ireland, among other countries, absolved from the Pelagian heresy by the Church of Rome, as Cæsar Baronius writeth?" then he setteth down the copy of St Gregory's [46]Epistle in answer unto the Irish bishops that submitted themselves unto him; and concludeth in the end, that "the bishops of Ireland, being infected with the Pelagian error, sought absolution first of Pelagius the Pope, but the same was not effectually done until St Gregory did it." But in all this he doth nothing else but bewray his own ignorance; for neither can he shew it in Cæsar Baronius, or in any other author whatsoever, that the Irish bishops did ever seek absolution from Pope Pelagius, or that the one had to deal in any business at all with the other. Neither yet can he shew, that ever they had to do with St Gregory in any matter that did concern the Pelagian heresy; for these be dreams of Coppinger's own idle head. The Epistle of St Gregory dealeth only with the controversy of the "three Chapters," which were condemned by the fifth general Council, whereof Baronius writeth thus: "[47]All the bishops that were in Ireland with most earnest study rose up jointly for the defence of the three Chapters; and when they perceived that the Church of Rome did both receive the condemnation of the three Chapters, and strengthen the fifth Synod with her consent, they departed from her, and clave to the rest of the schismatics that were either in Italy or in Afric or in other countries; animated with that vain confidence that they did stand for the catholic faith,

[45] Copping. Mnemosynum to the Catholics of Ireland, lib. ii. cap. 3.

[46] Gregor. lib. ii. Epist. XXXVI. Indict. 10.

[47] Ardentissimo studio pro trium capitulorum defensione, junctis animis omnes qui in Hibernia erant episcopi, insurrexere. Addiderunt et illud nefas, ut cum percepissent Romanam ecclesiam æque suscepisse trium damnationem capitulorum, atque suo consensu quintam Synodum roborasse, ab eadem pariter resilierint, atque reliquis qui vel in Italia vel in Africa aliisve regionibus erant schismaticis inhæserint, fiducia illa vana erecti, quod pro fide catholica starent, cum quæ essent in Concilio Chalcedonensi statuta defenderent. Baron. Annal. Tom. VII. ann. 566, num. 21.

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while they defended those things that were concluded in the Council of Chalcedon." [48] And "so much the more fixedly," saith he, "did they cleave to their error, because whatsoever Italy did suffer by commotions of war, by famine or pestilence, all these unhappy things they thought did therefore befall unto it, because it had undertaken to fight for the fifth Synod against the Council of Chalcedon."

Thus far Baronius, out of whose narration this may be collected, that the bishops of Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their sides, they preferred the judgment of other churches before it. Wherein how peremptory they were when they wrote unto St Gregory of the matter, may easily be perceived by these parcels of the answer which he returned unto their letters: "[49] The first entry of your epistle hath notified that you suffer a grievous persecution; which persecution indeed, when it is not sustained for a reasonable cause, doth profit nothing unto salvation." And "[50] therefore it is very unfit that you should glory of that persecution, as you call it, by which it is certain you cannot be promoted to everlasting rewards." "[51] And whereas you write, that since that time among other provinces Italy hath been most afflicted, you ought not to object that unto it as a reproach, because it is written, *Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son that he receiveth.*" Then having spoken of the book that Pope Pelagius did write of this controversy, which indeed was penned by Gregory himself, he addeth: "[52] If after the reading of this book you will persist in that de-

[48] Sed eo fixius inhærent errori, cum quæcunque Italia passa sit bellorum motibus, fame, vel pestilentia; ea ex causa illi cuncta infausta accidisse putarent, quod pro quinta Synodo adversus Chalcedonense Concilium prælium suscepisset. Ibid.

[49] Prima itaque epistolæ vestræ frons gravem vos pati persecutionem innotuit. Quæ quidem persecutio dum non rationabiliter sustinetur, nequaquam proficit ad salutem. Gregor. Regest. lib. ii. Epist. XXXVI.

[50] Dum igitur ita sit, incongruum nimis est de ea vos, quam dicitis, persecutione gloriari, per quam vos constat ad æterna præmia minime provehi. Ibid.

[51] Quod autem scribitis, quia ex illo tempore inter alias provincias maxime flagelletur Italia, non hoc ad ejus debetis intorquere opprobrium, quoniam scriptum est, Quem diligit Dominus castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Ibid.

[52] Porro autem si post hujus libri lectionem in ea, qua estis, volueritis deliberatione persistere, sine dubio non rationi operam, sed obstinationi vos dare monstratis. Ibid.

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liberation wherein now you are, without doubt you shew that you give yourselves to be ruled not by reason, but by obstinacy." By all which you may see, what credit is to be given unto the man who would bear us in hand, that this epistle of St Gregory was sent as an answer unto the bishops of Ireland that did submit themselves unto him; whereas, to say nothing of the [53]copies wherein this epistle is noted to have been written to the bishops of Iberia, and not in Hibernia, the least argument of any submission doth not appear in any part of that epistle, but the whole course of it doth clearly manifest the flat contrary.

In the next place steppeth forth Osullevan Beare, who, in his Catholic History of Ireland, would have us take knowledge of this, that "[54]when the Irish doctors did not agree together upon great questions of faith, or did hear of any new doctrine brought from abroad, they were wont to consult with the Bishop of Rome, the oracle of truth." That they consulted with the Bishop of Rome when difficult questions did arise, we easily grant; but that they thought they were bound in conscience to stand to his judgment, whatsoever it should be, and to entertain all his resolutions as certain "oracles of truth," is the point that we would fain see proved. For this he telleth us, that "[55]when questions and disputations did arise here concerning the time of Easter and the Pelagian heresy, the doctors of Ireland referred the matter unto the see apostolic. Whereupon the error of Pelagius is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland, and the common course of celebrating Easter was embraced both by the northern Irish

[53] Vide Roman. Correct. in Gratian. de Consecrat. Distinct. IV. cap. 144, *Ab antiqua*.

[54] Quando vero doctores Ibernici de gravibus fidei quæstionibus minime consentiebant, vel aliquid novi dogmatis peregre allati audiebant, soliti erant Romanum Pontificem veritatis oraculum consulere. Philip Osullevan. Bear. Hist. Catholic. Ibern. Tom. I. lib. IV. cap. 6.

[55] Namque de tempore agendi paschatis solennia, de quo aliæ quoque catholicæ gentes sæpe ambigerunt, et de Pelagiana hæresi ubi fuit in quæstionem disputationemque deducta, doctores Iberni ad sedem apostolicam retulerunt. Ac ita miseri Pelagii error nullum in Ibernia patronum vel assertorem invenisse fertur, vel insulæ aditu interclusus, vel ab ea protinus explosus, ubi contagiosam faciem aperuit, seseque cognoscendum præbuit; et ratio communis et ab ecclesia usitata celebrandi redivivi Domini festum ab Australibus Ibernis fuit semper observata, et a Septentrionalibus quoque et Pictis et Britonibus, qui doctoribus Ibernis fidem acceperunt, amplexa, ubi ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum cognoverunt. Quod ex apostolicarum literarum duplici capite a Beda relato non obscure constat. Ibid.

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and by the Picts and Britons, as soon as they understood the rite of the Roman Church. Which," saith he, "doth not obscurely appear by the two heads of the Apostolic Letters related by Bede, lib. ii. cap. 19."

But that those Apostolic Letters, as he calleth them, had that success which he talketh of, appeareth neither plainly nor obscurely by Bede, or any other authority whatsoever. "The error of Pelagius," saith he, "is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland." But who is he that reporteth so beside Philip Osullevan? a worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon, who, in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any, I verily think, that this day breatheth in Christendom! The Apostolic Letters he speaketh of were written, as before hath been touched, in the year of our Lord 639, during the vacancy of the Roman see upon the death of Severinus. Our countryman Kilianus repaired to Rome forty-seven years after that, and was ordained bishop there by Pope Conon, in the year 686. The reason of his coming thither is thus laid down by Egilwardus, or whoever else was the author of his Life: "[56]For Ireland had been of old defiled with the Pelagian heresy, and condemned by the apostolical censure, which could not be loosed but by the Roman judgment." If this be true, then that is false which Osullevan reporteth of the effect of his Apostolical Epistle, that it did so presently quash the Pelagian heresy, as it durst not once peep up within this island.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CONTROVERSY WHICH THE BRITONS, PICTS, AND IRISH MAINTAINED AGAINST THE CHURCH OF ROME TOUCHING THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER.

The difference betwixt the Romans and the Irish in the celebration of Easter consisteth in this: The Romans kept the memorial of our Lord's resurrection upon that

[56] Hibernia siquidem olim Pelagiana fœdata fuerat hæresi, apostolicaque censura damnata, quæ nisi Romano judicio solvi non poterat. Auctor antiqu. Vit. Kilian.

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Sunday which fell betwixt the 15th and the 21st day of the moon (both terms included) next after the 21st day of March, which they accounted to be the seat of the *vernal æquinoctium*, that is to say, that time of the spring wherein the day and the night were of an equal length. And in reckoning the age of the moon they followed the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, (whence our golden number had its original), as it was explained unto them by Dionysius Exiguus; which is the account that is still observed, not only in the Church of England, but also among all the Christians of Greece, Russia, Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and was, since the time that I myself was born, generally received in all Christendom, until the late change of the calendar was made by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth. The northern Irish and Scottish, together with the Picts, observed the custom of the Britons, [1]keeping their Easter upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the 14th and the 20th day of the moon; and following in their account thereof, not the nineteen years' computation of Anatolius, [2]but Sulpicius Severus's circle of eighty-four years. For howsoever they extolled Anatolius [3]for appointing, as they supposed, the bounds of Easter betwixt the 14th and the 20th day of the moon; yet Wilfrid, in the Synod of Strenshal, chargeth them utterly to have rejected his cycle of nineteen years: from which, therefore, Cummianus draweth an argument against them, that "[4]they can never come to the true account of Easter who observe the cycle of eighty-four years."

To reduce the Irish unto conformity with the Church of Rome in this point, Pope Honorius, the first of that name, directed his letters unto them, "[5]exhorting them

[1] Non enim paschæ diem Dominicum suo tempore, sed a decima quarta usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant. Quæ computatio 84 annorum circulo continetur. Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[2] Porro isti secundum decennem novemque Anatolii computatum, aut potius juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui 84 annorum cursum descripsit, 14 luna cum Judæis paschale sacramentum celebrant, cum neutrum ecclesiæ Romanæ Pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur. Aldelm. Epist. ad Geruntium Regem et Domnonios, inter Epistolas Bonifacii, num 44.

[3] Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 3 et 25. Vide Dionysii Petavii Notas in Epiphan. p. 194, 195.

[4] Ad veram paschæ rationem nunquam pervenire eos, qui cyclum 84 annorum observant. Cummian. Epist. ad Segienum Abbat. de Disputatione Lunæ, MS. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.

[5] Exhortans, ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem antiquis sive modernis, quæ per

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that they would not esteem their own paucity, seated in the utmost borders of the earth, more wise than the ancient or modern Churches of Christ through the whole world, and that they would not celebrate another Easter contrary to the paschal computations and the synodal decrees of the bishops of the whole world." And shortly after the clergy of Rome, as we have said, upon the death of Severinus, wrote other letters unto them to the same effect. Now, where Osullevan avoucheth that "the common custom used by the Church in celebrating the feast of the Lord's Resurrection was always observed by the southern Irish," and now "embraced also by the northern, together with the Picts and Britons, who received the faith from Irish doctors, when they had knowledge given them of the rite of the Church of Rome;" in all this, according to his common wont, he speaketh never a true word. For neither did the southern Irish always observe the celebration of Easter commonly received abroad; neither did the northern Irish, nor the Picts, nor the Britons, many years after this admonition given by the Church of Rome, admit that observation among them: to speak nothing of his folly in saying that the Britons received the faith from the Irish, when the contrary is so well known, that the Irish rather received the same from the [6]Britons.

That the common custom of celebrating the time of Easter was not always observed by the southern Irish, may appear by those words of Bede, in the third book of his history, and the third chapter: *Porro gentes Scottorum, quæ in australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem apostolicæ sedis antistitis pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt.* For if, as this place clearly proveth, "the nations of the Scots that dwelt in the southern parts of Ireland did learn to observe Easter after the canonical manner, upon the admonition of the Bishop of Rome," it is evident that before that admonition they did observe it after another manner. The word *jamdudum*, which Bede here useth, is taken among authors oftentimes in contrary senses, either to signify "a great while since," or else, "but

orbem terræ erant, Christi ecclesiis æstimarent; neve contra paschales computos, et decreta synodalium totius orbis pontificum aliud pascha celebrarent. Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 19.

[6] St Patrick and his followers.

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lately" or "erewhile." In the former sense it must be here taken, if it have relation to the time wherein Bede did write his book; and in the latter also it may be taken, if it be referred to the time whereof he treateth, which is the more likely opinion, namely, to the coming of Bishop Aidan into England; which fell out about half a year after that Honorius had sent his admonitory letters to the Irish: who, as he was the first Bishop of Rome we can read of that admonished them to reform their rite of keeping the time of Easter; so that the Irish also, much about the same time, conformed themselves herein to the Roman usage, may thus be manifested.

When Bishop Aidan came into England from the island Hy, now called Y-Colum-kille, [7]the College of Monks there was governed by Segenius, who, in the [8]inscription of the epistle of the clergy of Rome sent unto the Irish, is called Segianus. Now there is yet extant, in Sir Robert Cotton's worthy library, an epistle of Cummianus directed to this Segienus, (for so is his name there written,) Abbot of Y-Colum-kille, wherein he plainly declareth that the great cycle of 532 years, and the Roman use of celebrating the time of Easter according to the same, was then newly brought in into this country. "[9]For the first year," saith he, "wherein the cycle of 532 years began to be observed by our men, I received it not, but held my peace, daring neither to commend it nor to dispraise it." That year being past, he saith he consulted with the ancients, who were the successors of Bishop Ailbeus, Queranus Coloniensis, Brendinus, Necessanus, and Lugidus; who being gathered together in Campolene, concluded to celebrate Easter the year following together with the universal Church. "[10]But not long after," saith he, "there arose up a certain whited wall, pretending to keep the tradition of the elders, which did not make both one, but divided them, and made void in part that which was pro-

[7] Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 5.

[8] Id. lib. ii. cap. 19.

[9] Ego enim primo anno quo cyclus 532 annorum a nostris celebrari orsus est, non suscepi, sed silui, nec laudare nec vituperare ausus. Cummian. Epist. ad Segienum.

[10] Sed non post multum surrexit quidam paries dealbatus, traditionem seniorum servare se simulans; qui utraque non fecit unum, sed divisit, et irritum ex parte fecit quod promissum est; quem Dominus, ut spero, percutiet quoquo modo voluerit. Ibid.

mised; whom the Lord, as I hope, will smite in whatsoever manner he pleaseth."

To this argument, drawn from "the tradition of the elders," he maketh answer, that "[11]they did simply and faithfully observe that which they knew to be best in their days, without the fault of any contradiction or animosity, and did so recommend it to their posterity;" and opposeth thereunto "[12]the unanimous rule of the universal Catholic Church," deeming this to be a very harsh conclusion: "[13]Rome erreth, Jerusalem erreth, Alexandria erreth, Antioch erreth, the whole world erreth; the Scottish only and the Britons do alone hold the right." But especially he urgeth the authority of the first of these patriarchal sees, which now, since the advancement thereof by the Emperor Phocas, began to be admired by the inhabitants of the earth, as "the place which God had chosen; whereunto, if greater causes did arise, recourse was to be had, according to the synodical decree, as unto the head of cities." And therefore he saith that they sent some unto Rome; who, returning back in the third year, informed them that they met there with a Grecian, and an Hebrew, and a Scythian, and an Egyptian, in one lodging; and that they all, and the whole world too, did keep their Easter at the same time, when the Irish were disjoined from them by the space of a whole [14]month. "[15]And we have proved," saith Cummianus, "that the virtue of God was in the relics of the holy martyrs and the Scriptures which they brought with them; for we saw with our eyes a maid altogether blind opening her eyes at these relics, and a man sick of the palsy walking, and many devils cast out." Thus far he.

The northern Irish and Albanian Scottish, on the other

[11] Seniores vero, quos in velamine repulsionis habetis, quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter et fideliter sine culpa contradictionis ullius et animositatis observaverunt, et suis posteris sic mandaverunt. Ibid.

[12] Universalis ecclesiæ Catholicæ unanimem regulam. Ibid.

[13] Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt. Ibid.

[14] This seemeth to have fallen out either in the year 634 or 645, wherein Easter was solemnised at Rome the 24th day of April; and it appeareth by our Annals, that Segenius was Abbot of Y-Colum-kille from the year 624 until 652.

[15] Vidimus oculis nostris puellam cæcam omnino ad has relliquias oculos aperientem, et paralyticum ambulantem, et multa dæmonia ejecta. Cummian.

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side, made little reckoning of the authority either of the Bishop or of the Church of Rome. And therefore Bede, speaking of Oswy, King of Northumberland, saith that "[16]notwithstanding he was brought up by the Scottish, yet he understood that the Roman was the Catholic and Apostolic Church," or, "that the Roman Church was Catholic and Apostolic," intimating thereby that the Scottish, among whom he received his education, were of another mind. And long before that, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, who were sent into England by Pope Gregory to assist Austin, in a letter which they sent unto the "Scots that did inhabit Ireland," (so Bede writeth,) complained of the distaste given unto them by their countrymen in this manner: "[17]We knew the Britons; we thought that the Scots were better than they; but we learned by Bishop Daganus coming into this island, and Abbot Columbanus coming into France, that the Scots did differ nothing from the Britons in their conversation: for Daganus the bishop coming unto us, would not take meat with us, no, not so much as in the same lodging wherein we did eat."

And as for miracles, we find them as rife among them that were opposite to the Roman tradition, as upon the other side. If you doubt it, read what Bede hath written of Bishop Aidan, "[18]who of what merit he was, the inward Judge hath taught even by the tokens of miracles," saith he, and Adamnanus of the life of St Colme or Colum-kille. Whereupon Bishop Colman, in the Synod at Strenshal, frameth this conclusion: "[19]Is it to be believed that Colme, our most reverend Father, and his successors, men beloved of God,

[16] Intellexerat enim veraciter Oswi, quamvis educatus a Scotis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica ecclesia. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 29.

[17] Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos vero per Daganum episcopum in hanc insulam, et Columbanum abbatem in Gallias venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. Laurent. Epist. apud Bed. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[18] Qui cujus meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 15. It. 16 and 17.

[19] Numquid reverendissimum patrem nostrum Columbam et successores ejus, viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria sapuisse vel egisse credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati cœlesti signa et virtutum quæ fecerunt miracula testimonium præbuerunt; quos ut ipse sanctos esse non dubitans semper eorum vitam, mores et disciplinam sequi non desisto. Colman. apud Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 29.

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which observed Easter in the same manner that we do, did hold or do that which was contrary to the holy Scriptures? seeing there were very many among them, to whose heavenly holiness the signs and miracles which they did bare testimony; whom nothing doubting to be saints, I desist not to follow evermore their life, manners, and discipline." What Wilfrid replied to this, may be seen in Bede. That which I much wonder at, among the many wonderful things related of St Colme by Adamnanus, is this, that where he saith, that this saint, during the time of his abode in the abbey of Clone, now called Clonmacnosh, did, "[20]by the revelation of the Holy Ghost, prophesy of that discord which after many days arose among the churches of Scotland (or Ireland) for the diversity of the feast of Easter;" yet he telleth us not that the Holy Ghost revealed unto him that he himself, whose example animated his followers to stand more stiffly herein against the Roman rite, was in the wrong, and ought to conform his judgment to the tradition of the churches abroad; as if the Holy Ghost did not much care whether of both sides should carry the matter away in this controversy; for which, if you please, you shall hear a very pretty tale out of an old legend, concerning this same discord whereof St Colme is said to have prophesied.

"[21]Upon a certain time," saith my author, "there was a great council of the people of Ireland in the White-field, among whom there was contention about the order of Easter: for Lasreanus, the abbot of the monastery of Leighlin, unto whom there were subject a thousand and five hundred monks, defended the new order that lately came from Rome, but others defended the old." This Lasreanus or Lazerianus is the man who in other legends, of no other credit than this we now have in hand, is reported to have been the Bishop of Rome's legate in Ireland, and is commonly accounted to have been the first Bishop of the church of Leighlin. His principal antagonist at this meeting was

[20] Revelante Spiritu Sancto prophetavit de illa quæ post dies multos ob diversitatem paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiæ ecclesias discordia. Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. i. cap. 3.

[21] Quodam tempore erat magnum concilium populorum Hiberniæ in campo albo, inter quos erat contentio circa ordinem paschæ; Lasreanus enim, abbas monasterii Leighlinne, cui suberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat qui nuper de Roma venit; alii vero veterem defendebant. Vit. S. Munnæ Abbatis MS.

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one Munna, founder of the monastery which from him was called Teach-munna, that is, the house of Munna, in the bishoprick of Meath; who would needs bring this question to the same kind of trial here, that Austin the monk is said to have done in England. In defence of the Roman order, Bede telleth us that Austin made this motion to the British bishops for a final conclusion of the business: "[22] Let us beseech God, which maketh men to dwell of one mind together in their father's house, that he will vouchsafe by some heavenly signs to make known unto us what tradition is to be followed, and by what way we may hasten to the entry of his kingdom. Let some sick man be brought hither; and by whose prayers he shall be cured, let his faith and working be believed to be acceptable unto God, and to be followed by all men."

Now Munna, who stood in defence of the order formerly used by the British and Irish, maketh a more liberal proffer in this kind, and leaveth Lasreanus to his choice: "[23] Let us dispute briefly," saith he, "but in the name of God let us give judgment. Three things are given to thy choice, Lasreanus. Two books shall be cast into the fire, a book of the old order and of the new, that we may see whether of them both shall be freed from the fire. Or let two monks, one of mine and another of thine, be shut up into one house, and let the house be burnt, and we shall see which of them will escape untouched of the fire. Or let us go unto the grave of a just monk that is dead, and raise him up again, and let him tell us after what order we ought to celebrate Easter this year." But Lasreanus, being wiser than so, refused to put so great a matter to that hazard, and therefore returned this grave answer unto Munna, if all be true that is in the legend: "[24] We will not go unto thy judg-

[22] Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare fecit unanimes in domo patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare cœlestibus signis dignetur, quæ sequenda traditio, quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis æger; et per cujus preces fuerit curatus, hujus fides et operatio Deo devota atque omnibus sequenda credatur. Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[23] Breviter disputemus; sed in nomine Domini agamus judicium. Tres optiones dantur tibi, Lasreane. Duo libri in ignem mittentur, liber veteris ordinis et novi; ut videamus quis eorum de igne liberabitur. Vel duo monachi, unus meus, alter tuus, in unam domum recludantur, et domus comburatur, et videbimus quis ex iis evadat intactus igne. Aut eamus ad sepulchrum mortui justi monachi, et resuscitemus eum, et indicet nobis quo ordine debemus hoc anno pascha celebrare. Vit. S. Munnæ.

[24] Non ibimus ad judicium tuum, quoniam scimus quod pro magnitudine la-

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ment, because we know that for the greatness of thy labour and holiness, if thou shouldest bid that Mount Marge should be changed into the place of the White-field, and the White-field into the place of Mount Marge, God would presently do this for thy sake." So prodigal do some make God to be of miracles, and in a manner careless how they should fall; as if in the dispensing of them he did respect the gracing of persons rather than of causes.

In what year this Council of the White-field was held is not certainly known, nor yet whether St Munna be that "whited wall" of whom we heard Cummianus complain. The Synod of Strenshal, before-mentioned, was assembled long after at Whitby, called by the Saxons Streansheal, in Yorkshire, the [25] year of our Lord 664, for the decision of the same question. Concerning which, in the Life of Wilfrid, (written by one Æddi an acquaintance of his, surnamed Stephen, at the commandment of Acca, who in the time of Bede was Bishop of Hangustald, or Hexham, in Northumberland), we read thus: "[26] Upon a certain time, in the days of Colman, metropolitan Bishop of the city of York, Oswi and Alhfrid his son being kings, the abbots and priests, and all the degrees of ecclesiastical orders, meeting together at the monastery which is called Streansheal, in the presence of Hilde, the most godly mother of that abbey, in presence

boris tui et sanctitatis, si diceres ut mons Marge commutaretur in locum campi albi et campus albus in locum montis Marge, hoc propter te Deus statim faceret. Ibid.

[25] Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 26.

[26] Quodam tempore in diebus Colmanni Eboracæ civitatis episcopi metropolitani, regnantibus Oswi et Alhfrido filio ejus, abbates et presbyteri omnesque ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gradus simul in unum convenientes, in cœnobio quæ Streansheal dicitur; præsente sanctimoniale matre piissima Hilde, præsentibus quoque regibus et duobus Colmanno et Ægilberhto episcopis, de paschali ratione conquirebant, quid esset rectissimum, utrum more Brittonum et Scottorum omnisque aquilonalis partis a XIV. Luna dominica die veniente usque ad XXII. (*leg.* XX.) pascha agendum; an melius sit ratione sedis apostolicæ, a XV. Luna usque XXI. paschalem dominicam celebrandam. Tempus datum est Colmanno episcopo primum, ut dignum erat, audientibus cunctis reddere rationem. Ille autem intrepida mente respondens dixit, Patres nostri et antecessores eorum manifeste Spiritu Sancto inspirati, ut erat Columcille, XIV. Luna die Dominica pascha celebrandum sanxerunt; exemplum tenentes Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ, qui supra pectus Domini in cœna recubuit, et Amator Domini dicebatur. Ille XIV. Luna pascha celebravit; et nos, sicut discipuli ejus Polycarpus et alii celebramus; nec hoc audemus pro patribus (*fort.* partibus) nostris, nec volumus mutare. Stephanus Presbyter (qui et Æddi, apud Bedam, Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2.) in Vita Wilfrid. cap. 10. MS. in Bibliotheca Sarisburiensis Ecclesiæ, et D. Roberti Cottoni.

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also of the kings and the two bishops Colman and Ægelberht, enquiry was made touching the observation of Easter, what was most right to be held; whether Easter should be kept according to the custom of the Britons and the Scots, and all the northern part, upon the Lord's day that came from the 14th day of the Moon until the 20th, or whether it were better that Easter Sunday should be celebrated from the 15th day of the Moon until the 21st, after the manner of the see apostolic. Time was given unto Bishop Colman, in the first place, as it was fit, to deliver his reason in the audience of all; who with an undaunted mind made his answer, and said, Our fathers and their predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, as Colum-kille was, did ordain that Easter should be celebrated upon the Lord's day that fell upon the 14th Moon; following the example of John the Apostle and Evangelist, who leaned upon the breast of our Lord at his last Supper, and was called the lover of the Lord. He celebrated Easter upon the 14th day of the Moon, and we with the same confidence celebrate the same, as his disciples Polycarpus and others did; neither dare we, for our parts, neither will we, change this."

Bede relateth his speech thus: "[27]This Easter which I use to observe I received from my Elders, who did send me bishop hither; which all our Fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner: which that it may not seem unto any to be contemned and rejected, it is the same which the blessed Evangelist John, the disciple specially beloved by our Lord, with all the churches which he did oversee, is read to have celebrated." Fridegodus, who wrote the Life of Wilfrid at the command of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, expresseth the same in verse, after this manner:

[28]Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,
Disciplo [29]Eusebii Polycarpo dante Johannis.

[27] Pascha hoc quod agere soleo, a majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc episcopum miserunt; quod omnes patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum et reprobandum esse videatur, ipsum est quod beatus Johannes Evangelista, discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus quibus præerat ecclesiis, celebrasse legitur. Colman. apud Bedam, Hist. lib. iii. cap. 25.

[28] Fridegod. Vit. Wilfrid. MS. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.

[29] i. *Sancti* vel *Beati*.

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Ille etenim bis septenæ sub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.

On the contrary side Wilfrid objected unto Colman and his clerks of Ireland, that they with their complices, the Picts and the Britons, "[30]out of the two utmost isles, and those not whole neither, did with a foolish labour fight against the whole world." "[31]And if that Columb of yours," saith he, "yea, and ours also if he were Christ's, was holy and powerful in virtues, could he be preferred before the most blessed prince of the Apostles? unto whom the Lord said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*" Which last words wrought much upon the simplicity of King Oswy, who feared that [32]when he should "come to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, there would be none to open, if he were displeased who was proved to keep the keys;" but prevailed nothing with Bishop Colman, who "[33]for the fear of his country," as Stephen in the life of Wilfrid writeth, "contemned the tonsure and the observation of Easter" used by the Romans; and "[34]taking with him such as would follow him, that is to say, such as would not receive the Catholic Easter and the tonsure of the crown, (for of that also there was then no small question,) returned back again into Scotland."

[30] Cum quibus de duabus ultimis oceani insulis, his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant. Wilfrid. apud Bed. lib. iii. cap. 25.

[31] Et si sanctus erat aut potens virtutibus ille Columba vester, imo et noster si Christi erat, num præferri potuit beatissimo apostolorum principi? cui Dominus ait, Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum. Ibid.

[32] Ne forte me adveniente ad fores regni cœlorum, non sit qui reseret, averso illo qui claves tenere probatur. Ibid.

[33] Tonsuram et paschæ rationem propter timorem patriæ suæ contempsit. Steph. Presbyter in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 10.

[34] Colman videns spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam; assumptis his qui se sequi voluerunt, id est, qui pascha Catholicum et tonsuram coronæ, nam et de hoc quæstio non minima erat, recipere nolebant, in Scotiam regressus est. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 26. Vide etiam lib. iv. cap. 4.

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CHAPTER X.

OF THE HEIGHT THAT THE OPPOSITION BETWIXT THE ROMAN PARTY AND THAT OF THE BRITISH AND SCOTTISH GREW UNTO, AND THE ABATEMENT THEREOF IN TIME; AND HOW THE DOCTORS OF THE SCOTTISH AND IRISH SIDE HAVE BEEN EVER ACCOUNTED MOST EMINENT MEN IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR DISUNION FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME.

In Colman's room Wilfrid was chosen Archbishop of York, who had learned at Rome, from Archdeacon Boniface, "[1]the course of Easter, which the schismatics of Britain and Ireland did not know;" (so go the words of Stephen, the ancient writer of his life;) and afterwards did brag "[2]that he was the first which did teach the true Easter in Northumberland, having cast out the Scots, which did ordain the ecclesiastical songs to be parted on sides, and which did command St Benet's rule to be observed by monks." But when he was named to the archbishoprick, [3]he refused it at the first, as William of Malmesbury relateth, "lest he should receive his consecration from the Scottish Bishops, or from such as the Scots had ordained, whose communion the Apostolic See had rejected." The speech which he used to this purpose unto the kings that had chosen him, is thus laid down by Stephen the writer of his life: "[4]O my honourable lords the kings, it is

[1] Paschalem rationem, quam schismatici Britanniæ et Hiberniæ non cognoverunt, et alias multas ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas Bonifacius archidiaconus quasi proprio filio suo diligenter dictavit. Steph. Presb. Vit. Wilf. cap. 5. See also Bed. lib. v. cap. 20.

[2] Se primum fuisse qui verum pascha in Northumbria Scotis ejectis docuerit, qui cantus ecclesiasticos antiphonatim instituerit, qui sanctissimi Benedicti regulam a monachis observari jusserit. Gulielm. Malmesbur. lib. iii. de Gest. Pontific. Angl.

[3] Sed perstitit ille negare, ne ab episcopis Scottis, vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverunt, consecrationem susciperet, quorum communionem sedes aspernaretur apostolica. Id. ibid.

[4] O domini venerabiles reges, omnibus modis nobis necessarium est provide considerare, quomodo cum' electione vestra, sine accusatione catholicorum virorum, ad gradum episcopalem cum Dei adjutorio venire valeam. Sunt enim hic in Britannia multi episcopi, quorum nullum meum est accusare, quamvis veraciter sciam, quod aut quatuordecim anni sunt, ut Britones et Scoti ab illis sunt ordinati, quos nec apostolica sedes in communionem recepit, neque eos qui schismaticis consentiunt. Et ideo in mea humilitate

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necessary for us by all means providently to consider how with your election I may, by the help of God, come to the degree of a bishop without the accusation of Catholic men. For there be many bishops here in Britain, none of whom it is my part to accuse, ordained within these fourteen years by the Britons and Scots, whom neither the See Apostolic hath received into her communion, nor yet such as consent with the schismatics. And therefore in my humility I request of you, that you would send me with your warrant beyond the sea into the country of France, where many Catholic bishops are to be had; that without any controversy of the Apostolic See I may be counted meet, though unworthy, to receive the degree of a bishop."

While [5]Wilfrid protracted time beyond the seas, King Oswy, led by the advice of the Quartadecimans, (so they injuriously nicknamed the British and Irish that did celebrate Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon), appointed "[6]a most religious servant of God and an admirable doctor that came from Ireland," named Ceadda, to be ordained Bishop of York in his room.

Constituunt etenim perverso canone Cœddam,
Moribus acclinem, doctrinæ robore fortem,
Præsulis eximii servare cubilia: sicque
Audacter vivo sponsam rapuere marito;

saith Fridegodus. This Ceadda, being the scholar of Bishop Aidan, was far otherwise affected to the British and Irish than Wilfrid was, and therefore was content to receive his ordination from [7]Wini, Bishop of the West Saxons, and two

a vobis posco, ut me mittatis cum vestro præsidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici episcopi multi habentur; ut sine controversia apostolicæ sedis, licet indignus, gradum episcopalem merear accipere. Steph. Presb. Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 12.

[5] Quo ultra mare moras nectente Oswius Rex, præventus conciliis Quartadecimanorum, qui vocabantur ita quia pascha in quartadecima luna cum Judæis celebrabant, Ceddam virum sanctissimum, tamen contra regulas, intrusit tribunali Eboracensi. Gulielm. Malmsb. lib. iii. de Gest. Pontif. Angl.

[6] Ordinantes servum Dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem de Hibernia insula venientem nomine Cœodda, adhuc eo ignorante, in sedem episcopalem Euroicæ civitatis indocte contra canones constituerunt. Steph. Presb. Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 14.

[7] Ab illo est consecratus antistes, assumptis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente episcopis, qui Dominicum paschæ diem secus morem canonicum a 14 usque ad 21 lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini, in tota Britannia canonice ordinatus episcopus. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 28.

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other British bishops, that were of the Quartadeciman party: for at that time, as Bede noteth, "there was not in all Britain any bishop canonically ordained," (that is to say, by such as were of the communion of the Church of Rome), except that Wini only.

But shortly after the opposition betwixt these two sides grew to be so great, that our Cuthbert, Bishop of Landisfarne, upon his death-bed required his followers that they should "[8]hold no communion with them which did swerve from the unity of the catholic peace, either by not celebrating Easter in its due time, or by living perversely;" and that they should rather take up his bones and remove their place of habitation, than any way condescend to "submit their necks unto the yoke of schismatics." For the further maintaining of which breach also there were certain decrees made both by the Romans, and by the Saxons that were guided by their institution. One of the instructions that the Romans gave them was this: "[9]Ye must beware that causes be not referred to other provinces or churches, which use another manner and another religion; whether to the Jews, which do serve the shadow of the law rather than the truth, or to the Britons, who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themselves off from the Roman manner and the unity of the Church, or to heretics, although they should be learned in ecclesiastical causes and well studied." And among the decrees made by some of the Saxon bishops, which were to be seen in the library of Sir Thomas Knevet, in Norfolk, and are still, I suppose, preserved there by his heir, this is laid down for one: "[10]Such as have received ordination from the bishops of

[8] Cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholicæ pacis, vel pascha non suo tempore celebrando, vel perverse vivendo aberrant, vobis sit nulla communio, &c. Id. in Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 39.

[9] *Institutio dicit Rom.* Cavendum est ne ad alias provincias aut ecclesias referantur causæ, quæ alio more et alia religione utantur; sive ad Judæos, qui umbræ legis magis quam veritati deserviunt, aut Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt, et a Romano more et ab unitate ecclesiæ se absciderunt, aut hæreticos, quamvis sint in ecclesiasticis causis docti et studiosi fuerint. Ex Cod. Canonum Cotton. titulorum 66.

[10] Qui ordinati sunt a Scottorum vel Britannorum episcopis, qui in pascha vel tonsura catholicæ non sunt adunati ecclesiæ, iterum a catholico episcopo manus impositione confirmentur. Similiter et ecclesiæ, quæ ab illis episcopis ordinantur, aqua exorcizata aspergantur, et aliqua collectione confirmentur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus chrismam vel eucharistiam dare, ni ante con-

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the Scots or Britons, who in the matter of Easter and tonsure are not united unto the Catholic Church, let them be again by imposition of hands confirmed by a catholic bishop. In like manner also let the churches that have been ordered by those bishops be sprinkled with exorcised water, and confirmed with some service. We have no licence also to give unto them chrism or the eucharist, when they require it, unless they do first profess that they will remain with us in the unity of the Church. And such likewise as either of their nation, or of any other, shall doubt of their baptism, let them be baptized." Thus did they.

On the other side, how averse the British and the Irish were from having any communion with those of the Roman party, the [11]complaint of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, before specified, doth sufficiently manifest. And the answer is well known which "[12]the seven British bishops, and many other most learned men" of the same nation, did return unto the propositions made unto them by Austin the monk, who was sent unto their parts with authority from Rome, that "[13]they would perform none of them, nor at all admit him for their archbishop." The Welsh chroniclers do further relate, that Dinot, the Abbot of Bangor, produced divers arguments at that time to shew that they did owe him no subjection, and this among others; "[14]We are under the government of the Bishop of Kaer-leon upon Usk, who, under God, is to oversee us, and cause us to keep the way spiritual:" and Gotcelinus Bertinianus, in the Life of Austin, [15]that for the "authority of their ceremo-

fessi fuerint velle se nobiscum esse in unitate ecclesiæ. Et qui ex horum similiter gente, vel quacunque, de baptismo suo dubitaverint, baptizentur. Decret. Pontific. MS. cap. 9. De communicatione Scottorum et Britonum, qui in pascha et tonsura catholici non sunt.

[11] Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[12] Septem Britonum episcopi, et plures viri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui Dinoot abbas præfuisse narratur. Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[13] Illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant. Id. ibid. Tam ipsum, quam ejus statuta, statim reversi spreverunt, nec ipsum pro archiepiscopo se habituros publice proclamabant. Girald. Cambrens. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. ii. cap. 1.

[14] In a Welsh manuscript, sometime belonging unto P. Mostein, gentleman.

[15] Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solum a sancto Eleutherio Papa, primo institutore suo, ab ipsa pene infantia ecclesiæ dicatas, verum a sanctis patribus suis Dei amicis et Apostolorum sequacibus hactenus observatas; quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatistas. Gotcelin. Monachus, in Vita Augustini, cap. 32, MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

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nies" they did allege "that they were not only delivered unto them by St Eleutherius the Pope, their first instructor, at the first infancy almost of the Church, but also hitherto observed by their holy Fathers, who were the friends of God and followers of the Apostles;" and therefore "they ought not to change them for any new dogmatists." But, above all others, the British priests that dwelt in West Wales abhorred the communion of these "new dogmatists" above all measure, as Aldhelme, Abbot of Malmesbury, declareth at large in his Epistle sent to Geruntius, King of Cornwall; where, among many other particulars, he sheweth, that [16]if any of the Catholics (for so he calleth those of his own side) did go to dwell among them, "they would not vouchsafe to admit them unto their company and society before they first put them to forty days' penance." Yea, "[17]even to this day," saith Bede, who wrote his History in the year 731, "it is the manner of the Britons to hold the faith and the religion of the English in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in any thing more than with Pagans."

Whereunto those verses of Taliessyn, honoured by the Britons with the title of *Ben Beirdh*, that is, "the chief of the bards, or wise men," may be added, which shew that he wrote after the coming of Austin into England, and not fifty or sixty years before, as others have imagined:

[18]Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys engreifftia gwyd
  Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail
Ac ef yn vigail,
  Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie, Rhufeniaid
  A'iffon gnwppa.

"Wo be to that priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among:

[16] Si quilibet de nostris, id est, catholicis ad eos habitandi gratia perrexerint; non prius ad consortium sodalitatis suæ adsciscere dignantur, quam quadraginta dierum spatia in pœnitendo peragere compellantur. Aldhelm. Epist. ad Domnonios.

[17] Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Britonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis. Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 20.

[18] Chronicle of Wales, p. 254.

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Wo be to that shepherd, (I say),
That will not watch his fold alway,
  As to his office doth belong:
Wo be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep,
  With staff and weapon strong."

As also those others of Mantuan, which shew that some took the boldness to tax the Romans of "folly," "impudency," and "stolidity," for standing so much upon matters of human institution, that for the not admitting of them they would break peace there where the law of God and the doctrine first delivered by Christ and his Apostles was safely kept and maintained:

[19]Adde quod et patres ausi taxare Latinos,
Causabantur eos stulte, imprudenter, et æquo
Durius ad ritum Romæ voluisse Britannos
Cogere, et antiquum tam præcipitanter amorem
Tam stolido temerasse ausu. Concedere Roma
Debuit, aiebant, potius quam rumpere pacem,
Humani quæ juris erant; modo salva maneret
Lex divina, fides, Christi doctrina, senatus
Quam primus tulit ore suo; quia tradita ab ipso
Christo erat, humanæ doctore et lumine vitæ.

By all that hath been said the vanity of Osullevan may be seen, who feigneth the northern Irish, together with the Picts and Britons, to have been so obsequious unto the Bishop of Rome, that they reformed the celebration of Easter by them formerly used, as soon as they understood what the rite of the Roman Church was; whereas it is known that, after the declaration thereof made by Pope Honorius and the clergy of Rome, the northern Irish were nothing moved therewith, but continued still their own tradition. And therefore Bede findeth no other excuse for Bishop Aidan herein, but that "[20]either he was ignorant of the canonical time, or, if he knew it, that he was so overcome with the authority of his own nation, that he did not follow it;" that he did it "[21]after the manner of his own nation;"

[19] Baptist. Mantuan. Fastor. lib. i.

[20] Quod autem pascha non suo tempore observabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel suæ gentis auctoritate, ne agnitum sequeretur, devictus; non approbo nec laudo. Bed. Histor. lib. iii. cap. 17.

[21] More suæ gentis. Ibid. cap. 3.

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and that "[22]he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of them which had sent him." His successor Finan [23]contended more fiercely in the business with Ronan his countryman, and declared himself "an open adversary" to the Roman rite. Colman, that succeeded him, did tread just in his steps, so far that, being put down in the Synod of Streansheal, yet "for fear of his country," as before we have heard out of Stephen, the writer of the Life of Wilfrid, he refused to conform himself, and chose rather to forego his bishoprick than to submit himself unto the Roman laws.

Colmanusque suas inglorius abjicit arces,
Malens Ausonias victus dissolvere leges,

saith Fridegodus. Neither did he go away alone, but [24]took with him all his countrymen that he had gathered together in Lindisfarne, or Holy Island; the Scottish monks also, that were at Ripon in Yorkshire, [25]making choice rather to quit their place, than to admit the observation of Easter and the rest of the rites according to the custom of the Church of Rome. And so did the matter rest among the Irish about forty years after that, until their own countryman [26]Adamnanus persuaded most of them to yield to the custom received herein by all the churches abroad.

The Picts did the like not long after under King Naitan, who "[27]by his regal authority commanded Easter to be observed throughout all his provinces according to the cycle of nineteen years, abolishing the erroneous period of eighty-four years," which before they used, and caused "all priests and monks to be shorn crown-wise" after the Roman manner. The monks also of the island of Hy, or Y-Columkille,

[22] Pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit. Ibid. cap. 25.

[23] Id. ibid.

[24] Colmanus qui de Scotia erat episcopus, relinquens Britanniam, tulit secum omnes quos in Lindisfarnorum insula congregaverat Scotos. Bed. lib. iv. cap. 4.

[25] Optione data, maluerunt loco cedere, quam pascha catholicum ceterosque ritus canonicos juxta Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem recipere. Id. lib. v. cap. 20. See also lib. iii. cap. 25, where *Humpum* is misprinted for *Hripum*.

[26] Ibid. cap. 16 et 22.

[27] Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regia auctoritate perfecit. Statim namque jussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum per universas Pictorum provincias circuli paschæ decennovennales; obliteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta et quatuor annorum circulis. Attondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi, &c. Ibid. cap. 22.

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[28]by the persuasion of Ecgbert, an English priest that had been bred in Ireland, in the year of our Lord 716 forsook the observation of Easter and the tonsure which they had received from Columkille a hundred and fifty years before, and followed the Roman rite, about eighty years after the time of Pope Honorius, and the sending of Bishop Aidan from thence into England. The Britons in the time of [29]Bede retained still their old usage, until [30]Elbodus, who was the chief bishop of North Wales, and died in the year of our Lord 809, as Caradoc of Lhancarvan recordeth, brought in the Roman observation of Easter; which is the cause why [31]his disciple Nennius designeth the time wherein he wrote his history by the character of the [32]nineteen years' cycle, and not of the other of eighty-four. But howsoever North Wales did, it is very probable that West Wales, which of all other parts was most eagerly bent against the traditions of the Roman Church, stood out yet longer: for we find in the Greek writers of the Life of Chrysostom, "that certain clergymen which dwelt in the isles of the ocean" repaired "from the utmost borders" of the habitable world unto Constantinople, in the days of Methodius, who was patriarch there from the year 842 to the year 847, to enquire of "[33]certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter." Whereby it appeareth that these questions were kept still afoot in these islands, and that the resolution of the Bishop of Constantinople was sought for from hence, as well as the determination of the Bishop of Rome, who is now made the only oracle of the world.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that whatsoever broils did pass betwixt our Irish that were not subject to the see of Rome, and those others that were of the Roman com-

[28] Id. lib. iii. cap. 4, et lib. v. cap. 23.

[29] Id. lib. v. cap. 23 et 24.

[30] See the Chronicle of Wales, p. 17, 18, and Humfr. Lhuyd. Fragment. Britan. Descript. fol. 55. b.

[31] Ego Nennius, sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curavi. Nenn. MS. in publica Cantabrig. Academ. Bibliotheca, ubi alia exemplaria habent: Ego Nennius (vel Ninnius) Elvodugi discipulus.

[32] Ab adventu Patricii in jam dictam insulam (Hiberniam scilicet) usque ad cyclum decennovennalem in quo sumus 22 sunt cycli, id est 421, et sunt duo anni in Ogdoade usque in hunc annum. Idem.

[33] Ἕνεκα τινῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παραδόσεων, τελείας τε τοῦ πασχαλίου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως. Chrysost. Tom. VIII. edit. Henr. Savil. p. 321, 6, et in Notis, col. 966, 5.

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munion, in the succeeding ages they of the one side were esteemed to be saints as well as they of the other; Aidan, for example, and Finan, who were counted ringleaders of the Quartadeciman party, as well as Wilfrid and Cuthbert, who were so violent against it. Yet now-a-days men are made to believe, that out of the communion of the Church of Rome nothing but hell can be looked for, and that subjection to the Bishop of Rome, as to the visible head of the universal Church, is required as a matter necessary to salvation: which, if it may go current for good divinity, the case is like to go hard, not only with the "[34]twelve hundred" British monks of Bangor, who were martyred in one day by Edelfride, King of Northumberland, whom our Annals style by the name of "[35]the saints," but also with St Aidan and St Finan, who deserve to be honoured by the English nation with as venerable a remembrance as (I do not say Wilfrid and Cuthbert, but) Austin the monk and his followers. For by the ministry of [36]Aidan was the kingdom of Northumberland recovered from paganism, whereunto belonged then, beside the shire of Northumberland and the lands beyond it unto Edinburgh Frith, Cumberland also and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the bishoprick of Durham; and by the means of [37]Finan not only the kingdom of the East Saxons, which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Hertfordshire, regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia converted first unto Christianity, which comprehended under it Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, and the other half of Hertfordshire.

The Scottish, that professed no subjection to the Church of Rome, were they that sent preachers for the conversion of these countries, and ordained bishops to govern them; namely, [38]Aidan, Finan, and Colman, successively, for the kingdom of Northumberland; [39]for the East Saxons, Cedd,

[34] Bed. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[35] Ann. Dom. 612 (vel 613) Bellum Cairelegion, ubi Sancti occisi sunt. Annal. Ultan. MS.

[36] Bed. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 3 et 6.

[37] Ibid. cap. 21, 22, 24.

[38] Ibid. cap. 3, 5, 17, 25, 26.

[39] Ibid. cap. 22, 25.

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brother to Ceadda, the Bishop of York beforementioned; [40]for the Middle Angles, which inhabited Leicestershire, and the Murcians, Diuma, (for "[41]the paucity of priests," saith Bede, "constrained one bishop to be appointed over two people,") and after him Cellach and Trumhere. And these with their followers, notwithstanding their division from the See of Rome, were for [42]their extraordinary sanctity of life and painfulness in preaching the Gospel, wherein they went far beyond those of the other side, that afterward thrust them out and entered in upon their labours, exceedingly reverenced by all that knew them; Aidan especially, who, "[43]although he could not keep Easter," saith Bede, "contrary to the manner of them which had sent him, yet he was careful diligently to perform the works of faith and godliness and love, according to the manner used by all holy men. Whereupon he was worthily beloved of all, even of them also who thought otherwise of Easter than he did, and was had in reverence not only by them that were of meaner rank, but also by the bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East Angles." Neither did Honorius and Felix any other way carry themselves herein than their predecessors Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, had done before them, who, writing unto the bishops of Ireland that dissented from the Church of Rome in the celebration of Easter and many other things, made no scruple to prefix this loving and respectful superscription to their letters: "[44]To our lords and most dear brethren the bishops or abbots throughout all Scotland, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, the servants of the servants of God." For howsoever Ireland at that time [45]received not the same

[40] Ibid. cap. 21, 24.

[41] Paucitas enim sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis præfici. Ibid. cap. 21.

[42] Ibid. cap. 3, 4, 5, 17, 26.

[43] Etsi pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit; opera tamen fidei, pietatis et dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum diligenter exequi curavit. Unde ab omnibus etiam his qui de pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur, nec solum a mediocribus, verum ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus est. Ibid. cap. 25.

[44] Dominis carissimis fratribus episcopis vel abbatibus per universam Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus episcopi, servi servorum Dei. Id. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[45] Gens quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. Jon. Vit. Columban. cap. 1.

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"laws" wherewith "other nations" were governed, yet it so "flourished in the vigour of Christian doctrine," as Abbot Jonas testifieth, that "it exceeded the faith of all the neighbour nations," and in that respect was generally had in honour by them.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE TEMPORAL POWER WHICH THE POPE'S FOLLOWERS WOULD DIRECTLY ENTITLE HIM UNTO OVER THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND; TOGETHER WITH THE INDIRECT POWER WHICH HE CHALLENGETH IN ABSOLVING SUBJECTS FROM THE OBEDIENCE WHICH THEY OWE TO THEIR TEMPORAL GOVERNORS.

It now remaineth, that in the last place we should consider the Pope's power in disposing the *temporal* state of this kingdom, which either directly or indirectly, by hook or crook, this grand usurper would draw unto himself. First, therefore, Cardinal Allen would have us to know, that "[1]the See Apostolic hath an old claim unto the sovereignty of the country of Ireland, and that before the covenants passed between King John and the same see. Which challenges," saith he, "princes commonly yield not up, by what ground soever they come." What princes use to yield or not yield, I leave to the scanning of those unto whom princes' matters do belong; for the Cardinal's prince, I dare be bold to say, that if it be not his use to play fast and loose with other princes, the matter is not now to do: whatsoever right he could pretend to the temporal state of Ireland, he hath transferred it, more than once, unto the kings of England; and when the ground of his claim shall be looked into, it will be found so frivolous and so ridiculous, that we need not care three chips whether he yield it up or keep it to himself. For whatsoever become of his idle challenges, the crown of England hath otherwise obtained an undoubted right unto the sovereignty of this country, partly by conquest, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a social war, partly by the several submissions of

[1] Allen's Answer to the Execution of Justice in England, p. 140.

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the chieftains of the land made afterwards. For "[2]whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quit from all subjection, to renounce their own right, yet now in these our days," saith Giraldus Cambrensis, in his History of the Conquest of Ireland, "all the princes of Ireland did voluntarily submit and bind themselves with firm bonds of faith and oath unto Henry the Second, King of England." The like might be said of the general submissions made in the days of King Richard the Second and King Henry the Eighth, to speak nothing of the prescription of divers hundreds of years' possession, which was the plea that [3]Jephtha used to the Ammonites, and is, indeed, the best evidence that the Bishop of Rome's own [4]proctors do produce for their master's right to Rome itself.

For the Pope's direct dominion over Ireland two titles are brought forth, beside those Covenants of King John mentioned by Allen, which he that hath any understanding in our state knoweth to be clearly void and worth nothing. The one is taken from a special grant supposed to be made by the inhabitants of the country at the time of their first conversion unto Christianity; the other from a right which [5]the Pope challengeth unto himself over all islands in general. The former of these was devised of late by an Italian in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; the latter was found out in the days of King Henry the Second, before whose time not one footstep doth appear in all antiquity of any claim that the Bishop of Rome should make to the dominion of Ireland; no, not in the Pope's own records, which have been curiously searched by Nicolaus Arragonius and other ministers of his, who have purposely written of the particulars of his temporal estate. The Italian of whom I speak is Polydore Virgil, he that composed the book *de Inventoribus Rerum*, of the first "inventors of things;" among whom he himself may challenge a place for this invention, if the

[2] Cum juri suo renunciare liberum sit cuilibet, quanquam subjectionis cujuslibet hactenus immunes, his tamen hodie nostris diebus Anglorum Regi Henrico secundo omnes Hiberniæ principes firmis fidei sacramentique vinculis se sponte submiserunt. Girald. Cambrens. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. ii. cap. 7.

[3] Judges xi. 26.

[4] Genebrard. Chronograph. lib. iii. in Sylvest. I. Bellarmin. de Roman. Pontif. lib. v. cap. 9, in fine.

[5] Insulas omnes sibi speciali quodam jure vendicat. Girald. Cambr. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. ii. cap. 7.

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inventors of lies be admitted to have any room in that company. This man, being sent over by the Pope into England [6]for the collecting of his Peter-pence, undertook the writing of the history of that nation; wherein he forgat not by the way to do the best service he could to his lord that had employed him thither. There he telleth an idle tale how the Irish, being moved to accept Henry the Second for their king, "[7]did deny that this could be done otherwise than by the Bishop of Rome's authority; because," forsooth, "that from the very beginning, after they had accepted Christian religion, they had yielded themselves and all that they had into his power. And they did constantly affirm," saith this fabler, "that they had no other lord beside the Pope; of which also they yet do brag."

The Italian is followed herein by two Englishmen, that wished the Pope's advancement as much as he, Edmund Campion and Nicholas Sanders: the one whereof writeth, that "[8]immediately after Christianity was planted here, the whole island with one consent gave themselves not only into the spiritual, but also into the temporal jurisdiction of the See of Rome:" the other in Polydore's own words, though he name him not, that "[9]the Irish from the beginning, presently after they had received the Christian religion, gave up themselves and all that they had into the power of the Bishop of Rome;" and that until the time of King Henry the Second they did "acknowledge no other supreme prince of Ireland beside the Bishop of Rome alone." For confutation of which dream we need not have recourse to our own chronicles; the bull of Adrian the Fourth, wherein he giveth liberty to King Henry the Second to enter upon Ireland, sufficiently discovereth the vanity thereof. For

[6] Nos hanc olim quæsturam aliquot per annos gessimus; ejusque muneris obeundi causa, primum in Angliam venimus. Polydor. Virgil. Anglic. Histor. lib. iv.

[7] Id Hiberni posse fieri, nisi auctoritate Romani Pontificis, negabant, quod jam inde ab initio, post Christianam religionem acceptam, sese ac omnia sua in ejus ditionem dedidissent; atque constanter affirmabant, non alium habere se Dominum, præter ipsum pontificem; id quod etiam nunc jactitant. Id. lib. xiii. Hist. ejusd.

[8] Camp. History of Ireland, lib. ii. cap. 1.

[9] Hiberni initio statim post Christianam religionem acceptam se suaque omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederant; nec quenquam alium supremum Hiberniæ principem ad illud usque tempus præter unum Romanum Pontificem agnoverunt. Sander. Schism. Anglican. lib. i. ad ann. 1542.

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he there shewing what right the Church of Rome pretended unto Ireland, maketh no mention at all of this, which had been the fairest and clearest title that could be alleged, if any such had been then existent *in rerum natura*, but is fain to fly unto a farfetched interest which he saith the Church of Rome hath unto all Christian islands. "[10]Truly," saith he to the king, "there is no doubt but that all islands unto which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received the instructions of the Christian faith, do pertain to the right of Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome; which your nobleness also doth acknowledge."

If you would further understand the ground of this strange claim, whereby all Christian islands at a clap are challenged to be parcel of St Peter's patrimony, you shall have it from Johannes Sarisburiensis, who was most inward with Pope Adrian, and obtained from him this very grant whereof now we are speaking: "[11]At my request," saith he, "he granted Ireland to the illustrious King of England, Henry the Second, and gave it to be possessed by right of inheritance, as his own letters do testify unto this day. For all islands of ancient right are said to belong to the Church of Rome by the donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed the same." But will you see what a goodly title here is in the mean time? *First*, the donation of Constantine hath been long since discovered to be a notorious forgery, and is rejected by all men of judgment as a senseless fiction. *Secondly*, in the whole context of this forged donation I find mention made of islands in one place only; [12]where no more power is given to the Church of Rome over them, than in general over the whole continent, by east and by

[10] Sane omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt, ad jus S. Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere. Bull. Adrian. IV. ad Henr. II. Angl. Reg.

[11] Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico secundo concessit, et dedit Hiberniam jure hæreditario possidendam; sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ, de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere. Johan. Sarisburiens. Metalogic. lib. iv. cap. 42.

[12] Per nostram imperialem jussionem sacram, tam in oriente quam in occidente, vel etiam septentrionali et meridiana plaga, videlicet in Judæa, Græcia, Asia, Thracia, Africa et Italia, vel diversis insulis nostra largitate eis libertatem concessimus; ea prorsus ratione, ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Sylvestri Pontificis successorumque ejus omnia disponantur. Edict. Constantin.

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west, by north and by south, and in particular over Judæa, Græcia, Asia, Thracia, and Africa; which use not to pass in the account of St Peter's temporal patrimony. *Thirdly*, it doth not appear that Constantine himself had any interest in the kingdom of Ireland: how then could he confer it upon another? Some words there be in an oration of [13]Eumenius the rhetorician, by which peradventure it may be collected that his father Constantius bare some stroke here; but that the island was ever possessed by the Romans, or accounted a parcel of the empire, cannot be proved by any sufficient testimony of antiquity. *Fourthly*, the late writers that are of another mind, as Pomponius Lætus, Cuspinian, and others, do yet affirm withal, [14]that in the division of the empire after Constantine's death, Ireland was assigned unto Constantinus the eldest son; which will hardly stand with this donation of the islands supposed to be formerly made unto the Bishop of Rome and his successors. Pope Adrian therefore, and John of Salisbury his solicitor, had need seek some better warrant for the title of Ireland than the donation of Constantine.

John Harding, in his Chronicle, saith that the Kings of of England have right

> [15]To Ireland also, by King Henry (le fitz
> Of Maude, daughter of first King Henry)
> That conquered it, for their great heresy.

Which in another place he expresseth more at large in this manner:

> [16]The King Henry then conquered all Ireland
> By papal doom, there of his royalty,
> The profits and revenues of the land,
> The domination, and the sovereignty.
> For error which again the spiritualty
> They held full long, and would not been correct
> Of heresies, with which they were infect.

[13] Ultra oceanum vero quid erat præter Britanniam? Quæ a vobis ita recuperata est, ut illæ quoque nationes terminis ejusdem insulæ cohærentes vestris nutibus obsequantur. Eumen. Panegyric. ad Constant.

[14] Pomp. Læt. in Roman. Histor. Compend. Jo. Cuspinian. in Cæsarib. Seb. Munster. in Cosmograph. lib. ii.

[15] Harding Chronic. cap. 241.

[16] Ibid. cap. 132.

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Philip Osullevan, on the other side, doth not only deny [17]that Ireland was infected with any heresy, but would also have us believe [18]that the Pope never intended to confer the lordship of Ireland upon the kings of England. For where it is said in Pope Adrian's bull, "[19]Let the people of that land receive thee, and reverence thee as a lord," the meaning thereof is, saith this glosser, [20]Let them reverence thee "as a prince worthy of great honour; not as lord of Ireland, but as a deputy appointed for the collecting of the ecclesiastical tribute." It is true indeed that King Henry the Second, to the end he might the more easily obtain the Pope's good will for his entering upon Ireland, did voluntarily offer unto him "the payment of a yearly pension of one penny out of every house" in the country; which, for aught that I can learn, was the first "ecclesiastical tribute" that ever came unto the Pope's coffers out of Ireland. But that King Henry got nothing else by the bargain but the bare office of collecting the Pope's *Smoke-silver*, (for so we called it here, when we paid it,) is so dull a conceit, that I do somewhat wonder how Osullevan himself could be such a blockhead as not to discern the senselessness of it.

What the king sought for and obtained, is sufficiently declared by them that writ the history of his reign. [21]In the year of our Lord 1155 the first bull was sent unto him by Pope Adrian; the sum whereof is thus laid down in a second bull directed unto him by Alexander the Third, the immediate successor of the other: "[22]Following the steps of reverend Pope Adrian, and attending the fruit of your

[17] Osullevan. Histor. Catholic. Iberniæ, Tom. II. lib. i. cap. 7.

[18] Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 9. and lib. ii. cap. 3.

[19] Illius terræ populus te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur. Bull. Adrian. IV.

[20] Sicut dominum veneretur, id est, ut principem dignum magno honore; non dominum Iberniæ, sed præfectum causa colligendi tributi ecclesiastici. Osullevan. Hist. Ibern. fol. 59. b. in margine.

[21] Robert. de Monte. Roger. de Wendover. Matth. Paris. et Nicol. Trivett. in Chronic. ann. 1155.

[22] Venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inhærentes, vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes, concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, salva beato Petro et sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ, sicut in Anglia, sic in Hibernia, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione, ratam habemus et confirmamus. Bull. Alexandri III. apud Giraldum Cambrens. Histor. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. ii. cap. 6. in Codicibus MS. (in edito enim caput hoc mancum est) et Jo. Rossum Warvicensem, in Tract. de Terris Coronæ Angliæ annexis.

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desire, we ratify and confirm his grant concerning the dominion of the KINGDOM of Ireland conferred upon you; reserving unto St Peter and the holy Church of Rome, as in England so in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house." In this sort did Pope Adrian, as much as lay in him, *give* Ireland unto King Henry, *hæreditario jure possidendam*, "to be possessed by right of inheritance;" and withal "[23]sent unto him a ring of gold set with a fair emerald, for his investiture in the right thereof," as Johannes Sarisburiensis, who was the principal agent betwixt them both in this business, doth expressly testify. After this, in the year 1171, the king himself came hither in person; where the archbishops and bishops of Ireland "[24]received him for their KING and Lord." The king, saith John Brampton, "[25]received letters from every archbishop and bishop, with their seals hanging upon them in the manner of an indenture, confirming the KINGDOM of Ireland unto him and his heirs, and bearing witness that they in Ireland had ordained him and his heirs to be their KINGS and lords for ever." At Waterford, saith Roger Hoveden, "[26]all the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of Ireland, came unto the King of England, and received him for KING and Lord of Ireland; swearing fealty to him and to his heirs, and power to reign over them for ever; and hereof they gave him their instruments. The kings also and princes of

[23] Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia; idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archio publico custodiri jussus est. Jo. Sarisbur. Metalogic. lib. iv. cap. 42, de quo consulendus etiam est Giraldus Cambrens. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. ii. cap. 6.

[24] In regem et dominum receperunt. Roger Wendover, et Matth. Paris. in Historia majori, ann. 1171. Roger Hoveden, in posteriore parte Annalium. Johan. Brampton in Historia Joralanensi et Bartholomæus de Cotton. in Histor. Anglor. MS.

[25] Recepit ab unoquoque archiepiscopo et episcopo literas, cum sigillis suis in modum chartæ pendentibus, regnum Hiberniæ sibi et hæredibus suis confirmantes, et testimonium perhibentes ipsos in Hibernia eum et hæredes suos sibi in reges et dominos in perpetuum constituisse. Jo. Brampton, ibid.

[26] Venerunt ibidem ad Regem Angliæ omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates totius Hiberniæ, et receperunt eum in regem et dominum Hiberniæ; jurantes ei et hæredibus suis fidelitatem, et regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum: et inde dederunt ei chartas suas. Exemplo autem clericorum, prædicti reges et principes Hiberniæ receperunt simili modo Henricum Regem Angliæ in dominum et regem Hiberniæ; et homines sui devenerunt, et ei et hæredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines. Rog. Hoveden, ad ann. 1171.

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Ireland, by the example of the clergy, did in like manner receive Henry, King of England, for Lord and KING of Ireland;" and became "his men," or "did him homage, and swore fealty to him and his heirs against all men."

These things were presently after confirmed in the national Synod held at Cashel; the acts whereof in Giraldus Cambrensis are thus concluded: "[27]For it is fit and most meet, that as Ireland by God's appointment hath gotten a lord and a king from England, so also they should from thence receive a better form of living." King Henry also at the same time "[28]sent a transcript of the instruments of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland unto Pope Alexander, who, by his apostolical authority," (for so was it in those days of darkness esteemed to be,) "did confirm the KINGDOM of Ireland unto him and his heirs, according to the form of the instruments of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland," "[29]and made them KINGS thereof for ever." The king also [30]obtained further from Pope Alexander, "that it might be lawful for him to make which of his sons he pleased KING of Ireland, and to crown him accordingly; and to subdue the kings and great ones of that land which would not subject themselves unto him." Whereupon, in a grand Council held at Oxford in the year of our Lord 1177, "[31]before the bishops and peers of the kingdom he constituted his son John KING of Ireland," "[32]according to that grant and confirmation of Pope Alex-

[27] Dignum etenim et justissimum est, ut sicut dominum et regem ex Anglia sortita est divinitus Hibernia, sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. Girald. Cambrens. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. i. cap. 34.

[28] Rex Angliæ misit transcriptum chartarum universorum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hiberniæ ad Alexandrum Papam; et ipse auctoritate apostolica confirmavit illi et hæredibus suis regnum Hiberniæ, secundum formam chartarum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hiberniæ. Rog. Hoveden.

[29] Nam summus Pontifex regnum illud sibi et hæredibus suis auctoritate apostolica confirmavit; et in perpetuum eos constituit inde reges. Jo. Brampton.

[30] Perquisierat ab Alexandro summo Pontifice, quod liceret ei filium suum quem vellet Regem Hiberniæ facere, et similiter coronare; ac reges et potentes ejusdem terræ, qui subjectionem ei facere nollent, debellare. Id. ad ann. 1177.

[31] Johannem filium suum coram episcopis et regni sui principibus Regem Hiberniæ constituit. Id. ibid. et Gualterus Coventrensis, in ejusdem anni Historia.

[32] Constituit Johannem filium suum regem in Hibernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis. Rog. Hoveden, Annal. part. II. ad ann. 1177.

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ander." And to make the matter yet more sure, in the year 1186, he obtained a new licence from Pope Urban the Third, "[33]that one of his sons, whom he himself would, should be crowned for the KINGDOM of Ireland:" and this the Pope did not only "confirm by his bull," but also the year following purposely sent over Cardinal Octavian and Hugo de Nunant, or Novant, [34]his legates, into Ireland, to crown John the king's son there.

By all this we may see how far King Henry the Second proceeded in this business; which I do not so much note to convince the stolidity of Osullevan, who would fain persuade fools that he was preferred only to be collector of the Pope's Peter-pence, as to shew that Ireland was at that time esteemed a kingdom, and the kings of England accounted no less than kings thereof. And therefore [35]Paul the Fourth needed not make all that noise, and trouble "[36]the whole court of heaven" with the matter, when in the year 1555 he took upon him, by his apostolical authority, such I am sure as none of the Apostles of Christ did ever assume unto themselves, to erect Ireland unto the title and dignity of a kingdom: whereas he might have found, even in his own [37]Roman Provincial, that Ireland was reckoned among the kingdoms of Christendom before he was born; insomuch that in the year 1417, when the legates of the King of England and the French king's ambassadors fell at variance in the Council of Constance for precedency, the

[33] Ab eo impetravit, quod unus quem vellet de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hiberniæ, et hoc confirmavit ei dominus Papa bulla sua; et in argumentum voluntatis et confirmationis suæ, misit ei coronam de penna pavonis auro contextam. Id. ad ann. 1185.

[34] Quibus ipse commisit legatiam in Hiberniam, ad coronandum ibi Johannem filium regis. Sed dominus rex coronationem illam distulit. Id. ad ann. 1187.

[35] Paulus IV. nostris temporibus Hiberniam insulam in regni titulum ac dignitatem erexit. Gabutius in Vita Pii V.

[36] Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem et gloriam, ac gloriosissimæ ejus genitricis Virginis Mariæ, totiusque curiæ cœlestis honorem, et fidei Catholicæ exaltationem, Philippo Rege et Maria Regina nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantibus, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, apostolica auctoritate insulam Hiberniæ in regnum perpetuo erigimus; ac titulo, dignitate, honore, facultatibus, juribus, insigniis, prærogativis, antelationibus, præeminentiis regiis, ac quibus alia Christi fidelium regna utuntur, potiuntur, et gaudent, ac uti, potiri, et gaudere poterunt quomodo libet, in futurum insignimus et decoramus. Bulla Pauli IV. in Rotulo Patentium, ann. 2 et 3 Philippi et Mariæ, in Cancellaria Hiberniæ.

[37] Provinciale ex archivis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ edit. Tomo II. Tractat. Doctor. fol. 344, (impress. Venet. ann. 1548.)

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English orators, among other arguments, alleged this also for themselves: "[38]It is well known, that according to Albertus Magnus, and Bartholomæus in his book *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the whole world being divided into three parts, to wit, Asia, Afric, and Europe, Europe is divided into four kingdoms; namely, the Roman for the first, the Constantinopolitan for the second, the third the kingdom of Ireland, which is now translated unto the English, and the fourth the kingdom of Spain; whereby it appeareth, that the King of England and his kingdom are of the more eminent ancient kings and kingdoms of all Europe; which prerogative the kingdom of France is not said to obtain." And this have I here inserted the more willingly, because it maketh something for the honour of my country, to which I confess I am very much devoted, and in the printed acts of the Council it is not commonly to be had.

But now cometh forth Osullevan again, and, like a little fury, flieth upon [39]the English-Irish priests of his own religion which, in the late rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone, did "not deny that hellish doctrine, fetched out of hell for the destruction of Catholics, that it is lawful for Catholics to bear arms and fight for heretics against Catholics and their country;" or rather, if you will have it in plainer terms, that it is lawful for them of the Romish religion to bear arms and fight for their sovereign and fellow-subjects that are of another profession, against those of their own religion that traitorously rebel against their prince and country. And to shew

[38] Satis constat, secundum Albertum Magnum et Bartholomæum *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, quod toto mundo in tres partes diviso, videlicet Asiam, Africam, et Europam, Europa in quatuor dividitur regna; primum videlicet Romanum, secundum Constantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ, quod jam translatum est in Anglicos, et quartum regnum Hispaniæ. Ex quo patet, quod Rex Angliæ et regnum suum sunt de eminentioribus antiquioribus regibus et regnis totius Europæ; quam prærogativam regnum Franciæ non fertur obtinere. Act. Concil. Constant. Sess. 28, MS. in Bibliotheca Regia. See the Book in the Cottonian Library, *Nero*, in thin folio, collected by the Cardinal of Arragon, &c.

[39] Cujus mali maxima culpa in aliquot Anglo-Ibernos sacerdotes jure transferenda est, qui tartareum dogma ab orco in Catholicorum perniciem emissum non negabant, licere Catholicis contra Catholicos et suam patriam pro hæreticis gerere arma et dimicare. Philip. Osullevan, Hist. Catholic. Iberniæ, Tom. IV. lib. iii. cap. 5, fol. 263, edit. Ulissipon. ann. 1621.

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"[40]how mad and how venomous a doctrine they did bring" (these be the caitiff's own terms) "that exhorted the laity to follow the queen's side," he setteth down the censure of the doctors of the University of Salamanca and Valladolid, published in the year 1603, for the justification of that rebellion, and the declaration of Pope Clement the Eighth's letters touching the same, wherein he signifieth that "[41]the English ought to be set upon no less than the Turks; and imparteth the same favours unto such as set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks." Such wholesome directions doth the Bishop of Rome give unto those that will be ruled by him; far different, I wis, from that holy doctrine wherewith the Church of Rome was at first seasoned by the Apostles: [42]*Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God,* was the lesson that St Paul taught to the ancient Romans. Where if it be demanded, "[43]Whether that power also which persecuteth the servants of God, impugneth the faith, and subverteth religion, be of God?" our countryman Sedulius will teach us to answer with Origen, that "even such a power as that is given of God for the revenge of the evil and the praise of the good;" although he were as wicked as either Nero among the Romans, or Herod among the Jews, the one whereof most cruelly persecuted the Christians, the other Christ himself.

And yet, when the one of them swayed the sceptre, St Paul told the Christian Romans, that they [44]*must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake;* and of the causeless fear of the other these verses

[40] Hæc est Academiarum censura, qua liquido constat, quanta ignoratione et caligine erraverint illi Iberni, qui in hoc bello Protestantibus opem tulerunt, et Catholicos oppugnarunt; quamque insanam et venenosam doctrinam attulerint nonnulli doctiores vulgo habiti, qui seculares homines ad reginæ partes sequendas exhortati, a fide tuenda averterunt. Id. Tom. III. lib. viii. cap. 7, fol. 204.

[41] Cum enim Pontifex dicat Anglos adversus Catholicam religionem pugnare, eosque non minus ac Turcas oppugnari debere; eisdemque gratiis eos oppugnantes prosequatur, quibus contra Turcas pugnantes prosequitur; quis dubitet, bellum ab Anglis adversus exercitum Catholicum omnino iniquum geri? Censur. Doc. Salamantic. et Vallisolet. de Hiberniæ Bello.

[42] Rom. xiii. 1.

[43] Quid? et illa potestas, quæ servos Dei persequitur, fidem impugnat, religionem subvertit, a Deo est? Ad quod respondendum, quod etiam talis potestas a Deo data est, ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum. Sedul. in Rom. xiii.

[44] Rom. xiii. 5.

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of Sedulius are solemnly sung in the Church of Rome even unto this day:

> [45] Herodes hostis impie,
> Christum venire quid times?
> Non eripit mortalia,
> Qui regna dat cœlestia.

> "Why, wicked Herod, dost thou fear,
> And at Christ's coming frown?
> The mortal he takes not away,
> That gives the heavenly crown."

A better paraphrase whereof you cannot have than this, which Claudius hath inserted into his collections upon St Matthew: "[46] That King which is born doth not come to overcome kings by fighting, but to subdue them after a wonderful manner by dying; neither is he born to the end that he may succeed thee, but that the world may faithfully believe in him. For he is come, not that he may fight being alive, but that he may triumph being slain; nor that he may with gold get an army unto himself out of other nations, but that he may shed his precious blood for the saving of the nations. Vainly didst thou by envying fear him to be thy successor, whom by believing thou oughtest to seek as thy Saviour; because if thou didst believe in him thou shouldst reign with him, and as thou hast received a temporal kingdom from him, thou shouldst also receive from him an everlasting. For the kingdom of this Child *is not of this world*, but by him it is that men do reign in this world. He is the wisdom of God, which

[45] Sedul. in Hymno Acrostich. de Vita Christi.

[46] Rex iste qui natus est, non venit reges pugnando superare, sed moriendo mirabiliter subjugare; neque ideo natus est ut tibi succedat, sed ut in eum mundus fideliter credat. Venit enim, non ut regnet vivus, sed ut triumphet occisus; nec sibi de aliis gentibus auro exercitum quærat, sed ut pro salvandis gentibus pretiosum sanguinem fundat. Inaniter invidendo timuisti successorem, quem credendo debuisti quærere salvatorem; quia si in eum crederes, cum eo regnares, et sicut ab illo accepisti temporale regnum, acciperes etiam sempiternum. Hujus enim pueri regnum non est de hoc mundo, sed per ipsum regnatur in hoc mundo. Ipse est etiam sapientia Dei, quæ dicit in Proverbiis, Per me reges regnant. Puer iste Verbum Dei est; Puer iste virtus et sapientia Dei est. Si potes, contra Dei sapientiam cogita; in tuam perniciem versaris, et nescis. Tu enim regnum nullatenus habuisses, nisi ab isto puero qui nunc natus est accepisses. Claud. lib. i. in Matth.

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saith in the Proverbs, *By me kings reign.* This Child is the Word of God; this Child is the power and wisdom of God: if thou canst, think against the wisdom of God; thou workest thine own destruction, and dost not know it. For thou by no means shouldst have had thy kingdom, unless thou hadst received it from that Child which now is born."

As for the censure of the doctors of Salamanca and Valladolid, our nobility and gentry, by the faithful service which at that time they performed unto the crown of England, did make a real confutation of it. Of whose fidelity in this kind I am so well persuaded, that I do assure myself that neither the names of Franciscus Zumel and Alphonsus Curiel, how great schoolmen soever they were, nor of the "Fathers of the Society," Johannes de Ziguenza, Emanuel de Roias, and Gaspar de Mena, nor of the Pope himself, upon whose sentence they wholly ground their resolution, either then was, or hereafter will be, of any force to remove them one whit from the allegiance and duty which they do owe unto their king and country. Nay, I am in good hope that their loyal minds will so far distaste that evil lesson, which those great rabbis of theirs would have them learn, that it will teach them to unlearn another bad lesson wherewith they have been most miserably deluded: for whereas heretofore [47] wise men did learn to give credence to the truth, "by whosoever's mouth it should be delivered," now men are made such fools, that they are taught "[48] to attend in the doctrine of religion, not what the thing is that is said, but what the person is that speaketh it."

But how dangerous a thing it is to have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in respect of persons, and to give entertainment to the truth, not so much for itself as for the regard that is had to the deliverer of it, I wish men

[47] Veritas sapienti nitet, cujuscunque ore prolata fuerit. Gildas, in Cod. Canonum Cottoniano, tit. *De veritate credenda, quocunque ore prolata fuerit.* Similiter Nennius, Præfat. in Historiam Britonum, MSS. in publica Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliotheca: Non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, sed quid dictum sit, veritatis testimonio magis attendendum esse probatur.

[48] In doctrina religionis non quid dicatur, sed quis loquatur attendendum esse. Thom. Stapleton. Defens. Ecclesiast. Auctoritat. lib. iii. cap. 7, et Demonstrat. Principior. Doctrinal. lib. x. cap. 5.

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would learn otherwise than by woeful experience in themselves. "[49]The truth," saith Claudius, "is to be loved for itself, not for the man or for the angel by whom it is preached; for he that doth love it in respect of the preachers of it, may love lies also, if they peradventure shall deliver any." As here, without all "peradventure," the Pope and his doctors have done, unless the teaching of flat rebellion and high treason may pass in the account of Catholic verities. The Lord of his mercy open their eyes, that they may see the light, and give them grace to *receive the love of the truth, that they may be saved!* The Lord likewise grant, if it be his blessed will, that truth and peace may meet together in our days, that we may be all gathered into [50]*one fold* under *one Shepherd*, and that [51]*the whole earth may be filled with his glory! Amen, Amen.*

[49] Veritas propter seipsam diligenda est, non propter hominem, aut propter angelum, per quem adnunciatur. Qui enim propter adnunciatores eam diligit, potest et mendacia diligere, siqua forte ipsa sua protulerint. Claud. in Galat. i.

[50] John x. 16.

[51] Psalm LXXII. 19.

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TO THE READER.

In judging of the religion of our ancestors, we are not to build our conclusion upon every single proposition wherein they either agree with or dissent from us, but upon the main bulk of the substantial points of doctrine which are controverted betwixt us at this day. Therefore the adversary must not imagine that I intend here to make such simple collections as these: Such a man held such a point with us; therefore he was a Protestant—no more than I will allow him to frame the like: Such a man was a monk, or in such or such a particular agreed with the now Church of Rome; therefore he was a Papist. And forasmuch as for any one man we have not sufficient evidences left unto us whereby it may appear what he held in every particular, the only way that now remaineth is to join all of them together, with this presumption, that what one man of note hath delivered, the contrary whereof is not to be found in others of his countrymen who lived about the same time, that is to be supposed to have been the doctrine which was commonly received in those countries at that time.

Hence it is that I oftentimes chain together the saying of divers authors into one context, and insert also sometimes certain sentences of theirs, which do not so much make for any controversy as for the apt connexion of the points, and the illustration of the present head of doctrine there treated of. And although my principal intention in this Discourse was to produce such evidences as might shew the

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agreement that was betwixt our ancestors and us in matter of religion, and to leave the instances which might be alleged for the contrary to them unto whom the maintaining of that part did properly belong; yet I have, upon occasion, touched upon that part also, and brought to light some things which I met withal in such hidden antiquities, as in all likelihood would not have come unto their notice without my discovery.

The *printed* books which I cite lie as open to them as they have done to me; neither need they our help for the collecting of such things out of them as may seem to make for their purpose: I would we were half as careful for the maintenance of the truth that way, as they every day shew themselves to be in not letting slip any manner of advantage which may countenance their superstitions and errors. As for the *manuscripts* which I use, they are partly known to some of them, partly notified in the marginal quotations of the treatise itself, where the place is noted in which they may be found: a great part whereof being gathered together in the rare treasury of that worthy Baronet, Sir Robert Cotton, I thought it not amiss to mark all such with an asterisk (*) in the following Catalogue, to the end that, if any of the other side will be pleased to look into these things, he may with more ease satisfy himself by perusing the chief of these monuments brought thus together into one place, and so as well examine the truth of my allegations, as take up what he shall think meet for the patronage of his own cause; my intention herein being to deal fairly, and not to desire the concealing of any thing that may tend to the true discovery of the state of former times, whether it may seem to make for me or against me.

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A

CATALOGUE OF THE AUTHORS

CITED IN THIS DISCOURSE,

ACCORDING TO THE TIMES WHEREIN THEY FLOURISHED.

AN. DOM.

300. Eumenius Rhetor.

317. Constantinus Magnus, cui ineptissima afficta est Donatio.

330. Eusebius.

380. Amphilochius.

400. Jo. Chrysostomus.

410. Hieronymus.

414. Pelagius et Celestius hæretici.

420. Augustinus.

433. Prosper Aquitanicus.

440. * Patricius.

448. Secundinus.

450. Synodus Patricii, Auxilii et Issernini.

490. Sedulius.

494. Concilium Romanum sub Gelasio.

530. Damascius.

540. Gildas.

* Cogitosus.

580. Venantius Fortunatus.

592. Gregorius I.

600. Columbanus.

AN. DOM.

610. Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus, quorum Epistolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.

620. Taliessinus Bardus.

630. Gallus.

634. Honorius I. cujus Epistolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.

639. Clerus Romanus, cujus Epistolæ ad Hibernos fragmentum habetur apud Bedam.

640. Jonas.

650. * Cummianus.

657. Auctor libri de Mirabilibus S. Scripturæ.

660. Hildephonsus Toletanus.

664. Streneshalchana Synodus, cui interfuerunt Colmanus et Wilfridus.

680. Theodorus Campidonensis, vel quicunque auctor fuit Vitæ Magni sive Magnoaldi.

* Auctor Vitæ Fursei.

690. Adamnanus.

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AN. DOM.

690. Aldhelmus.
700. *Collectio Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ.
720. *Stephanus Presbyter.
730. *Auctor fragmenti de Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum origine.
731. Beda.
745. Bonifacius Moguntinus.
Concilium Romanum II. sub Zacharia P.
760. *Egbertus.
795. Alcuinus.
800. Egilwardus, vel quicunque auctor fuit Vitæ Kiliani.
815. Claudius Scotus.
840. Walafridus Strabus.
850. Anonymus auctor Vitæ Chrysostomi.
Johannes Erigena.
858. *Nennius.
860. Photius.
885. Ælfredus Rex.
890. Leo Imperator.
893. Asser Menevensis.
914. *Howelus Dha.
950. *Fridegodus Probus Brito.
1010. Calvus Perennis.
1022. *Burgenses Dublin.
*Henricus I. Rex Angliæ.
1074. *Lanfrancus.
1080. *Gregorius VII.
1082. *Marianus Scotus.
1085. *Johannes, Sulgeni filius.
1090. Ricemarchus, filius ejusdem.
1095. Anselmus.

AN. DOM.

1100. Gille sive Gillebertus Lumnicensis Episc.
1110. *Gotcelinus Bertinianus.
1123. Eadmerus.
1125. Hildebertus Cenomanensis.
1130. Liber Landavensis Ecclesiæ, vocatus *Tilo.*
1140. Gulielmus Malmesburiensis.
1150. Bernardus Clarævallensis.
1153. Henricus Saltereyensis.
1155. Adrianus IV.
1156. Caradocus Lancarvanensis.
1158. Johannes Sarisburiensis.
1175. Alexander III.
1180. Jocelinus Furnesii monachus.
1185. *Giraldus Cambrensis.
1204. Rogerus Hovedenus.
1210. Robertus de Monte.
Innocentius III.
1216. Tuamensis Archiepisc. et Suffraganeorum rescriptum ad eundem.
1222. Cæsarius Heisterbachensis monachus.
1226. Gualterus Coventriensis.
1235. *Rogerus de Wendover.
1240. *Annalium Dubliniensium fragmentum.
1250. Matthæus Parisiensis.
1281. *Johannes Brampton.
1292. *Bartholomæus de Cotton.
*Annales Melrosensis Cœnobii.
1307. Nicolaus Trivetus.

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AN. DOM.

1347. Pembrigius, auctor prioris partis Annalium Hiberniæ a D. Camdeno editorum.

1357. Ricardus Armachanus.

1366. *Johannes de Tinmouth, Anglicus vulgo dictus.

1384. Gulielmus Andreæ, Midensis episcopus.

1392. Concilium Stanfordiæ sub Gulielmo Cantuariensi.

AN. DOM.

1417. Oratores Angli in Constantiensi Concilio.

1427. *Thomas Casæus.

1438. Marcus Ephesius.

1460. Johannes Capgravius.

1461. Johannes Hardingus.

1480. Johannes Rossus.

1490. Pomponius Lætus.

1494. Baptista Mantuanus.

1500. Jo. Cuspinianus.

1533. Polydorus Virgilius.

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THAT which concerneth the Pope's Supremacy, and the union of other churches with the Church of Rome, I have here handled at large, because upon that only point the Romanists do hazard their whole cause, [1]acknowledging the standing or falling of their church absolutely to depend thereupon. I have somewhat also insisted upon the supreme power which the kings of England have in the temporal state of this realm, and discovered the vanity of the Pope's claim unto it: the exercise of the prince's power in causes ecclesiastical I have touched but incidently, that being a question which requireth explication rather than demonstration. Wherein having been called by authority, the very same time wherein I was making up this treatise, to give satisfaction in a public place of justice unto such as pretended some scruple of conscience that way, I thought good to annex that declaration as a kind of supplement to this present discourse, together with his Majesty's royal approbation of it. Which I have done, not for any vain ostentation, although I have good cause to rejoice in the testimony and perpetual memory of my dear Master; but to stop the mouth of cavillers, who may perhaps object that the king challengeth another manner of authority than that which I ascribe unto him. Which no man will say, who knew

[1] Etenim de qua re agitur, cum de primatu pontificis agitur? brevissime dicam, de summa rei Christianæ. Id enim quæritur, debeatne ecclesia diutius consistere, an vero dissolvi et considere. Bellarm. Præfat. in libros de Rom. Pontif.

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King JAMES to have been, as the most learned and judicious prince that ever sate upon this throne, so the most jealous of his prerogative royal, and the most impatient of the least diminution of the rights and pre-eminences united unto his imperial crown. Whereby you may easily discern, that such as charge the taking that part of the oath of supremacy which concerneth the king's authority in causes ecclesiastical, with "loathsome and base flattery, abominable and blasphemous adulation, shameful heresy and untruth against nature," (these be the flowers of Cardinal Allen's rhetoric,) bewray themselves to be somewhat near of kin unto those false teachers that *speak great swelling words of vanity;* whose characters [2]St Peter and [3]St Jude have long since deciphered, that not only out of their presumption and self-conceitedness *they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities*, but also after a brutish manner take the boldness to *speak evil of those things which they understand not.* From whose seductions I beseech God deliver all his Majesty's true-hearted subjects!

[2] 2 Pet. ii. 10, 12, 18.

[3] Jude 8, 10.

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A

SPEECH

DELIVERED IN

THE CASTLE-CHAMBER AT DUBLIN

THE 22ND NOVEMBER, ANNO 1622,

AT THE CENSURING OF CERTAIN OFFICERS WHO REFUSED TO TAKE THE

OATH OF SUPREMACY.

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A

SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE CASTLE-CHAMBER

CONCERNING THE

OATH OF SUPREMACY.

WHAT the danger of the law is for refusing this oath, hath been sufficiently opened by my Lords the Judges; and the quality and quantity of that offence hath been aggravated to the full by those that have spoken after them. The part which is most proper for me to deal in is, the information of the conscience touching the truth and equity of the matters contained in the oath; which I also have made choice the rather to insist upon, because both the form of the oath itself requireth herein a full resolution of the conscience, as appeareth by those words in the very beginning thereof, "I do utterly testify and declare in my conscience," &c. and the persons that stand here to be censured for refusing the same have alleged nothing in their own defence but only the simple plea of ignorance.

That this point, therefore, may be cleared, and all needless scruples removed out of men's minds, two main branches there be of this oath which require special consideration: the one positive, acknowledging the supremacy of the government of these realms in all causes whatsoever to rest in the king's highness only; the other negative, renouncing all jurisdictions and authorities of any foreign prince or prelate within his Majesty's dominions.

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For the better understanding of the former we are in the first place to call unto our remembrance that exhortation of St Peter, [1]*Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be unto the king, as having the pre-eminence; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* By this we are taught to respect the king, not as "the only governor" of his dominions simply, (for we see there be other governors placed under him,) but ὡς ὑπερέχοντα, as him that excelleth and hath the pre-eminence over the rest, that is to say, according to the tenor of the oath, as him that is "the only supreme governor" of his realms. Upon which ground we may safely build this conclusion, that whatsoever power is incident unto the king by virtue of his place, must be acknowledged to be in him supreme, there being nothing so contrary to the nature of sovereignty as to have another superior power to over-rule it.

Qui rex est, regem, maxime, non habeat.

In the second place, we are to consider that God, for the better settling of piety and honesty among men, and the repressing of profaneness and other vices, hath established two distinct powers upon earth; the one of the keys, committed to the church, the other of the sword, committed to the civil magistrate. That of the keys is ordained to work upon the inner man, having immediate relation to the [2]*remitting* or *retaining* of sins. That of the sword is appointed to work upon the outward man, yielding protection to the obedient, and inflicting external punishment upon the rebellious and disobedient. By the former, the spiritual officers of the Church of Christ are enabled to [3]*govern well*, to [4]*speak* and *exhort* and *rebuke* with all *authority*, to [5]*loose* such as are penitent, to commit others unto the Lord's prison until their amendment, or to bind them over unto the judgment of the great day, if they shall persist in their wilfulness and obstinacy. By the other, princes have an imperious power assigned by God unto them for the defence of such as do well, and executing [6]*revenge* and

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. [2] John xx. 23. [5] Matt. xvi. 19, and xviii. 18.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 17. [4] Tit. ii. 15. [6] Rom. xiii. 4.

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wrath upon such as do evil, whether [7]by *death*, or *banishment*, or *confiscation of goods*, or *imprisonment*, according to the quality of the offence.

When St Peter, that had the keys committed unto him, made bold to draw the sword, he was commanded to [8]put it up, as a weapon that he had no authority to meddle withal. And on the other side, when Uzziah the king would venture upon the execution of the priest's office, it was said unto him, [9]*It pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense.* Let this, therefore, be our second conclusion, that the power of the sword and of the keys are two distinct ordinances of God; and that the prince hath no more authority to enter upon the execution of any part of the priest's function, than the priest hath to intrude upon any part of the office of the prince.

In the third place, we are to observe, that the power of the civil sword, the supreme managing whereof belongeth to the king alone, is not to be restrained unto temporal causes only, but is by God's ordinance to be extended likewise unto "all spiritual or ecclesiastical things and causes;" that as the spiritual rulers of the Church do exercise their kind of government in bringing men unto obedience, not of the duties of the first table alone, which concerneth piety and the religious service which man is bound to perform unto his Creator, but also of the second, which respecteth moral honesty and the offices that man doth owe unto man; so the civil magistrate is to use his authority also in redressing the abuses committed against the first table, as well as against the second, that is to say, as well in punishing of an heretic, or an idolater, or a blasphemer, as of a thief, or a murderer, or a traitor; and in providing by all good means that such as live under his government [10]*may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety and honesty.*

And howsoever by this means we make both prince and priest to be in their several places *custodes utriusque tabulæ*, "keepers of both God's tables," yet do we not hereby any

[7] Ezra vii. 26. [8] Matt. xxvi. 52. [9] 2 Chron. xxvi. 18. [10] 1 Tim. ii. 2.

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way confound both of their offices together; for though the matter wherein their government is exercised may be the same, yet is the form and manner of governing therein always different, the one reaching to the outward man only, the other to the inward; the one binding or loosing the soul, the other laying hold on the body and the things belonging thereunto; the one having special reference to the judgment of the world to come, the other respecting the present retaining or losing of some of the comforts of this life.

That there is such a "[11]civil government" as this in "causes spiritual or ecclesiastical," no man of judgment can deny. For must not heresy, for example, be acknowledged to be a cause merely spiritual or ecclesiastical? and yet by what power is an heretic put to death? The officers of the church have no authority to take away the life of any man: it must be done therefore *per brachium seculare;* and consequently it must be yielded without contradiction, that the temporal magistrate doth exercise therein a part of his civil government in punishing a crime that is of its own nature spiritual or ecclesiastical.

But here it will be said, the words of the oath being general, that the king is "the only supreme governor of this realm and of all other his highness' dominions and countries," how may it appear that the power of the civil sword only is meant by that government, and that the power of the keys is not comprehended therein? I answer, *first*, that where a civil magistrate is affirmed to be "the governor of his own dominions and countries," by common intendment this must needs be understood of a civil government, and may in no reason be extended to that which is merely of another kind. *Secondly*, I say, that where an ambiguity is conceived to be in any part of an oath, it ought to be taken according to the understanding of him for whose satisfaction the oath was ministered. Now, in

[11] As on the other side, that a spiritual or ecclesiastical government is exercised in causes civil or temporal. For is not excommunication a main part of ecclesiastical government, and forest laws a special branch of causes temporal? yet we see in *Sententia lata super Chartas*, anno 12 R. H. III. that the bishops of England pronounce a solemn sentence of excommunication against the infringers of the liberties contained in *Charta de Foresta*.

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this case it hath been sufficiently declared by public authority, that no other thing is meant by the government here mentioned but that of the civil sword only.

For in the book of Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London anno 1562, thus we read: "Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the Sacraments, (the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen doth most plainly testify), but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers."

If it be here objected, that the authority of the Convocation is not a sufficient ground for the exposition of that which was enacted in Parliament, I answer, that these Articles stand confirmed not only by the royal assent of the prince, for the establishing of whose supremacy the oath was framed, but also by a special act of Parliament, which is to be found among the statutes in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 12. Seeing therefore the makers of the law have full authority to expound the law, and they have sufficiently manifested, that by the "supreme government" given to the prince they understand that kind of government only which is exercised with the civil sword, I conclude that nothing can be more plain than this, that without all scruple of conscience the king's majesty may be acknowledged in this sense to be "the only supreme governor of all his highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." And so have I cleared the first main branch of the oath.

I come now unto the second, which is propounded negatively, that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spi-

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ritual, within this realm." The foreigner that challengeth this ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction over us is the Bishop of Rome, and the title whereby he claimeth this power over us is the same whereby he claimeth it over the whole world, because he is St Peter's successor, forsooth. And indeed if St Peter himself had been now alive, I should freely confess that he ought to have spiritual authority and superiority within this kingdom. But so would I say also if St Andrew, St Bartholomew, St Thomas, or any of the other Apostles had been alive. For I know that their commission was very large, to [12]*go into all the world, and to preach the gospel unto every creature;* so that in what part of the world soever they lived, they could not be said to be out of their charge, their apostleship being a kind of an universal bishoprick. If, therefore, the Bishop of Rome can prove himself to be one of this rank, the oath must be amended, and we must acknowledge that he hath ecclesiastical authority within this realm.

True it is, that our lawyers in their year-books by the name of the Apostle do usually design the Pope. But if they had examined his title to that apostleship, as they would try an ordinary man's title to a piece of land, they might easily have found a number of flaws and main defects therein. For, *first,* it would be enquired whether the apostleship was not ordained by our Saviour Christ as a special commission, which, being personal only, was to determine with the death of the first Apostles. For howsoever at their first entry into the execution of this commission we find that [13]Matthias was admitted to the apostleship in the room of Judas, yet afterwards, when James the brother of John was slain by Herod, we do not read that any other was substituted in his place. Nay, we know that the Apostles generally left no successors in this kind, neither did any of the bishops (he of Rome only excepted) that sat in those famous churches wherein the Apostles exercised their ministry, challenge an apostleship or an universal bishoprick by virtue of that succession.

It would, *secondly,* therefore be enquired, what sound evidence they can produce to shew that one of the company

[12] Mark xvi. 15. [13] Acts i. 25, 26.

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was to hold the apostleship as it were in fee for him and his successors for ever, and that the other eleven should hold the same for term of life only? *Thirdly*, if this state of perpetuity was to be cast upon one, how came it to fall upon St Peter rather than upon St John, who outlived all the rest of his fellows, and so, as a surviving feoffee, had the fairest right to retain the same in himself and his successors for ever? *Fourthly*, if that state were wholly settled upon St Peter, seeing the Romanists themselves acknowledge that he was Bishop of Antioch before he was Bishop of Rome, we require them to shew why so great an inheritance as this should descend unto the younger brother, as it were by Borough-English, rather than to the elder, according to the ordinary manner of descents; especially seeing Rome hath little else to allege for this preferment, but only that St Peter was crucified in it, which was a very slender reason to move the Apostle so to respect it. Seeing therefore the grounds of this great claim of the Bishop of Rome appear to be so vain and frivolous, I may safely conclude that he "ought to have no ecclesiastical or spiritual authority within this realm," which is the principal point contained in the second part of the oath.

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James Rex.

Right Reverend Father in God and right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well. You have not deceived our expectation, nor the gracious opinion we ever conceived both of your abilities in learning, and of your faithfulness to us and our service. Whereof as we have received sundry testimonies both from our precedent Deputies, as likewise from our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor the Viscount Falkland, our present Deputy of that realm, so have we now of late in one particular had a further evidence of your duty and affection well expressed by your late carriage in our Castle-chamber there, at the censure of those disobedient magistrates who refused to take the oath of supremacy; wherein your zeal to the maintenance of our just and lawful power, defended with so much learning and reason, deserves our princely and gracious thanks, which we do by this our letter unto you, and so bid you farewell. Given under our signet at our court at Whitehall the 11th of January, 1622, in the 20th year of our reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

To the Right Reverend Father in God
and our right trusty and well-beloved
counsellor the Bishop of Meath.

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A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE

COMMONS' HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

IN

ST MARGARET'S CHURCH AT WESTMINSTER,

THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY, 1620.

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A SERMON,

&c.

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1 Corinthians x. 17.

We being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.

Other entrance I need not make unto my speech at this time, than that which the Apostle himself presenteth unto me in the verse next but one going before my text: *I speak to wise men.* The more unwise might I deem myself to be, who, being so conscious unto myself of my great weakness, durst adventure to discover the same before so grave and judicious an auditory; but that this consideration doth somewhat support me, that no great blame can light herein upon me, but some aspersion thereof must reflect upon yourselves, who happened to make so evil a choice: the more facile I expect you to be in a cause wherein you yourselves are some ways interested.

The special cause of your assembling at this time is, first, that you who profess the same truth may join in one body, and partake together of the same blessed Communion, and then that such as adhere unto false worship may be discovered and avoided; you in your wisdom discerning this holy Sacrament to be as it were *ignis probationis*, which would both *congregare homogenea*, and *segregare heterogenea*, (as in philosophy we use to speak,) both conjoin those that be of the same, and disjoin such as be of a differing kind and disposition. And to this purpose have I made choice of this present text; wherein the Apostle maketh our partaking of the Lord's table to be a testimony,

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not only of the union and communion which we have betwixt ourselves and with our head, which he doth in the express words which I have read, but also of our disunion and separation from all idolatrous worship, as appeareth by the application hereof unto his main drift and intendment, laid down in the 14th and 21st verses.

The effect therefore of that which St Paul in express terms here delivereth, is the "communion of saints;" which consisteth of two parts, the fellowship which they have with the *body* laid down in the beginning, and the fellowship which they have with the *head* laid down in the end of the verse; both which are thus explained by St John: *That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.* 1 John i. 3. Let them therefore that walk in darkness brag as much as they list of their good fellowship; this blessed Apostle assureth us, that such only as do walk in the light [1]*have fellowship one with another,* even as they have fellowship with God and Jesus Christ his Son, whose blood shall cleanse them from all sin. And to what better company can a man come than [2]*to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel?* No fellowship, doubtless, is comparable to this "communion of saints."

To begin therefore with the first part thereof: as the Apostle in the third to the Galatians maketh our being [3]*baptized into Christ* to be a testimony that we *are all one in Christ,* so doth he here make our *partaking of that one bread* to be an evidence that we also are all *one bread and one body* in him. And to the same purpose in the twelfth chapter following, he propoundeth both our baptism and our drinking of the Lord's cup as seals of the spiritual conjunction of us all into one mystical body: [4]*For as the body is one,* saith he, *and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ.*

[1] John i. 6, 7. [2] Heb. xii. 23, 24. [3] Gal. iii. 27, 28. [4] 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13.

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For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. Afterwards he addeth, that we [5]*are the body of Christ, and members in particular;* and in another place also, that [6]*We being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.*

Now, the use which he teacheth us to make of this wonderful conjunction, whereby we are made members of Christ and members one of another, is twofold: 1. *That there should be no schism in the body.* 2. *That the members should have the same care one for another,* 1 Cor. xii. 25. For preventing of schism he exhorteth us, in the fourth to the Ephesians, [7]*to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;* and to make this bond the firmer, he putteth us in mind of *one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all;* by this multiplication of unities declaring unto us, that the knots whereby we are tied together are both in number more, and of far greater moment, than that matters of smaller consequence should dissever us; and therefore that we should *stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel; and in nothing terrified by our adversaries.* Phil. i. 27, 28.

But howsoever God hath thus marshalled his Church in a goodly order, [8]*terrible as an army with banners,* yet such is the disorder of our nature, that many for all this break rank, and the enemy laboureth to breed division in God's house, that so his kingdom might not stand. Nay, oftentimes it cometh to pass that the [9]*watchmen* themselves, who were appointed for the safeguarding of the Church, [10]prove in this kind to be the smiters and wounders of her; and from among them who were purposely ordained in the Church for the bringing of men [11]*into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God,* [12]even from among

[5] 1 Cor. xii. 27.
[6] Rom. xii. 5.
[7] Ephes. iv. 3—6.
[8] Cant. vi. 4.
[9] Cant. v. 7.
[10] Veteres scripturas scrutans, invenire non possum, scidisse ecclesiam et de domo Dei populos seduxisse, præter illos qui sacerdotes a Deo positi fuerant et prophetæ. Hieron.
[11] Ephes. iv. 13.
[12] Acts xx. 30.

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those some do arise that *speak perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.*

Thus we find in the Ecclesiastical History, that after the death of Julian the Apostate "[13]questions and disputes concerning matters of doctrine were freshly set a-foot by those who were set over the churches." Whereupon Sozomen maketh this grave observation: that "[14]the disposition of men is such, that when they are wronged by others they are at agreement among themselves, but when they are freed of evils from abroad, then they make insurrections one against another:" which as we find to be too true by the late experience of our neighbour churches in the Low Countries, so are we to consider with the wise man, that [15]*what hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been;* and be not so inquisitive, why [16]*the former days were better than these? for we do not enquire wisely concerning this.* When like troubles were in the Church heretofore, Isidorus Pelusiota, an ancient Father, moveth the question, "[17]What a man should do" in this case? and maketh answer, that "if it be possible, we should mend it; but if that may not be, we should hold our peace."

The Apostle's resolution, I think, may give sufficient satisfaction in this point to all that have moderate and peaceable minds: [18]*If in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you: nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.* It is not to be looked for, that all good men should agree in all things; neither is it fit that we should, as our adversaries do, put the truth unto compromise, and to the saying of an Achitophel, whose counsel must be accepted, *as if a man had enquired at the oracle of God.* We all agree that the Scriptures of God are the perfect rule of our faith; we all consent in the main grounds of religion drawn from thence; we all subscribe to the articles of doctrine agreed upon in the

[13] Αἱ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ζητήσεις τε καὶ διαλέξεις πάλιν ἀνεκινοῦντο τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Sozomen. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vi. cap. 4.

[14] Οὕτω πη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φίλον, παρ' ἑτέρων μὲν ἀδικουμένοις πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον ὁμονοεῖν, ἀπηλλαγμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς στασιάζειν. Ibid.

[15] Eccles. iii. 15. [16] Eccles. vii. 10.

[17] Τί οὖν ποιητέον; φής. Εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν, διορθωτέον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡσυχαστέον. Isidor. Pelus. lib. iv. Epist. CXXXIII.

[18] Phil. iii. 15, 16.

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Synod of the year 1562, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion." Hitherto, by God's mercy, have we already attained; thus far therefore let us mind the same thing; let not every wanton wit be permitted to bring what fancies he list into the pulpit, and to disturb things that have been well ordered. [19]*I beseech you, brethren,* saith the Apostle, *mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.*

If in some other things we be otherwise minded than others of our brethren are, let us bear one with another, until God shall reveal the same thing unto us; and howsoever we may see cause why we should dissent from others in matter of opinion, yet let us remember, that that is no cause why we should break the king's peace, and make a rent in the Church of God: a thing deeply to be thought of by the Ishmaels of our time, whose [20]*hand is against every man, and every man's hand against* them; who [21]*bite and devour one another* until they *be consumed one of another;* who forsake the fellowship of the saints, and [22]by a sacrilegious separation break this bond of peace. Little do these men consider, how precious the peace of the Church ought to be in our eyes, to be redeemed with a thousand of our lives, and of what dangerous consequence the matter of schism is unto their own souls: for howsoever the schismatic *secundum affectum*, as the schoolmen speak, in his intention and wicked purpose, taketh away unity from the Church, even as he that hateth God doth take away goodness from him as much as in him lieth; yet *secundum effectum*, in truth and in very deed, he taketh away the unity of the Church only from himself; that is, he cutteth himself off from being united with the rest of the body; and being dissevered from the body, how is it possible that he should retain communion with the head?

To conclude therefore this first use which we are to

[19] Rom. xvi. 17. [20] Gen. xvi. 12.

[21] Gal. v. 15.

[22] Vos ergo quare separatione sacrilega pacis vinculum dirupistis? August. lib. ii. de Baptismo contra Donat. Λέγω καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι, ὅτι τοῦ εἰς αἵρεσιν ἐμπεσεῖν τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σχίσαι οὐκ ἔλαττόν ἐστι κακόν. "I say and protest, that to make schism in the Church is no less evil than to fall into heresy." Chrysost. in Ephes. Hom. XI.

make of our communion with the *body*, let us call to mind the exhortation of the Apostle: [23]*Above all things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness: and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body.* [24]*Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!* what a goodly thing it is to behold such an honourable assembly as this is, to be as a house that is [25]*compact together* in itself, holding fit correspondence with the other part of this great body, and due subordination unto their and our Head! Such as wish not well to the public good, and would rejoice at the ruin of our state, long for nothing more than that dissensions should arise here betwixt the members mutually, and betwixt them and their Head.

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

They know full well that [26]*every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every house divided against itself shall not stand;* nor do they forget the politician's old rule, *divide et impera*, "make a division, and get the dominion." The more need have we to look herein unto ourselves, who cannot be ignorant how dolorous *solutio continui*, and how dangerous ruptures prove to be unto our bodies. [27]*If therefore there be any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, fulfil our joy; that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind;* and doing *nothing through strife or vain-glory.* Remember, that as oft as we come unto the Lord's table, so oft do we enter into new bonds of peace, and tie ourselves with firmer knots of love together; this blessed communion being a sacred seal not only of the union which we have with our Head by *faith*, but also of our conjunction with the other members of the body by *love*.

Whereby as we are admonished to maintain unity among ourselves, *that there be no schism*, or *division*, *in the body*, so are we also further put in mind, *that the members should have the same care one for another:* for that is the second use which St Paul teacheth us to make hereof in 1 Cor. xii. 26, which he further amplifieth in the verse next following,

[23] Col. iii. 14, 15.
[24] Psalm cxxxiii. 1.
[25] Psalm cxxii. 3.
[26] Matth. xii. 25.
[27] Phil. ii. 1—3.

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by the mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling which the members of the same body have one with another: for *whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.* And then he addeth, *Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular;* shewing unto us thereby, that as we are all [28]σύσσωμοι καὶ συμμέτοχοι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, concorporated, as it were, and made copartners of the promise in Christ; so we should have one another in our hearts, [29]εἰς τὸ συναποθανεῖν καὶ συζῆν, *to die and live together.* And hereupon is that exhortation in the 13th to the Hebrews grounded: [30]*Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body;* it being a perilous sign that we be no lively members of that body, if we be not sensible of the calamities that lie upon our afflicted brethren. We know the woe that is pronounced against such as are at ease in Sion, and [31]*are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph,* with the judgment following: *Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive.* We know the angel's bitter curse against the inhabitants of Meroz: [32]*Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to help the Lord, to help the Lord against the mighty.* Not as if the Lord did stand in need of our help, or were not able without our assistance to maintain his own cause; but that hereby he would make trial of our readiness to do him service, and prove the sincerity of our love. [33]If we hold our peace and sit still at this time, deliverance shall arise to God's Church from another place; but let us look that the destruction do not light upon us and ours.

I need not make any application of that which I have spoken: the face of Christendom, so miserably rent and torn as it is at this day, cannot but present itself as a rueful spectacle unto all our eyes, and, if there be any bowels in us, stir up compassion in our hearts. Neither need I to be earnest in exciting you to put your helping hands to the making up of these breaches: your forwardness herein

[28] Ephes. iii. 6.
[29] 2 Cor. vii. 3.
[30] Heb. xiii. 3.
[31] Amos vi. 1, 6, 7.
[32] Judg. v. 23.
[33] Esther iv. 14.

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hath prevented me; and instead of petitioning, for which I had prepared myself, hath ministered unto me matter of thanksgiving. A good work is at all times commendable; but the doing of it in fit time addeth much to the lustre thereof, and maketh it yet more goodly. The season of the year is approaching wherein [34]*kings go forth* to battle: the present supply and offer of your subsidy was done in a time most seasonable; being so much also the more acceptable as it was granted [35]*not grudgingly, or of necessity*, but freely and with a willing mind. *God loveth a cheerful giver*, and he *is able to make all grace abound towards you, that ye always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work.*

And thus being by your goodness so happily abridged of that which I intended further to have urged from the conjunction which we have with the *body*, I pass now unto the second part of the Communion of Saints, which consisteth in the union which we all have with one *Head*. For Christ our Head is the main foundation of this heavenly union. Out of him there is nothing but confusion; without him we are nothing but disordered heaps of rubbish; but *in him all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord*; and *in him are we builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit*, Ephes. ii. 21, 22. Of ourselves we are but lost sheep, scattered and wandering upon every mountain. From him it is that there is *one fold and one shepherd*, John x. 16; God having purposed in himself to *gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him*, Ephes. i. 10. This is the effect of our Saviour's prayer, John xvii. 21, *That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us*, &c. *I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.* And this is it which we find so oft repeated by St Paul: *We, being many, are one body in Christ*, Rom. xii. 5; *Ye are all one in Christ Jesus*, Gal. iii. 28. And in the text we have in hand, *We being many are one bread, and one body.* Why? because *we are all partakers of that one bread*; namely, of that

[34] 2 Sam. xi. i.

[35] 2 Cor. ix. 7, 8.

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bread whereof he had said in the words immediately going before, [36] *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*

Under the name of *bread*, therefore, here is comprehended both *panis Domini* and *panis Dominus;* not only the bread of the Lord, but also the Lord himself, who is that *living bread which came down from heaven*, John vi. 51. For as St Peter, saying that [37] *baptism doth save us*, understandeth thereby both the outward part of that Sacrament, (for he expressly calleth it a *figure*,) and more than that too, as appeareth by the explication presently adjoined, *not the putting away of the filth of the flesh*, even the inward purging of our consciences by virtue of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; so St Paul here, making the reason of our union to be our *partaking all of this one bread*, hath not so much respect unto the external bread in the Sacrament, though he exclude not that neither, as unto the true and heavenly bread figured thereby; whereof the Lord himself pronounceth in the sixth of John, [38] *The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;* and, to shew that by partaking of this bread that wonderful union we speak of is effected: [39] *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

It is a lamentable thing to behold how this holy Sacrament, which was ordained by Christ to be a bond whereby we should be knit together in unity, is by Satan's malice and the corruption of man's disposition so strangely perverted the contrary way, that it is made the principal occasion of that woful distraction which we see amongst Christians at this day, and the very fuel of endless strifes and implacable contentions. And forasmuch as these mischiefs have proceeded from the inconsiderate confounding of those things which in their own nature are as different as may be, for the clearer distinguishing of matters we are in the first place to consider, that a Sacrament taken in its full extent comprehendeth two things in it; that which is outward and visible, which the schools [40] call properly *Sacramentum*, in a more strict acception of the

[36] 1 Cor. x. 16. [37] 1 Pet. iii. 21.
[38] John vi. 32, 51. [39] John vi. 56.
[40] P. Lombard. lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. x. B. et Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. II. cap. 48. *Hoc est quod dicimus*, ex Augustino.

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word; and that which is inward and invisible, which they term *rem Sacramenti*, the principal thing exhibited in the Sacrament. Thus in the Lord's Supper, the outward thing which we see with our eyes is *bread and wine*, the inward thing which we apprehend by faith is *the body and blood of Christ:* in the outward part of this mystical action, which reacheth to that which is *Sacramentum* only, we receive this body and blood but sacramentally; in the inward, which containeth *rem*, the thing itself in it, we receive them really: and consequently the presence of these in the one is *relative and symbolical*, in the other *real and substantial.*

To begin, then, with that which is symbolical and relative, we may observe out of the Scripture, which saith that [41] *Abraham received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had being uncircumcised*, that sacraments have a twofold relation to the things whereof they be sacraments, the one of a *sign*, the other of a *seal.* Signs, we know, are relatively united unto the things which they do signify; and in this respect are so nearly conjoined together, that the name of the one is usually communicated unto the other. *This cup is the new testament*, or, the new covenant, saith our Saviour in the institution of the holy Supper, Luke xxii. 20. *This is my covenant*, saith God in the institution of circumcision in the Old Testament, Gen. xvii. 10; but how it was his covenant, he explaineth in the verse immediately following: *Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a* SIGN *of the covenant betwixt me and you.* So words being the signs of things, no sooner is the sound of the word conveyed to our ears, but the notion of the thing signified thereby is presented unto our mind; and thereupon, in the speech of the Scripture, nothing is more ordinary than by the term of [42] *word* to note a *thing.* We read, in the fourth of the first of Samuel, that the Philistines were afraid and said, *God is come into the camp*, verse 7, when the Israelites brought thither *the ark of the covenant of the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth between the cherubims*,

[41] Rom. iv. 11.

[42] So the ten commandments are called *ten words*, Exod. xxxiv. 28. *With God no word shall be unpossible*, that is, no thing, Luke i. 37, &c.

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verse 4, and yet was that no other but this relative kind of presence whereof now we speak; in respect whereof also the *shewbread* is in the Hebrew named לחם הפנים, *the bread of faces*, or, *the presence-bread.* We see with us the room wherein the king's chair and other ensigns of state are placed is called "the chamber of presence," although the king himself be not there personally present. And as the rude and undutiful behaviour of any in that place, or the offering of any disrespect to the king's portraiture, or to the arms royal, or to any other thing that hath relation to his majesty, is taken as a dishonour done unto the king himself; so here, he that eateth the bread and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, is accounted guilty of offering indignity to the [43]*body and blood of the Lord.*

In this sort we acknowledge sacraments to be *signs;* but bare signs we deny them to be: *seals* they are as well as signs of the covenant of grace. As it was therefore said of John the Baptist, that he was [44]*a prophet, and more than a prophet*, so must we say of sacraments, that they be signs, and more than signs; even pledges and assurances of the interest which we have in the heavenly things that are represented by them. He that hath in his chamber the picture of the French King hath but a bare sign, which possibly may make him think of that king when he looketh on it, but sheweth not that he hath any manner of interest in him. It is otherwise with him that hath the king's great seal for the confirmation of the title that he hath unto all the lands and livelihood which he doth enjoy. And as here the wax that is affixed to those letters patents, howsoever for substance it be the very same with that which is to be found everywhere, yet being applied to this use, is of more worth to the patentee than all the wax in the country beside; so standeth it with the outward elements in the matter of the Sacrament. The bread and wine are not changed in substance from being the same with that which is served at ordinary tables; but in respect of the sacred use whereunto they are consecrated, such a change is made that now they differ as much from common bread and wine

[43] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

[44] Matth. xi. 9.

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as heaven from earth. Neither are they to be accounted barely *significative*, but truly *exhibitive* also of those heavenly things whereto they have relation; as being appointed by God to be a means of conveying the same unto us, and putting us in actual possession thereof. So that in the use of this holy ordinance, as verily as a man with his bodily hand and mouth receiveth the earthly creatures, so verily doth he with his spiritual hand and mouth, if any such he have, receive the body and blood of Christ.

And this is that *real and substantial* presence which we affirmed to be in the inward part of this sacred action. For the better conceiving of which mystery, we are to enquire, *first*, what the thing is which we do here receive; *secondly*, how and in what manner we are made partakers of it. Touching the first, the truth which must be held is this, that we do not here receive only the benefits that flow from Christ, but the very *body and blood of Christ*, that is, Christ himself crucified. For as none can be made partaker of the virtue of the bread and wine to his bodily sustenance, unless he first do receive the substance of those creatures; so neither can any participate in the benefits arising from Christ to his spiritual relief, except he first have communion with Christ himself. We must [45]*have the Son* before we *have life;* and therefore [46]*eat* him we must, as himself speaketh, that is, as truly be made partakers of him as we are of our ordinary food, if we will *live* by him. As there is a giving of him on God's part, for [47]*unto us a Son is given*, so there must be a receiving of him on our part; for [48]*as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.* And as we are [49]*called by God unto the communion of Jesus Christ our Lord;* so, if we do *hear his voice*, and not harden our hearts by unbelief, we are indeed made [50]*partakers of Christ.* This is that *great mystery*, (for so the Apostle termeth it,) of our union with Christ, whereby we are made [51]*members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones;* and this is that *eating of the flesh of the Son of man, and drinking of his blood*, which our Saviour insisteth so much upon in the sixth of John.

45 1 John v. 12. 46 John vi. 57. 47 Isaiah ix. 6. 48 John i. 12. 49 1 Cor. i. 9. 50 Heb. iii. 14. 51 Ephes. v. 30, 32.

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Where if any man shall demand, (that I may now come unto the second point of our enquiry,) [52]*How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* he must beware that he come not preoccupied with such dull conceits as they were possessed withal who moved that question there; he must not think that we cannot truly feed on Christ, unless we receive him within our jaws; for that is as gross an imagination as that of Nicodemus, who could not conceive how a man could be [53]*born again* unless he should *enter the second time into his mother's womb*; but must consider that the *eating and drinking* which our Saviour speaketh of must be answerable to the *hungering and thirsting*, for the quenching whereof this heavenly banquet is provided. Mark well the words which he useth toward the beginning of his discourse concerning this argument: [54]*I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. But I said unto you, that ye have also seen me and believe not;* and compare them with those in the end, [55]*It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life. But there are some of you that believe not.* Now observe, that such as our hungering is, such is our eating. But every one will confess that the hunger here spoken of is not corporal, but spiritual; why then should any man dream here of a corporal eating? Again, the corporal eating, if a man might have it, would not avail anything to the slaking of this hunger; nay, we are expressly told, that *the flesh* thus taken, for so we must understand it, *profiteth nothing;* a man should never be the better, nor one jot the holier, nor any whit further from the second death, if he had filled his belly with it. But the manner of feeding on this flesh which Christ himself commendeth unto us, is of such profit, [56]that it preserveth the eater from death, and maketh him to live for ever. It is not therefore such an eating that every man who bringeth a bodily mouth with him may attain unto; but it is of a far higher nature, namely, a spiritual uniting of us unto Christ, whereby he dwelleth in us, and we live by him.

[52] John vi. 52.
[53] John iii. 4.
[54] John vi. 35, 36.
[55] John vi. 63, 64.
[56] John vi. 50, 51, 54, 58.

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If any one do further enquire, how it is possible that any such union should be, seeing the body of Christ is in heaven and we are upon earth? I answer, that if the manner of this conjunction were carnal and corporal, it would be indeed necessary that the things conjoined should be admitted to be in the same place; but it being altogether spiritual and supernatural, no local presence, no physical nor mathematical continuity or contiguity, is any way requisite thereunto. It is sufficient for the making of a real union in this kind, that Christ and we, though never so far distant in place each from other, be knit together by those spiritual ligatures which are intimated unto us in the words alleged out of the sixth of John; to wit, the *quickening Spirit* descending downward from the head to be in us a fountain of supernatural life; and a *lively faith*, wrought by the same Spirit, ascending from us upward to lay fast hold upon him, who, [57]*having by himself purged our sins, sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high.*

First, therefore, for the communion of the Spirit, which is the ground and foundation of this spiritual union, let us call to mind what we have read in God's book: that Christ, the second Adam, [58]*was made a quickening spirit*, and that he [59]*quickeneth whom he will;* that unto him [60]*God hath given the Spirit without measure;* and [61]*of his fulness have all we received;* that [62]*he that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit;* and that [63]*hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us his Spirit.* By all which it doth appear, that the mystery of our union with Christ consisteth mainly in this: that the selfsame Spirit which is in him, as in the head, is so derived from him into every one of his true members, that thereby they are animated and quickened to a spiritual life. We read in the first of Ezekiel of four living creatures and of four wheels standing by them. *When those went*, saith the text, *these went; and when those stood, these stood; and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them.* He that should behold such a vision as this would easily conclude by that which he saw, that some invisible bands there were

[57] Heb. i. 3. [58] 1 Cor. xv. 45. [59] John v. 21. [60] John iii. 34. [61] John i. 16. [62] 1 Cor. vi. 17. [63] 1 John iii. 24; iv. 13.

by which these wheels and living creatures were joined together, howsoever none did outwardly appear unto the eye; and the Holy Ghost, to give us satisfaction herein, discovereth the secret, by yielding this for the reason of this strange connexion, that *the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels*, Ezekiel i. 21. From whence we may infer, that things may truly be joined together, though the manner of the conjunction be not corporal, and that things distant in place may be united together by having the spirit of the one communicated unto the other.

Nay, if we mark it well, we shall find it to be thus in every of our own bodies, that the formal reason of the union of the members consisteth not in the continuity of the parts, though that also be requisite to the unity of a natural body, but in the animation thereof by one and the same spirit. If we should suppose a body to be as high as the heavens, that the head thereof should be where Christ our Head is, and the feet where we his members are, no sooner could that head think of moving one of the toes but instantly the thing would be done, without any impediment given by that huge distance of the one from the other. And why? because the same soul that is in the head, as in the fountain of sense and motion, is present likewise in the lowest member of the body. But if it should so fall out that this or any other member proved to be mortified, it presently would cease to be a member of that body, the corporal conjunction and continuity with the other parts notwithstanding. And even thus it is in Christ, although in regard of his corporal presence [64]*the heaven must receive him until the times of the restitution of all things;* yet is he here [65]*with us alway, even unto the end of the world*, in respect of the presence of his Spirit; by the vital influence whereof from him, as from the head, [66]*the whole body is fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part.* Which quickening Spirit, if it be wanting in any, no external communion with Christ or his Church can make him a true member of this mystical body, this being a most sure

[64] Acts iii. 21. [65] Matt. xxviii. 20. [66] Ephes. iv. 16.

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principle, that *he which hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his*, Rom. viii. 9.

Now, among all the graces that are wrought in us by the Spirit of Christ, the soul as it were of all the rest, and that whereby [67]*the just doth live*, is faith. [68]*For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith*, saith St Paul to the Galatians. And again, [69]*I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.* By faith it is that we do [70]*receive* Christ, and so likewise [71]Christ *dwelleth in our hearts by faith.* Faith, therefore, is that spiritual mouth in us whereby we *eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood*, that is, as the Apostle expresseth it without the trope, [72]*are made partakers of Christ;* he being by this means as truly and every ways as effectually made ours as the meat and drink which we receive into our natural bodies.

But you will say, If this be all the matter, what do we get by coming to the Sacrament, seeing we have faith and the quickening Spirit of Christ before we come hither? To this I answer, that the Spirit is received [73]in divers measures, and faith bestowed upon us in different degrees, by reason whereof our conjunction with Christ may every day be made straiter, and the hold which we take of him firmer. To receive the Spirit [74]*not by measure*, is the privilege of our Head: we that [75]*receive out of his fulness* have not our portion of grace delivered unto us all at once, but must daily look for [76]*supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.* So also, while we are in this world, [77]*the righteousness of God is revealed* unto us *from faith to faith*, that is, from one degree and measure of it to another; and consequently we must still labour to [78]*perfect that which is lacking in our faith*, and evermore pray with the Apostles, [79]*Lord, increase our faith.* [80]*As we have, therefore, received*

[67] Habak. ii. 4; Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38.

[68] Gal. v. 5.

[69] Gal. ii. 20.

[70] John i. 12.

[71] Ephes. iii. 17.

[72] Heb. iii. 14.

[73] Aliud est nasci de Spiritu, aliud pasci de Spiritu, saith St Augustine *de Verbis Domini*, Serm. XI. By the one we have life, by the other we have it more abundantly. John x. 10.

[74] John iii. 34.

[75] John i. 16.

[76] Phil. i. 19.

[77] Rom. i. 17.

[78] 1 Thess. iii. 10.

[79] Luke xvii. 5.

[80] Coloss. ii. 6, 7.

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Christ Jesus the Lord, so must we *walk in him, rooted and built up in him, and stablished in the faith,* that we [81]*may grow up into him in all things, which is the Head.* And to this end God hath ordained public officers in his Church, [82]*for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;* and hath accordingly [83]*made them able ministers of the Spirit that quickeneth,* and [84]*ministers by whom we should believe, even as the Lord shall give to every man.* When we have, therefore, received [85]the Spirit and [86]faith, and so spiritual life, by their ministry, we are not there to rest, but [87]*as new-born babes we must desire the sincere milk of the word, that we may grow thereby;* and as grown men too we must desire to be fed at the Lord's table, that by the strength of that spiritual repast we may be enabled to do the Lord's work, and may continually be nourished up thereby in the life of grace unto the life of glory.

Neither must we here with a fleshly eye look upon the meanness of the outward elements, and have this faithless thought in our hearts, that there is no likelihood a bit of bread and a draught of wine should be able to produce such heavenly effects as these. For so we should prove ourselves to be no wiser than [88]Naaman the Syrian was, who, having received direction from the man of God that he should wash in Jordan seven times, to be cleansed of his leprosy, replied with indignation, *Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them, and be clean?* But as his servants did soberly advise him then, *If the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it? How much rather then when he saith to thee, Wash, and be clean?* so give me leave to say unto you now, If the Lord had commanded us to do some great thing for the attaining of so high a good, should not we willingly have done it? How much rather then when he biddeth us to eat the bread and drink the wine that he

[81] Ephes. iv. 15. [82] Eph. iv. 12, 13. [83] 2 Cor. iii. 6. [84] 1 Cor. iii. 5.
[85] Gal. iii. 2. [86] John xvii. 20. [87] 1 Pet. ii. 2. [88] 2 Kings v. 12, 13.

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hath provided for us at his own table, that by his blessing thereupon we may grow in grace, and be preserved both in body and soul unto everlasting life?

True it is indeed, these outward creatures have no natural power in them to effect so great a work as this is, no more than the water of Jordan had to recover the leper; but the work wrought by these means is supernatural, and God hath been pleased, in the dispensation both of the word and of the Sacraments, so to ordain it that these heavenly treasures should be presented unto us [89]*in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be of God.* As therefore in the preaching of the gospel the minister doth not *dare verba*, and beat the air with a fruitless sound, but the words that he speaketh unto us are spirit and life, [90]*God being pleased by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe;* so likewise in the administration of the Lord's Supper, he doth not feed us with bare bread and wine, but if we have the life of faith in us, (for still we must remember that this table is provided not for the dead, but for the living), and come worthily, [91]*the cup of blessing which he blesseth* will be unto us *the communion of the blood of Christ*, and *the bread which he breaketh the communion of the body of Christ;* of which precious body and blood we being really made partakers, that is, in truth and in deed, and not in imagination only, although in a spiritual and not a corporal manner, the Lord doth [92]*grant us, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man*, that we may *be filled with all the fulness of God.* For the Sacraments, as well as the word, be a part of that *ministration of the Spirit* which is committed to the [93]*ministers of the New Testament;* forasmuch as *by one Spirit* (as before we have heard from the Apostle) [94]*we have been all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.*

And thus have I finished the first part of my task, my *Congregatio homogeneorum*, as I call it, "the knitting together of those that appertain to the same body both with their fellow-members and with their Head;" which is the thing laid down in the express words of my text. It

[89] 2 Cor. iv. 7.
[90] 1 Cor. i. 21.
[91] 1 Cor. x. 16.
[92] Ephes. iii. 16, 19.
[93] 2 Cor. iii. 6, 8.
[94] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

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remaineth now, that I proceed to the Apostle's application hereof unto the argument he hath in hand, which is *Segregatio heterogeneorum*, "a dissevering of those that be not of the same communion," that the faithful may not partake with idolaters by countenancing or any way joining with them in their ungodly courses. For that this is the main scope at which St Paul aimeth in his treating here of the Sacrament, is evident both by that which goeth before in the 19th verse, *Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry*, and that which followeth in the 21st, *Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.*

Whereby we may collect thus much, that as the Lord's Supper is a seal of our conjunction one with another and with Christ our Head, so is it an evidence of our disjunction from idolaters, binding us to disavow all communion with them in their false worship. And, indeed, the one must necessarily follow upon the other, considering the nature of this heinous sin of idolatry is such that it can no ways stand with the fellowship which a Christian man ought to have both with the Head and with the body of the Church. To this purpose in the sixth of the second to the Corinthians we read thus: [95] *What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you*; and in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, [96] *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.* In which words the Apostle sheweth unto us that such as, under pretence of humility, were drawn to the worshipping of angels, did *not hold the Head*, and consequently could not retain communion with the *body*, which receiveth

[95] 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17. [96] Col. ii. 18, 19.

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its whole growth from thence. Answerably whereunto the Fathers assembled out of divers provinces of Asia in the Synod held at Laodicea, not far from the Colossians, did solemnly conclude, that "[97]Christians ought not to forsake the Church of God, and go and invocate angels," and pronounced an *anathema* against any that should be found to do so, "[98]because," say they, "he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and given himself to idolatry;" declaring plainly, that by this idolatrous invocation of angels a discession was made both from the Church of God, as they note in the beginning, and from Christ the Head of the Church, as they observe in the end of their canon.

For the further understanding of this particular it will not be amiss to consider what Theodoret, a famous bishop of the ancient Church, hath written of this matter in his Commentary upon the second to the Colossians, that is, "They that defended the law," saith he, "induced them also to worship the angels, saying that the law was given by them. And this vice continued in Phrygia and Pisidia for a long time, for which cause also the Synod assembled in Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia, forbade them by a law to pray unto angels. And even to this day among them and their borderers there are oratories of St Michael to be seen. This, therefore, did they counsel to be done, using humility, and saying, that the God of all was invisible, and inaccessible, and incomprehensible; and that it was fit men should get God's favour by the means of angels. And this is it which the Apostle saith, *In humility and worshipping of angels*." Thus far Theodoret, whom Cardinal Baronius discerning to come somewhat close unto him, and to touch the idolatry of the popish crew a little to the quick, leaveth the poor shifts wherewith his companions labour to obscure the light of this testimony, and telleth us plainly, that "[99]Theodoret, by his leave, did not well

[97] Concil. Laodicen. Can. xxxv. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν, that is, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι, or, εὔχεσθαι ἀγγέλοις, as Theodoret expoundeth these words of the Canon, in cap. ii. et iii. Epist. ad Coloss.

[98] Ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσῆλθεν.

[99] Ex his videas, quod necessario dicendum est, Theodoretum haud satis feliciter, ejus pace sit dictum, assecutum esse Pauli verborum sensum. Baron. Annal. Tom. I. Ann. LX. sect. 20.

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understand the meaning of Paul's words;" and [100]that those oratories of St Michael were erected "anciently by Catholics," and not by those "heretics" which were condemned in the Council of Laodicea, as he mistook the matter. As if any wise man would be persuaded upon his bare word, that the memory of things done in Asia so long since should be more fresh in Rome at this day than in the time of Theodoret, who lived twelve hundred years ago.

Yet must I needs confess, that he sheweth a little more modesty herein than Bellarmine his fellow-cardinal doth, who would make us believe that the place in the nineteenth of the Revelation, where the angel saith to St John, that would have worshipped him, *See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant; worship God*, maketh for them; and demandeth very soberly, "[101]Why they should be reprehended who do the same thing that John did?" and, "Whether the Calvinists knew better than John whether angels were to be adored or no?" And as for invocation of them, he telleth us that [102]St Jacob plainly prayed unto an angel in the forty-eighth of Genesis, when in blessing the sons of Joseph he said, *The angel which delivered me from all evil bless those children.* Whom for answer we remit to St Cyril, in the first chapter of the third book of his Thesaurus, and entreat him to tell us how near of kin he is here to those heretics of whom St Cyril there speaketh. His words be these: "That he doth not mean," in that place, Genesis XLVIII. 16, "an angel, as the HERETICS understand it, but the Son of God, is manifest by this, that when he had said, *The angel*, he presently addeth, *who delivered me from all evils*:" which St Cyril presupposeth no good Christian will ascribe to any but to God alone.

But to come more near yet unto that which is idolatry most properly. An idol, we must understand, in the exact propriety of the term, doth signify any image; but according to the ecclesiastical use of the word it noteth such an image as is set up for religious adoration. And in this

[100] Incaute nimis, quæ a Catholicis essent antiquitus instituta, hæreticis, quorum nulla esset memoria, tribuens. Id. ibid.

[101] Cur nos reprehendimur, qui facimus quod Johannes fecit? num melius Johanne norunt Calvinistæ, sintne angeli adorandi? Bellar. de Sanctor. Beatitud. lib. i. cap. 14.

[102] Hic aperte S. Jacob angelum invocavit. Id. ibid. cap. 19.

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latter sense we charge the adherents of the Church of Rome with gross [103]idolatry; because that, contrary to God's express commandment, they are found to be worshippers of images. Neither will it avail them here to say, that the idolatry forbidden in the Scripture is that only which was used by Jews and Pagans. The Apostle, indeed, in this place dehorting Christians from idolatry, propoundeth the fall of the Jews in this kind before their eyes: [104]*Neither be ye idolaters*, saith he, *as some of them* were. And so doth he also add concerning another sin, in the verse following: *Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed.* As well, then, might one plead that Jewish or heathenish fornication were here only reprehended, as Jewish or heathenish idolatry. But as the one is a foul sin, whether it be committed by Jew, Pagan, or Christian; so if such as profess the name of Christ shall practise that which the word of God condemneth in Jews and Pagans for idolatry, their profession is so far from diminishing, that it augmenteth rather, the heinousness of the crime. [105]*The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men's hands*, saith the Psalmist; and so the idols (of Christians, in all likelihood) mentioned in the Revelation are said to be [106]*of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood; which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk.* The description of these idols, we see, agreeth in all points with popish images: where is any difference?

The heathen, say they, held the images themselves to be gods, which is far from our thought. Admit some of the simpler sort of the heathen did so; what shall we say of the Jewish idolaters, of whom the Apostle here speaketh, who erected the golden calf in the wilderness? Can we think that they were all so senseless as to imagine that the calf, which they knew was not at all *in rerum natura*, and had no being at that time when they came out of Egypt, should yet be that [107]*God which brought them up out of the land of Egypt?* And for the heathen, did the Romans and Grecians, when they dedicated in several places an hundred images, for example, to the honour of Jupiter, the king of all their gods, think that thereby they had made an hundred

[103] See for this the excellent Homily of the Peril of Idolatry.

[104] 1 Cor. x. 7, 8.

[105] Psalm cxxxv. 15.

[106] Rev. ix. 20.

[107] Exod. xxxii. 4.

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Jupiters? or, when their blocks were so old that they had need to have new placed in their stead, did they think by this change of their images that they made change also of their gods? Without question they must so have thought, if they did take the very images themselves to be their gods; and yet the Prophet bids us consider diligently, and we shall find that the heathen nations *did not change their gods*, Jerem. ii. 10, 11. Nay, what do we meet with more usually in the writings of the Fathers than these answers of the heathens for themselves? "[108]We worship the gods by the images." "[109]We fear not them, but those to whose image they are made, and to whose names they are consecrated." "[110]I do not worship that stone, nor that image which is without sense." "[111]I neither worship the image nor a spirit in it; but by the bodily portraiture I do behold the sign of that thing which I ought to worship."

But admit they did not account the image itself to be God, will the Papist further say, yet were those images set up to represent either things that had no being, or devils, or false gods, and in that respect were idols; whereas we erect images only to the honour of the true God, and of his servants the saints and angels. To this I might oppose that answer of the heathen to the Christians: "[112]We do not worship evil spirits: such as you call angels, those do we also worship, the powers of the great God, and the ministers of the great God;" and put them in mind of St Augustine's reply: "[113]I would you did worship them; you should easily learn of them not to worship them." But I will grant unto them that many of the idolatrous Jews' and heathens' images were such as they say they were; yet I deny that all of them were such, and confidently do avouch, that idolatry is committed by yielding adoration to an image

[108] Deos per simulacra veneramur. Arnob. lib. vi. advers. Gentes.

[109] Non ipsa, inquiunt, timemus, sed eos ad quorum imaginem ficta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt. Lact. Divin. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[110] Non ego illum lapidem colo, nec illud simulacrum quod est sine sensu. Augustin. in Psal. xcvi.

[111] Nec simulacrum nec dæmonium colo; sed per effigiem corporalem ejus rei signum intueor, quam colere debeo. Id. in Psal. cxiii. Conc. 2.

[112] Non colimus mala dæmonia: angelos quos dicitis, ipsos et nos colimus, virtutes Dei magni, et ministeria Dei magni. Id. in Psal. xcvi.

[113] Utinam ipsos colere velletis; facile ab ipsis disceretis non illos colere. Id. ibid.

of the true God himself. For proof whereof (omitting the idols of [114] Micah and [115] Jeroboam, which were erected to the memory of Jehovah the God of Israel, as also the Athenians' superstitious worship of the [116] *unknown God*, Acts xvii. 23, if, as the common use of idolaters was, they added an image to their altar,) I will content myself with these two places of Scripture, the one whereof concerneth the Jews, the other the heathen. That which toucheth the heathen is in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where the Apostle having said that God had shewed unto them that which might be known of him, and that *the invisible things of him*, that is, *his eternal power and Godhead*, was manifested unto them by the creation of the world and the contemplation of the creatures; he addeth presently, that God was sorely displeased with them, and therefore gave them up unto vile affections, because *they changed the glory of that uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible men, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.* Whereby it is evident, that the idolatry condemned in the wisest of the heathen was the adoring of the invisible God, whom they acknowledged to be the Creator of all things, in visible images fashioned to the similitude of men and beasts.

The other place of Scripture is the fourth of Deuteronomy, where Moses useth this speech unto the children of Israel: *The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice*, verse 12. And what doth he infer upon this? *Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves*, saith he in the 15th verse, *for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire: lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of*

[114] Judges xvii. 3, 13.

[115] 2 Kings x. 16, 29, 31.

[116] Trebellius Pollio, in the Life of Claudius, calleth the God of Moses *incertum Numen*; so doth Lucan the God of the Jews, Pharsal. lib. ii. *Et dedita sacris Incerti Judæa Dei.* As therefore the Jews, by the relation of Tacitus, Hist. lib. ii. worshipped their God in mount Carmel, *non simulacro aut templo, sed ara tantum*; so it might be that the Athenians also did the like, especially if we consider that their *ara misericordiæ* (which possibly might be the same with this) is thus described by Statius, lib. xii. Thebaidos: *Nulla autem effigies, nulli commissa metallo Forma Dei; mentes habitare et pectora gaudet.*

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any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth. Where we may observe, *first*, that God in the delivery of the law did purposely use a voice only, because that such a creature as that was not to be expressed by visible lineaments, as if that voice should have said unto the painter as Echo is feigned to do in the [117] Poet:

> Vane, quid affectas faciem mihi ponere, pictor?
> Si mihi vis similem pingere, pinge sonum.

Secondly, that when he uttered the words of the second commandment in mount Sinai, and forbade the making of the likeness of any thing *that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth*, he did at that time forbear to shew himself in any visible shape, either of man or woman, either of beast in the earth, fowl in the air, or fish in the waters beneath the earth, to the end it might be the better made known that it was his pleasure not to be adored at all in any such forms, and that the worshipping of images, not only as they have reference to the creatures whom they do immediately represent, or to false gods, but also as they have relation to himself, the true God, who was then speaking unto them in the mount, did come within the compass of the idolatry which was condemned in that commandment.

In vain, therefore, do the Romanists go about to persuade us that their images be no idols, and as vainly also do they spend time in curiously distinguishing the several degrees of worship; the highest point whereof, which they call *Latreia*, and acknowledge to be due only unto God, they would be loth we should think that they did communicate to any of their images. But here we are to understand, first of all, that idolatry may be committed by giving not the highest only, but also the lowest degree of religious adoration unto images; and therefore, in the words of the commandment, the very *bowing down unto them*, which is one of the meanest degrees of worship, is expressly for-

[117] Ausonius, Epigram. XI.

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bidden. *Secondly*, that it is [118] the received doctrine of Popish divines, that the image should be honoured with the same worship wherewith that thing is worshipped whose image it is; and therefore what adoration is due to Christ and the Trinity, the same by this ground they are to give unto their images. *Thirdly*, that in the Roman Pontifical published by the authority of Clement the Eighth, (to omit other testimonies in this kind), it is concluded, [119] that the cross of the Pope's legate shall have the right hand, upon this very reason, *quia debetur ei latria*, "because the worship proper to God is due to it." Now whether they commit idolatry, who communicate unto a senseless thing that worship which they themselves confess to be due unto God alone, let all the world judge.

They were best, therefore, from henceforth confess themselves to be idolaters, and stand to it that every kind of idolatry is not unlawful. Their Jesuit, [120] Gregorius de Valentia, will tell them for their comfort, that it is no absurdity to think that St Peter, when he deterreth the faithful by name *ab illicitis idolorum cultibus*, (ἀθεμίτους εἰδωλολατρείας St Peter calleth them, that is *abominable idolatries*), doth insinuate thereby that [121] some worship of images is lawful. John Monceye, the Frenchman, in his *Aaron Purgatus*, dedicated to the late Pope Paul the Fifth, and in his twenty questions propounded to Visorius, stretcheth yet a strain higher. For howsoever he cannot away with the name of idols and idolatry, yet he liketh the thing itself so well, that he undertaketh to clear Aaron from committing any error in setting up the golden calf, and laboureth to purge Laban, and Micah, and Jeroboam too, from the imputation of idolatry, having found indeed that nothing had been done by them in this kind which is not agreeable to the practice of the Roman Church at this day.

And lest the poor people, whom they have so miserably abused, should find how far they have been misled, we see that the masters of that Church do, in the service-books

[118] Constans est theologorum sententia, imaginem eodem honore et cultu honorari et coli, quo colitur id cujus est imago. Azor. Institut. Moral. part. I. lib. ix. cap. 6.

[119] Crux legati, quia debetur ei latria, erit a dextris. Pontifical. edit. Roman. p. 672.

[120] Gregor. Valent. Apol. de Idololatr. lib. ii. cap. 7.

[121] Some idolatry, he should say; for that is St Peter's word. 1 Pet. iv. 3.

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and catechisms which come unto the hands of the vulgar, generally leave out the words of the second commandment that make against the adoration of images, fearing lest by the light thereof the mystery of their iniquity should be discovered. They pretend, indeed, that this commandment is not excluded by them, but included only in the first; whereas in truth they do but craftily conceal it from the people's eyes, because they would not have them to be ruled by it. Nay, [122]Vasquez the Jesuit doth boldly acknowledge, that it plainly appeareth by comparing the words of this commandment with the place which hath been alleged out of the fourth of Deuteronomy, that the Scripture did not only forbid the worshipping of an image for God, but also the adoration of the true God himself in an image. He confesseth further, that he and his fellow-Catholics do otherwise. What saith he then to the commandment, think you? Because it will not be obeyed it must be repealed, and not admitted to have any place among the moral precepts of God. [123]It was, saith he, a positive and ceremonial law, and therefore ought to cease in the time of the Gospel. And as if it had not been enough for him to match the scribes and Pharisees in impiety, who [124]*made the commandment of God of none effect, that they might keep their own tradition*, that he might fulfil the measure of his fathers, and shew himself to be a true child of her who beareth the name of being [125]*the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*, he is yet more mad, and sticketh not to maintain, that not only a painted [126]image, but any other thing of the world, whether it be without life and reason, or whether it be a reasonable creature, may (in the nature of the thing, and if the matter be discreetly handled) be adored with God, as his image; yea, and counteth it no absurdity at all, that a very wisp of straw should be thus worshipped.

But let us [127]*turn yet again*, and we shall *see greater*

[122] Gab. Vasquez. de Adorat. lib. ii. Disput. IV. cap. 3, sect. 74, 75.

[123] Cum fuerit juris positivi et cæremonialis illa legis Mosaicæ prohibitio, tempore legis evangelicæ debuit cessare, atque id, quod alias jure naturali licitum et honestum est, ut imagines depingere, et illis etiam uti ad adorationem, in lege evangelica locum habere debet. Vasquez. ibid. cap. 4, sect. 84.

[124] Matt. xv. 6; Mark vii. 9.

[125] Rev. xvii. 5.

[126] Vasquez. de Adorat. lib. iii. Disput. I. cap. 2, sect. 5, 8, 10.

[127] Ezek. viii. 15.

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abominations than these. We heard how this blessed Sacrament, which is here propounded by the Apostle as a bond to unite Christians together in one body, hath been made the apple of strife, and the occasion of most bitter breaches in the Church: we may now observe again, that the same holy Sacrament, which by the same Apostle is here brought in as a principal inducement to make men *flee from idolatry*, is by our adversaries made the object of the grossest idolatry that ever hath been practised by any. For their constant doctrine is, that in worshipping the Sacrament they should give unto it [128] *latriæ cultum qui vero Deo debetur*, as the Council of Trent hath determined, "that kind of service which is due to the true God;" determining their worship in that very thing which the priest doth hold betwixt his hands. Their practice also runs accordingly; for an instance whereof we need go no further than to Sanders's book of the Lord's Supper, before which he hath prefixed an epistle dedicatory, superscribed in this manner: "To the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, under the forms of bread and wine, all honour, praise, and thanks be given for ever:" adding further in the process of that blockish epistle, "Howsoever it be with other men, I adore thee, my God and Lord really present under the forms of bread and wine, after consecration duly made; beseeching thee of pardon for my sins, &c."

Now, if the conceit which these men have concerning the Sacrament should prove to be false, (as indeed we know it to be most absurd and monstrous), their own Jesuit Coster doth freely confess, that they should be in such an "error and idolatry, *qualis in orbe terrarum nunquam vel visus vel auditus fuit*, as never was seen or heard of in this world." "[129] For the error of them is more tolerable," saith he, "who worship for God a statue of gold or silver, or an image of any other matter, as the Gentiles adored their gods; or a red cloth lifted up upon a spear, as it is reported of the Lappians; or living creatures, as did sometime the Egyptians; than of those that worship a piece of bread."

[128] Concil. Trident. Sess. XIII. cap. 5.

[129] Tolerabilior est enim error eorum qui pro Deo colunt statuam auream aut argenteam, aut alterius materiæ imaginem, quo modo gentiles deos suos venerabantur, vel pannum rubrum in hastam elevatum, quod narratur de Lappis, vel viva animalia, ut quondam Ægyptii, quam eorum qui frustum panis. Coster. Ench. cap. 12.

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We, therefore, who are verily persuaded that the Papists do thus, must of force, if we follow their Jesuit's direction, judge them to be the most intolerable idolaters that ever were.

Nay, according to their own principles, how is it possible that any of themselves should certainly know that the host which they worship should be any other thing but bread? seeing the change doth wholly depend upon "consecration duly made," as Sanders speaketh, and that dependeth upon the intention of the priest, which no man but himself can have notice of. Bellarmine, disputing against Ambrosius Catharinus, one of his own brethren, that a man hath no certain knowledge of his own justification, can take advantage of this, and allege for himself, that one "[130]cannot be certain by the certainty of faith that he doth receive a true Sacrament, forasmuch as the Sacrament cannot be made without the intention of the minister, and none can see another man's intention." Apply this now to the matter we have in hand, and see into what intricate labyrinths these men have brought themselves. Admit the priest's intention stood right at the time of consecration, yet if he that baptized him failed in his intention when he administered that Sacrament, he remaineth still unbaptized, and so becometh uncapable of priesthood; and consequently whatsoever he consecrateth is but bread still. Yea, admit he were rightly baptized too, if either the bishop that conferred upon him the Sacrament of orders, (for so they hold it to be), or those that baptized or ordained that bishop, missed their right intention, neither will the one prove bishop, nor the other priest; and so with what intention soever either the one or the other doth consecrate, there remaineth but bread still. Neither doth the inconvenience stay here, but ascendeth upward to all their predecessors, in any one of whom if there fall out to be a nullity of priesthood, for want of intention either in the baptizer or in the ordainer, all the generation following, according to their principles, go without their priesthood too, and so deliver but bread to the people instead of the body of Christ. The Papists themselves, therefore, if they stand unto their own grounds, must

[130] Neque potest certus esse certitudine fidei, se percipere verum sacramentum, cum sacramentum sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit. Bellarmin. de Justificat. lib. iii. cap. 8.

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needs confess that they are in no better case here than the Samaritans were in, of whom our Saviour saith, [131] *Ye worship ye know not what;* but we know that what they worship (be the condition or intention of their priest what it will be) is bread indeed; which while they take to be their God, we must still account them guilty of spiritual fornication, *and such fornication as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles.*

These, then, being the idolaters with whom we have to deal, let us learn, *first,* how dangerous a thing it is to communicate with them in their false worship: for if we will be [132]partakers of Babylon's sins, we must look to receive of her plagues. *Secondly,* we are to be admonished, that it is not sufficient that in our own persons we refrain worshipping of idols, but it is further required that we restrain, as much as in us lieth, the practice thereof in others; lest by suffering God to be dishonoured in so high a manner, when we may by our calling hinder it, we make ourselves partakers of other men's sins. Eli the high priest was a good man, and gave excellent counsel unto his lewd sons; yet we know what judgment fell upon him, [133]*because his sons made themselves vile, and he frowned not upon them,* that is, restrained them not, which God doth interpret to be a kind of idolatry in [134]*honouring of his sons above him.* The Church of Pergamus did for her own part hold fast Christ's name, and denied not his faith; yet had the Lord something against her, [135]*because she had there them that held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.* So we see what special notice our Saviour taketh of the works, and charity, and service, and faith, and patience of the Church of Thyatira; and yet for all this he addeth, [136]*Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.*

In the second of Judges God telleth the children of Israel, what mischief should come unto them by tolerating the Canaanitish idolaters in their land: [137] *They shall be*

[131] John iv. 22. [132] Rev. xviii. 4. [133] 1 Sam. iii. 13. [134] 1 Sam. ii. 29. [135] Rev. ii. 14. [136] Rev. ii. 20. [137] Judges ii. 3.

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thorns *in your sides*, saith he, *and their gods shall be a snare unto you.* Which words contain in them the intimation of a double danger, the one respecting the soul, the other the body. That which concerneth the soul is, that their idols should be *a snare unto them:* for God well knew that man's nature is as prone to spiritual fornication as it is to corporal. As, therefore, for the preventing of the one he would not have a common harlot tolerated in Israel, [138]*lest the land should fall to whoredom, and become full of wickedness;* so for the keeping out of the other he would have provocations taken away, and all occasions whereby a man might be tempted to commit so vile a sin. The bodily danger that followeth upon the toleration of idolaters is, that *they should be in their sides*, that is, as in another place it is more fully expressed, [139]*they should be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, and should vex them in the land wherein they dwelled.* Now, in both these respects it is certain that the toleration of the idolaters with whom we have to do, is far more perilous than of any other. In regard of the spiritual danger, wherewith simple souls are more like to be ensnared, because this kind of idolatry is not brought in with an open shew of impiety, as that of the Pagans, but is *a mystery of iniquity*, a wickedness covered with the veil of piety; and the harlot, which maketh the inhabitants of the earth drunk with the wine of this fornication, is both gilded herself, and presenteth also her abominations unto her followers in [140]*a cup of gold.* If we look to outward peril, we are like to find these men not thorns in our sides to vex us, but daggers in our hearts to destroy us. Not that I take all of them to be of this furious disposition, (mistake me not; I know a number myself of a far different temper;) but because there are never wanting among them some turbulent humours, so inflamed with the spirit of fornication that they run mad with it, and are transported so far that no tolerable terms can content them, until they have attained to the utmost pitch of their unbridled desires: for compassing whereof there is no treachery, nor rebellion, nor murder, nor desperate course whatsoever, that, without all remorse of conscience, they dare not adventure upon.

[138] Levit. xix. 29. [139] Num. xxxiii. 55. [140] Rev. xvii. 2, 4.

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Neither do they thus only, but they teach men also so to do, arming both Pope, and bishops, and people, and private persons, with power to cast down even kings themselves from their thrones, if they stand in their way and give any impediment to their designs. Touching the Pope's power herein there is no disputing: one of them telleth us, that "[141]there is no doubt but the Pope may depose all kings, when there is a reasonable cause so to do." For bishops, Cardinal Baronius informeth us, by the example of Dacius the Bishop of Milan's dealing against the Arians, [142]that "those bishops deserve no blame, and ought to suffer no envy, who roll every stone," (yea, and rather than fail, would blow up stones too), "that they may not live under an heretical prince." For the people, Dominicus Bannes, a Dominican friar, resolves that they need not, in this case, expect any sentencing of the matter by Pope or other, but "[143]when the knowledge of the fault is evident, subjects may lawfully, if so be they have sufficient strength, exempt themselves from subjection to their princes, before any declaratory sentence of a judge." And that we may understand that the proviso which he inserteth "of having strength sufficient," is very material, he putteth us in mind, that "[144]the faithful" (the Papists he meaneth) "of England are to be excused hereby, who do not exempt themselves from the power of their superiors, nor make war against them; because that generally they have not power sufficient to make such wars against princes, and great dangers are imminent over them."

Lastly, for private persons we may read in Suarez, that an heretical king, "[145]after sentence given against him, is

[141] Dubium non est, quin Papa possit omnes reges, cum subest causa rationabilis, deponere. Augustin. Triumphus, de Potest. Ecclesiast. Quæst. XLVI. Art. 2.

[142] Quo exemplo satis intelligas, non mereri calumniam, neque invidiam episcopos illos pati debere, qui ne sub hæretico principe degant, omnem lapidem volvunt. Baron. anno 538, sect. 89.

[143] Quando adest evidens notitia criminis, licite possunt subditi, si modo eis vires suppetant, eximere se a potestate suorum principum ante Judicis sententiam declaratoriam. Bannes in Thom. II. 2. Quæst. XII. Artic. 2.

[144] Ex hac conclusione sequitur, esse excusandos Anglicanos et Saxonios fideles, qui non se eximunt a potestate superiorum, nec bellum contra illos gerunt; quoniam communiter non habent facultatem ad hæc bella gerenda contra principes, et imminent illis gravia pericula. Id. ibid.

[145] Post sententiam latam omnino privatur regno, ita ut non possit justo titulo illud possidere; ergo extunc poterit tanquam omnino tyrannus tractari, et consequenter a quocunque privato poterit interfici. Fr. Suarez. Defens. Fid. Cathol. lib. VI. cap. 4, sect. 14.

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absolutely deprived of his kingdom, so that he cannot possess it by any just title; and therefore from thenceforth may be handled altogether as a tyrant, and consequently he may be killed by any private person." Only the Jesuit addeth this limitation, that "[146]if the Pope do depose the king, he may be expelled or killed by them only to whom he shall commit that business. But if he enjoin the execution thereof to nobody, then it shall appertain to the lawful successor in the kingdom; or if none such be to be found, it shall belong to the kingdom itself." But let him once be declared to be a tyrant, Mariana, Suarez's countryman and fellow-Jesuit, will tell you better how he should be handled: "[147]That a tyrant," saith he, "may be killed by open force and arms, whether by violent breaking in into the court, or by joining of battle, is a matter confessed; yea, and by deceit and ambushes too, as Ehud did in killing Eglon the king of the Moabites. Indeed it would argue a braver mind to profess open enmity, and publicly to rush in upon the enemy of the commonwealth; but it is no less prudence to take advantage by fraud and ambushes, because it is done without stir, and with less danger surely, both public and private." His conclusion is, that "[148]it is lawful to take away his life by any art whatsoever," with this proviso only, "that he be not constrained, either wittingly or unwittingly, to be the cause of his own death:" where the tenderness of a Jesuit's conscience is well worth the observing. He maketh no scruple at all to take away the man's life, only he would advise that he be not made away by having poison conveyed into his meat or drink, lest in taking hereof, forsooth, he which is to be killed should by this means have some hand in procuring his own death.

[146] Si Papa regem deponat, ab illis tantum poterit expelli vel interfici, quibus ipse id commiserit. Quod si nulli executionem imperet, pertinebit ad legitimum in regno successorem; vel si nullus inventus fuerit, ad regnum ipsum spectabit. Id. ibid. sect. 18.

[147] Itaque aperta vi et armis posse occidi tyrannum, sive impetu in regiam facto, sive commissa pugna, in confesso est. Sed et dolo atque insidiis exceptum, quod fecit Aiod, &c. Est quidem majoris virtutis et animi simultatem aperte exercere, palam in hostem reipublicæ irruere; sed non minoris prudentiæ, fraudi et insidiis locum captare, quod sine motu contingat, minori certe periculo publico atque privato. Jo. Mariana, de Reg. Instit. lib. i. cap. 7.

[148] In ejus vitam grassari quacunque arte concessum, ne cogatur tantum sciens aut imprudens sibi conscire mortem. Id. ibid. in fine.

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[149] Yet poison him you may, if you list, so that the venom be "externally applied by some other, he that is to be killed helping nothing thereunto; namely, when the force of the poison is so great that a seat or garment being infected therewith, it may have strength to kill." And that such means of poisoning hath been used, he proveth by divers practices of the Moors, which we leave to be considered of by Fitzherbert, who, to prove that Squires's intention of poisoning Queen Elizabeth in this manner was but a mere fiction, would persuade us that it is not agreeable to the grounds of nature and reason that any such thing should be.

Thus we see what pestilent doctrine is daily broached by these incendiaries of the world; which what pernicious effects it hath produced, I need not go far to exemplify: this assembly and this place cannot but call to mind the memory of that barbarous plot of the Powder-Treason; which being most justly charged to have "[150] exceeded all measure of cruelty," as involving not the king alone, but also his children, and the states of the kingdom, and many thousands of innocent people, in the same ruin, a wicked varlet, with whose name I will not defile this place, steppeth forth some four years after, and with a brazen forehead biddeth us not to wonder at the matter: "For of an evil and pernicious herb both the seeds are to be crushed and all the roots to be pulled up, that they grow not again. And otherwise also for a few wicked persons it falleth out oftentimes that many perish in shipwreck." In the latter of which reasons we may note these men's insolent impiety toward God, in arrogating unto themselves such an absolute power for the murdering of innocents, as he that is Lord of all hath over his own creatures; the best of whom, if he do enter into judgment with them, will not be found righteous in his sight. In the former we may observe their

[149] Hoc tamen temperamento uti in hac quidem disputatione licebit, si non ipse qui perimitur, venenum haurire cogitur, quo intimis medullis concepto pereat; sed exterius ab alio adhibeatur, nihil adjuvante eo qui perimendus est; nimirum cum tanta vis est veneni, ut sella eo aut veste delibuta vim interficiendi habeat. Id. ibid.

[150] At inquies, omnem modum crudelitatis excessit ea conjuratio, cum et prolem et regni ordines simul implicuisset. Id velim ne mireris. Nam malæ et perniciosæ herbæ et semina conterenda, et radices omnes evellendæ sunt, ne recrescant. Alias etiam, propter paucos sceleratos, multi sæpe naufragio pereunt. B. P. ἐξέτασ. Epistolæ I. R. impress. anno 1609.

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deadly malice toward God's anointed, which they sufficiently declare will not be satisfied but by the utter extirpation of him and all his royal progeny.

And whereas for the discovery of such wicked spirits his Majesty, in his princely wisdom, did cause an Oath of Allegiance to be framed, by the tendering whereof he might be the better able to distinguish betwixt his loyal and disloyal subjects, and to put a difference betwixt a seditious and a quiet-minded Romanist; this companion derideth his simplicity in imagining that that will serve the turn, and supposing that a Papist will think himself any whit bound by taking such an oath: "[151] See," saith he, "in so great craft how great simplicity doth bewray itself. When he had placed all his security in that oath, he thought he had found such a manner of oath, knit with so many circumstances, that it could not, with safety of conscience, by any means be dissolved by any man. But he could not see, that if the Pope did dissolve that oath, all the tyings of it, whether of performing fidelity to the king or of admitting no dispensation, would be dissolved together. Yea, I will say another thing that is more admirable: you know, I believe, that an unjust oath, if it be evidently known or openly declared to be such, bindeth no man, but is void *ipso facto*. That the king's oath is unjust, hath been sufficiently declared by the pastor of the Church himself. You see, therefore, that the obligation of it is vanished into smoke; so that the bond, which by so many wise men was thought to be of iron, is become less than of straw."

If matters now be come unto this pass, that such as are addicted to the Pope will account the Oath of Allegiance to have less force to bind them than a rope of straw, judge ye whether that be not true which hath been said, that in

[151] Sed vide in tanta astutia quanta sit simplicitas. Cum omnem securitatem in eo juramento sibi statuisset, talem se modum juramenti tot circumstantiis connexuisse existimabat, qui, salva conscientia, nulla ratione a quoquam dissolvi posset. Sed videre non potuit, si Pontifex juramentum dissolverit, omnes illius nexus, sive de fidelitate regi præstanda, sive de dispensatione non admittenda, pariter dissolutos fore. Imo aliud dicam admirabilius: nosti, credo, juramentum injustum, si tale esse evidenter sciatur, vel aperte declaretur, neminem obligare, sed ipso facto nullum esse. Regis juramentum injustum esse, ab ipso ecclesiæ pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Vides igitur jam, in summum abiisse illius obligationem; ut vinculum, quod a tot sapientibus ferreum putabatur, minus sit quam stramineum. Id. ibid.

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respect not of spiritual infection only, but of outward danger also to our state, any idolaters may be more safely permitted than Papists. Which I do not speak to exasperate you against their persons, or to stir you up to make new laws for shedding of their blood. Their blindness I do much pity, and my heart's desire and prayer to God for them is that they might be saved. Only this I must say, that, things standing as they do, I cannot preach peace unto them. For as Jehu said to Joram, [152] *What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?* so must I say unto them, What peace can there be, so long as you suffer yourselves to be led by the [153] *mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*, who by her sorceries hath deceived all nations, and made them *drunk with the wine of her fornication?* [154] Let her *put away her whoredoms out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts;* let her repent of her murders, and her sorceries, and her idolatries; or rather, because she is past all hope, let those that are seduced by her cease to communicate with her in these abominable iniquities, and we shall be all ready to meet them, and rejoice with the angels in heaven for their conversion. In the meantime, they who sit at the helm, and have the charge of our Church and commonwealth committed to them, must provide by all good means, that God be not dishonoured by their open idolatries, nor our king and state endangered by their secret treacheries. Good laws there are already enacted to this purpose, which, if they were duly put in execution, we should have less need to think of making new. But it is not my part to press this point. I will therefore conclude as I did begin: [155] *I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.*

2 Timothy II. 7.

Consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.

[152] 2 Kings ix. 22.
[153] Rev. xvii. 2, 5, and xviii. 23.
[154] Hosea ii. 2.
[155] 1 Cor. x. 15.

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A

BRIEF DECLARATION

OF THE

UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST,

AND THE

UNITY OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

PROFESSED THEREIN.

DELIVERED IN A SERMON BEFORE THE KING'S MAJESTY
THE 20TH JUNE, 1624, AT WANSTED.

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A SERMON,

&c.

EPHESIANS IV. 13.

Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

WHEN the Lord's ark was to set forward, the form of prayer used by Moses was, [1]*Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee.* The sweet Psalmist of Israel, framing his descant to this ground, beginneth the psalm which he prepared to be sung at the removing of the ark after the same manner, [2]*Let God arise; let his enemies be scattered; let them also that hate him flee before him:* and then goeth on till at length he hath raised his note unto its full height, *Thou hast ascended up on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast given gifts for men,* Psalm LXVIII. 18. Which being by our Apostle in [3]this chapter interpreted of the ascension of our Saviour Christ into heaven, and made the very spring from whence the matter of my present text is derived, leadeth us to the just application of the type to the truth, and putteth us in mind that the removing of the ark, which gave occasion to the penning of this psalm, was an adumbration of our Saviour's removal from the earth to heaven; and that by this absence of his we are no losers, but gainers, seeing he is ascended

[1] Num. x. 35. [2] Psalm LXVIII. 1. [3] Ephes. iv. 8, 10.

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up on high, both to triumph over his and our foes, (*he led captivity captive*), and to confer benefits upon his friends, (*he gave gifts unto men*).

The [4]*ark of the covenant*, we know, was appointed to be a figure of [5]*Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant*, the great King, Prophet, and Priest of his Church; therefore was it ordered that the ark should have *a crown of gold* about it, (Exod. xxxvii. 2), than which what could be more fit to set forth the state of our King? for thus *we see Jesus crowned with glory and honour*, Hebrews ii. 9. Upon the ark stood the propitiatory or mercy-seat, whence God did use to deliver his oracles from betwixt the cherubins, than which what more lively representation could there be of the prophetical office of our Saviour, of whom it is written, *God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son?* Heb. i. 2. The ark had both the rod and the tables of the law by God's appointment placed within it, than which what could be more apt to express the satisfaction which our High-priest was to make unto his Father's justice, as well by his passive as by his active obedience? for as he felt the stroke of the rod for us, that [6]*the chastisement of our peace being laid upon him, with his stripes we might be healed;* so [7]*it behoved* him also *to fulfil the law* and *all righteousness*, that so he might be [8]*the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth;* the letter of the law being not more certainly to be found within the ark than the accomplishment thereof within him, according to that which he spake by the holy Prophet, [9]*In the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God; yea, thy law is within my heart.*

The ark had many removes from place to place whilst it sojourned in the tabernacle, but was brought up at last into the temple, there to dwell upon God's holy hill, the place of which he himself had said, [10]*This is my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein:* where, at first entry, King Solomon stood ready to entertain him with this welcome, [11]*Arise, O Lord God, into thy*

[4] Heb. ix. 4.
[5] Heb. xii. 24.
[6] Isaiah LIII. 5.
[7] Matt. iii. 15, and v. 17.
[8] Rom. x. 4.
[9] Psalm XL. 7, 8; Heb. x. 7.
[10] Psalm cxxxii. 14, and LXVIII. 16.
[11] Ps. cxxxii. 8, 9, 16; 2 Chron. vi. 41.

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resting-place, thou, and the ark of thy strength. Let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness. Our blessed Saviour, in the days of his flesh, had no resting-place, but continually [12]*went about doing good;* until at length [13]he *was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.* For when he had ended his progress upon earth, and [14]finished there that work which his Father had given him to do, he [15]left the world and went to his Father, making his last remove to the high court of heaven, [16]where he is to reside until the time of the restitution of all things. [17]*The temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament*, saith St John in the Apocalypse. If we look to the corporal presence of our Saviour, in the temple of heaven must this ark be sought for, in no other place is it to be found; but if we look to the virtue coming from him by the operation of his word and Spirit, so we shall find him in his temple upon earth, [18]present with us always, *even unto the end of the world;* for these were the gifts that, when he ascended into heaven, he did bestow upon men.

This the Prophet layeth down thus: [19]*Thou hast ascended up on high; thou hast received gifts for men.* The Apostle citeth it thus: [20]*When he ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men.* The reconciliation is easy: he received those gifts, not to retain them with himself, but to distribute them for the behoof of his Church. So for the Spirit St Peter teacheth us, Acts ii. 33, *Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted*, (there is his ascending up on high), *and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost*, (there is his receiving), *he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear*, (there is his giving of this gift unto men). And for the ministry of the word, he himself intimateth as much in his commission given to the Apostles, Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth*, (there he receiveth). *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations*, (there he giveth this gift unto

[12] Acts x. 38.
[13] Mark xvi. 19.
[14] John xvii. 4.
[15] John xvi. 28, and xix. 30.
[16] Acts iii. 21.
[17] Rev. xi. 19.
[18] Matt. xxviii. 20.
[19] Psalm LXVIII. 18.
[20] Ephes. iv. 8.

men). [21]*He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints*, saith our Apostle here; that herein also that might be fulfilled, which we heard to have been uttered when the ark was brought to its resting-place, [22]*Let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness.*

The *work of the ministry*, how meanly soever it be esteemed in the world, yet in the estimation of our Saviour Christ was one of the choicest gifts that in this solemnity of his triumphant [23]ascending *up far above all heavens* he thought fit to bestow upon his Church here upon earth, as that which tended both to the [24]*perfecting of the saints*, and to the edifying of his own body. For as [25]it hath *pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell*, so the Son is also pleased not to hold it any disparagement that [26]*his body, the Church*, should be accounted *the fulness of him that filleth all in all:* that howsoever in himself he be most absolutely and perfectly complete, yet is his Church so nearly conjoined unto him, that he holdeth not himself full without it; but as long as any one member remaineth yet ungathered and unknit unto this mystical body of his, he accounteth in the meantime somewhat to be deficient in himself. And therefore our Apostle having, in the words immediately going before this text, declared that the ministry was instituted *for the edifying of the body of Christ*, addeth presently, *Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*

In which words we may observe as well the matter of this building, *we all*, as the structure of it; and further also consider in the structure, *first*, the laying of the foundation, *in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God; secondly*, the bringing of the work to perfection, and the raising of it to its just height, *unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*

The matter, then, of this spiritual edifice, that we may

[21] Ephes. iv. 11, 12.
[22] 2 Chron. vi. 41; Psalm cxxxii. 9, 16.
[23] Ephes. iv. 10.
[24] Ibid. vers. 12.
[25] Col. i. 19.
[26] Ephes. i. 23.

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begin with that, are we ourselves. [27] *Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house*, saith St Peter. To this St Paul doth here add a note of universality, WE ALL, as suiting best with the nature of the Catholic or universal Church, which is that *body of Christ*, of the edifying whereof he here treateth; of which, therefore, he telleth us more plainly in another place, that [28] *by one Spirit we are all baptized in one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free.* For the Catholic Church is not to be sought for in any one angle or quarter of the world, but among *all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours*, 1 Cor. i. 2. Therefore to their Lord and ours was it said, [29] *Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;* and to this mystical body, the Catholic Church, accordingly, [30] *I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up, and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth; even every one that is called by my name.*

Thus must we conceive of the Catholic Church as of one entire body, made up by the collection and aggregation of all the faithful unto the unity thereof; from which union there ariseth unto every one of them such a relation to, and a dependence upon, the Church Catholic, as parts use to have in respect of their whole. Whereupon it followeth, that neither particular persons nor particular churches are to work as several divided bodies by themselves, which is the ground of all schism, but are to teach, and to be taught, and to do all other Christian duties, as parts conjoined unto the whole, and members of the same commonwealth or corporation; and therefore the bishops of the ancient Church, though they had the government of particular congregations only committed unto them, yet in regard of this communion which they held with the universal, did usually take to themselves the title of Bishops of the Catholic Church: which maketh strongly as well against the new Separatists as the old Donatists, who either

[27] 1 Pet. ii. 5. [28] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [29] Psalm ii. 8. [30] Isaiah XLiii. 5—7.

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hold it a thing [31]not much material, so they profess the faith of Christ, whether they do it in the Catholic communion or out of it; or else, which is worse, dote so much upon the perfection of their own part, that they refuse to join in fellowship with the rest of the body of Christians; as if they themselves were the only people of God, and all wisdom must live and die with them and their generation.

And herein, of all others, do our Romanists most fearfully offend, as being the authors of the most cruel schism that ever hath been seen in the Church of God. Those infamous schisms of the Novatians and Donatists were but petty rents in comparison of this huge rupture, which hath pulled asunder east and west, north and south; and grown to such a head at home, that in our western parts, where this faction was so prevalent, it hath for divers ages past been esteemed Catholic. In the 17th of the Revelation we have a *woman* described unto us sitting upon *seven mountains* and upon *many waters*. The *woman* is there expounded to be [32]*that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth.* The *seven mountains* upon which that city sate needed not to be expounded; every child knew what was meant thereby. The waters are interpreted [33]*peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues;* which is that very universality and catholicism that the Romanists are wont so much to brag of. For this *woman* is the particular Church of Rome; the city-church, which they call the mother-church, the Holy Ghost styleth [34]the *mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.* Those *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,* are such as this proud city reigneth over; the Catholic-Roman Church they are commonly called by themselves, but by the Holy Ghost [35]the *beast* upon which the woman sitteth.

This *woman* is the head of the faction, and the very mother of this schism, the *beast;* that is to say, they that suffer themselves to be thus ridden by her are her abettors

[31] Augustin. Epist XLVIII. Quam multi nihil interesse credentes in qua quisque parte Christianus sit, ideo permanebant in parte Donati, quia ibi nati erant, et eos inde discedere atque ad Catholicam nemo transire cogebat. Et paullo post: Putabamus quidem nihil interesse ubi fidem Christi teneremus; sed gratias Domino, qui nos a divisione collegit, et hoc uni Deo congruere, ut in unitate colatur, ostendit.

[32] Rev. xvii. 18.

[33] Ibid. 15.

[34] Ibid. 5.

[35] Ibid. 3 and 7.

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and supporters in it. For the "particular Church of Rome," not being content to be a fellow-member with the rest of the churches of Christ, and to have a joint dependence with them upon the whole body of the Church-Catholic, [36]*which is the mother of us all*, will needs go out of her rank; and, scorning any longer to be accounted one of the branches of the Catholic Church, would fain be acknowledged to be the root of it; so that now all other churches must hold their dependence upon it, or otherwise be cast forth as withered branches which are fit only to be thrown into the fire and burned. The wisdom of God foresaw this insolency long beforehand, and therefore caused a caveat to be entered against it even in that Epistle which was specially directed to the Church of Rome itself: the words are plain enough, Rom. xi. 18, *If thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.* The Church of Rome therefore must know, that she is no more a root to bear up other churches than other churches are to bear her up; she may not go beyond her line, and boast herself to be the root of the Catholic Church, but be contented to be borne herself by the root as well as other particular churches are. For a stream to sever itself from the common fountain, that it may be counted a fountain itself without dependence upon any other, is the next way to make an end of it and dry it up. The Church of Rome may do well to think of this, and leave off her vain boasting, [37]*I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow:* other churches may fail, and the gates of hell may prevail against them; but it cannot fall out so with me. Whereas she might remember, that they were Romans unto whom the Apostle so long since gave this admonition: [38]*Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise* THOU ALSO SHALT BE CUT OFF.

The Romans therefore by their pride may get a fall as well as others; and the Church of Rome by infidelity may be cut off as well as any other congregation; and yet

[36] Gal. iv. 26. [37] Rev. xviii. 7. [38] Rom. xi. 20—22.

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the Catholic Church subsist for all that, as having for her foundation neither Rome nor Rome's Bishop, but Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God. And yet this proud dame and her daughters, the particular Church of Rome I mean, and that which they call the Catholic-Roman, or the faction rather that prevaileth in them both, have in these latter ages confined the whole Church of Christ within themselves, and excluded all others that were under the Roman obedience, as *aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise.* The Donatists were cried out against by our forefathers for shutting up the Church within the parts of the south, and rejecting all others that held not correspondency with that patch of theirs: and could they think well then of them that should conclude the Church within the western parts of the world, and exclude all other Christians from the body of Christ that held by the same root there that they did? It is a strange thing to me, that wise men should make such large discourses of the Catholic Church, and bring so many testimonies to prove the universality of it, and not discern, that while by this means they think they have gotten a great victory over us, they have in very truth overthrown themselves; for when it cometh to the point, instead of the Catholic Church, which consisteth of the communion of all nations, they obtrude their own piece unto us, circumscribing the Church of Christ within the precincts of the Romish jurisdiction, and leaving all the world beside to the power of Satan; for with them it is a resolved case, that "[39]to every creature it is altogether of necessity to salvation to be subject to the Roman Bishop."

What must, then, become of the poor Muscovites and Grecians, to say nothing of the reformed churches in Europe? What of the Egyptian and Ethiopian churches in Afric? what of the great companies of Christians scattered over all Asia, even from Constantinople unto the East Indies, which have and still do endure more afflictions and pressures for the name of Christ, than they have ever done that would be accounted the only friends of Christ?

[39] Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Bonifa. VIII. in extravag. De majoritate et obedientia. cap. *Unam sanctam.*

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Must these, because they are not the Pope's subjects, be therefore denied to be Christ's subjects? Because they are not under the obedience of the Roman Church, do they thereupon forfeit the estate which they claim in the Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation? Must we give all these for gone, and conclude that they are certainly damned? They who talk so much of the Catholic Church, but indeed stand for their own particular, must of force sink as low in uncharitableness as they have thrust themselves deep in schism: we who talk less of the universality of the Church, but hold the truth of it, cannot find in our hearts to pass such a bloody sentence upon so many poor souls that have given their names to Christ. He whose pleasure it was to spread the Church's seed so far, said to east, west, north, and south, Give; it is not for us, then, to say, Keep back. He hath given to his Son *the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession:* we for our parts dare not abridge this grant, and limit this great lordship, as we conceive it may best fit our own turns; but leave it to its own latitude, and seek for the Catholic Church neither in this part, nor in that piece, but, as it hath been before said in the words of the Apostle, among [40]*all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours.*

Yea, but how can this be, will some say, seeing the Catholic Church is but one; and the principal reason for which it is accounted one is [41]the "unity of the faith" professed therein: how then can this unity of faith be preserved in all places, if one special church be not set as a mistress over all the rest, and one chief Bishop appointed for a master over all others, by whom in matters of faith every one must be ruled? And out of such different professions as are to be found among the divided Christians in those several parts of the world, how can there be fit matter drawn for the making up of one universal church? To this I answer, and so pass from the *matter* of the building to the *structure*, that it is most true indeed that in the Church there is [42]*one*

[40] 1 Cor. i. 2.

[41] Ecclesia ex pluribus personis congregatur; et tamen una dicitur propter unitatem fidei. Hieron. (si modo is horum Commentariorum auctor) in Psalm. xxiii.

[42] Ephes. iv. 5.

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Lord, *one faith*, *one baptism*; for so we are taught by the Apostle in this chapter: but yet, in the *first* place, it is to be considered, that this *unity of faith* must be compassed by such means as God hath ordained for the procuring of it, and not by any politic tricks of man's devising. Now, for the bringing of all to this "unity of the faith," the Apostle here telleth us that Christ [43]*gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers.* If he had taught that the maintenance of this unity did depend upon the singularity of any one apostle, or pastor, or teacher, is it to be imagined that he would have overslipped such a singular person, even in that very place where, of all others, his presence was most requisite, and run altogether, as he doth, upon the plural number?

That the multitude of teachers dispersed over the world, without any such dependency or correspondency, should agree together in laying the foundations of the same faith, is a special work of God's Spirit. And it is [44]*the unity of the Spirit* which the Apostle here speaketh of, and exhorteth us to *keep in the bond of peace.* Whereas the unity of which our adversaries boast so much (which is nothing else but a wilful suffering of themselves to be led blindfold by one man, who commonly is more blind than many of themselves) is no fruit of the Spirit, but of mere carnal policy; and may serve peradventure for *a bond of peace* betwixt themselves and their own party, such as [45]the priests of antichrist were to have, and as many as would be content to yield themselves to the conduct of such a commander, but hath proved the greatest block that ever stood in the way for giving impediment to the peace and unity of the universal Church, which here we look after. And therefore Nilus, Archbishop of Thessalonica, entering into the consideration of the original ground of that long-continued schism, whereby the West standeth as yet divided from the East, and the Latin churches from the Greek, wrote a whole book purposely on this argument, wherein he sheweth,

[43] Ephes. iv. 11. [44] Ibid. 3.

[45] Pace sua, id est, impietatis suæ unitate se jactant; agentes se non ut Christi Episcopos, sed ut antichristi sacerdotes. Hilar. contr. Auxentium.

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"[46]that there is no other cause to be assigned of this distraction, but that the Pope will not permit the cognizance of the controversy unto a general council, but will needs sit himself as the alone teacher of the point in question, and have others hearken unto him as if they were his scholars; and that this is contrary both to the ordinances and the practice of the Apostles and the Fathers." Neither indeed is there any hope that ever we shall see a general peace for matters of religion settled in the Christian world, as long as this supercilious master shall be suffered to keep this rule in God's house, how much soever he be magnified by his own disciples, and made the only foundation upon which the unity of the Catholic Church dependeth.

Now, in the *next* place, for the further opening of the *unity of faith*, we are to call unto mind the distinction which the Apostle maketh betwixt [47]*the foundation* and that which is *builded thereupon*, betwixt [48]*the principles of the doctrine of Christ* and that which he calleth perfection. The *unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God* here spoken of hath reference, as we heard, to the foundation; as that which followeth, of *a perfect man*, and *the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*, to the *superstruction* and *perfection*. In the former there is a general *unity* among all true believers; in the latter a great deal of *variety*; there being several degrees of *perfection* to be found in several persons, [49]*according to the measure of the gift of Christ*. So we see in a material building that still there is but one foundation, though great disparity be observed in sundry parts of the superstruction; some rooms are high, some low, some dark, some lightsome, some more substantially, some more slightly builded, and in tract of time some prove more ruinous than others; yet all of them belong to one building, as long as they hold together

[46] Λόγος ἀποδεικνὺς μὴ ἄλλο τὶ τὸ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς Λατίνων ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡμῶν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντυς αἴτιον εἶναι, ἢ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν Πάπον οἰκουμενίκῳ συνόδῳ τὴν τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου διάγνωσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν μόνον διδάσκαλον ἐθέλειν τοῦ ζητουμένου καθέζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν μαθητῶν μοίρᾳ ὑπακούοντας ἔχειν· καὶ ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλλότριον τῶν ἀποστολικῶν καὶ πατρικῶν νόμων καὶ πράξεων.

[47] 1 Cor. iii. 10—12.

[48] Heb. vi. 1.

[49] Ephes. iv. 7.

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and stand upon the same foundation. And even thus is it in the spiritual building also, whether we respect the *practical* part of Christianity or the *intellectual.*

In the *practical* we see wonderful great difference betwixt Christian and Christian: some by God's mercy attain to a higher measure of perfection, and keep themselves unspotted from the common corruptions of the world; others watch not so carefully over their ways, and lead not such strict lives, but are oftentimes overtaken and fall foully; that he who looketh upon the one and the other would hardly think that one heaven should receive them both. But although the one doth so far outstrip the other in the practice of new obedience, which is the Christian man's race, yet are there certain fundamental principles in which they both concur, as [50]a desire to fear God's name, [51]repentance for sins past, and a sincere [52]purpose of heart for the time to come to cleave unto the LORD; which whosoever hath is under mercy, and may not be excluded from the communion of saints. In like manner for the *intellectual* part: the [53]*first principles of the oracles of God*, as the Apostle calleth them, hold the place of the common foundation, in which all Christians must be grounded; although [54]some be *babes*, and for further knowledge are *unskilful in the word of righteousness;* other some are of *perfect age, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.*

The oracles of God contain abundance of matter in them, and whatsoever is found in them is a fit object for faith to apprehend; but that all Christians should uniformly agree in the profession of those truths that are revealed there, is a thing that rather may be wished than ever hoped for. Yet the variety of men's judgments in those many points that belong to theological faith, doth not dissolve the unity which they hold together in the fundamental principles of the Catholic faith. The *unity of faith* commended here is a Catholic unity, and such as every Christian attaineth unto. *Till we* ALL *come in the unity of faith*, saith the Apostle. As there is a [55]*common salvation*, so is there a

[50] Neh. i. 11.
[51] Luke xiii. 3, 5; Heb. vi. 1.
[52] Acts xi. 23.
[53] Heb. v. 12.
[54] Ibid. v. 13, 14.
[55] Jude 3.

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[56]*common faith*, which is [57]*alike precious* in the highest Apostle and the meanest believer. For we may not think that heaven was prepared for deep clerks only: and therefore, beside that larger measure of knowledge, whereof all are not capable, there must be "[58]a rule of faith common to small and great;" which, as it must consist of few propositions, (for simple men cannot bear away many,) so is it also requisite that those articles should be of so much weight and moment, that they may be sufficient to make a man *wise unto salvation;* that howsoever in other points learned men may go beyond common Christians, and exceed one another likewise by many degrees, yet in respect of these radical truths, which is the necessary and common food of all the children of the Church, there [59]is not an unity only, but such a kind of equality also, brought in among all sorts of Christians, as was heretofore among the congregation of the Israelites in the collection of their manna, where [60]*he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.*

If, then, salvation by believing these common principles may be had, and to salvation none can come that is not first a member of the Catholic Church of Christ; it followeth thereupon, that *the unity of the faith* generally requisite for the incorporating of Christians into that blessed society is not to be extended beyond those common principles: which may further be made manifest unto us by the continual practice of the Catholic Church herself in the matriculation of her children and the first admittance of them into her communion; for when she prepared her *Catechumeni* for baptism, and by that door received them into the congregation of Christ's flock, we may not think her judgment to have been so weak, that she should omit anything herein that was essentially necessary for the making of one be a member of the Church. Now, the profession which she required of all that were to receive baptism, was, for the *Agenda*, or practical part, an abrenunciation of the devil, the world, and the flesh, with all their sinful works and

[56] Tit. i. 4. [57] 2 Pet. i. 1.

[58] Regula fidei, pusillis magnisque communis. Aug. Epist. LVII.

[59] Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον ἠλαττόνησε. Irenæus lib. i. cap. 3.

[60] Exod. xvi. 18.

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lusts; and for the *Credenda*, the things to be believed, an acknowledgment of the Articles of the Creed; which being solemnly done, she then baptized them *in this faith*; intimating thereby sufficiently, that this was that *one faith* commended unto her by the Apostles, as the other that *one baptism* which was appointed to be the [61] Sacrament of it.

This Creed, though for substance it was the same everywhere, yet for form was somewhat different, and in some places received more enlargements than in others. The Western churches herein applied themselves to the capacities of the meaner sort more than the Eastern did; using in their baptism that shorter form of confession commonly called the Apostles' Creed, which in the more ancient times was briefer also than now it is: as we may easily perceive by comparing the symbol recited by Marcellus Ancyranus, in the [62] profession of the faith which he delivered to Pope Julius, with the expositions of the Apostles' Creed written by the Latin doctors; wherein the mention of the Father's being maker of heaven and earth, the Son's death and descending into hell, and the communion of saints, is wholly omitted. All which, though they were of undoubted verity, yet for brevity's sake seem at first to have been omitted in this short sum: because some of them perhaps were not thought to be altogether so necessary for all men, (which is [63] Suarez's judgment touching the point of the descent into hell), and some that were most necessary either thought to be sufficiently implied in other articles, as that of Christ's death in those of his crucifixon and burial, or thought to be sufficiently manifested by the light of reason, as that of the creation of heaven and earth. For howsoever this, as it is a truth revealed by God's word, becometh an object for faith to apprehend, Heb. xi. 3, yet it is otherwise also clearly to be understood by the discourse of reason, Rom. i. 20, even as the unity and all the other attributes of the Godhead likewise are: which therefore may be well referred unto those *Precognita*, or common principles which nature may possess the mind withal, before the grace enlighteneth it, and need not necessarily to be inserted into that symbol,

[61] Sacramentum fidei. Aug. Epist. XXIII.
[62] Habetur apud Epiphanii in Hæres. LXXII.
[63] Fr. Suarez. Tom. II. in part. III. Thom. Disp. IV. III. sect. 2.

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which is the badge and cognizance whereby the believer is to be differenced and distinguished from the unbeliever.

The Creed which the Eastern churches used in baptism was larger than this; being either the same, or very little different, from that which we commonly call the Nicene Creed, because the greatest part of it was repeated and confirmed in the first general Council held at Nice; where the first draught thereof was presented to the Synod by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, with this preamble: "[64] As we have received from the bishops that were before us, both at our first catechizing and when we received baptism; and as we have learned from the holy Scriptures; and as we have both believed and taught, when we entered into the ministry, and in our bishopric itself; so believing at this present also, we declare this our faith unto you." To this the Nicene Fathers added a more clear explication of the Deity of the Son, against the Arian heresy, wherewith the Church was then troubled, professing him to be "begotten, not made," and to be "of one substance with the Father." The second general Council, which was assembled fifty-six years after at Constantinople, approving this confession of the faith, as "[65] most ancient and agreeable to baptism," enlarged it somewhat, in the Article that concerned the Holy Ghost especially, which at that time was most oppugned by the Macedonian heretics. And whereas the Nicene confession proceeded no further than to the belief which we have in the holy Trinity, the Fathers of Constantinople made it up by adding that which was commonly professed touching the Catholic Church and the privileges thereunto belonging. Epiphanius, repeating this Creed at large, [66] affirmeth it to have been delivered unto the Church by the Apostles. [67] Cassianus avoucheth as much, where he urgeth this against Nestorius as the Creed anciently received in the Church

[64] *Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστεύομέν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρομεν.* Euseb. Epist. apud Socratem, Hist. lib. i. cap. 8. (*al.* 5.) et Theodoret. lib. i. cap. 12.

[65] *Πρεσβυτάτην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι.* Conc. Constant. Epist. apud Theod. lib. v. cap. 9.

[66] Epiphan. in Ἀγκυρωτ. p. 518, edit. Græc.

[67] Jo. Cass. lib. v. Incarnat. Verbi.

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of Antioch, from whence he came. The Roman church, after the days of Charles the Great, added the article of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son unto this symbol; and the [68] Council of Trent hath now recommended it unto us "as that principle in which all that profess the faith of Christ do necessarily agree, and the firm and ONLY FOUNDATION against which the gates of hell shall never prevail."

It is a matter confessed therefore by the Fathers of Trent themselves, that in the Constantinopolitan Creed, or in the Roman Creed at the farthest, (which differeth nothing from the other, but that it hath added *Filioque* to the procession of the Holy Ghost, and out of the Nicene Creed *Deum de Deo* to the articles that concern the Son,) that *only foundation* and principle of faith is to be found in the *unity* whereof all Christians must necessarily agree: which is otherwise cleared sufficiently by the constant practice of the Apostles and their successors in the first receiving of men into the society of the Church. For in one of the Apostles' ordinary sermons we see there was so much matter delivered, as was sufficient to convert men unto the faith, and to make them capable of baptism; and those sermons treated only of the first principles of the doctrine of Christ; upon the receiving whereof the Church, following the example of the Apostles, never did deny baptism unto her *Catechumeni*. In these first principles therefore must the foundation be contained, and that common *unity of faith* which is required in all the members of the Church.

The foundation then being thus cleared, concerning the superstruction we learn from the Apostle, that some [69] *build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble.* Some proceed from one degree of wholesome knowledge unto another, increasing their main stock by the addition of those other sacred truths that are revealed in the word of God; and these build upon the

[68] Concil. Trident. (Sess. 3.) Symbolum fidei, quo sancta Romana Ecclesia utitur, tanquam principium illud in quo omnes qui fidem Christi profitentur necessario conveniunt, ac fundamentum firmum et unicum, contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt, totidem verbis, quibus in omnibus ecclesiis legitur, exprimendum esse censuit.

[69] 1 Cor. iii. 12.

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foundation *gold* and *silver* and *precious stones*. Others retain the precious foundation, but lay base matter upon it, *wood*, *hay*, *stubble*, and such other either unprofitable or more dangerous stuff; and others go so far that they overthrow the very foundation itself. The first of these be *wise*, the second *foolish*, the third *mad* builders. When the day of trial cometh, the first man's [70]*work shall abide*, and he himself shall *receive a reward;* the second shall lose his work, but not himself; ([71]*he shall suffer loss*, saith the Apostle, *but he himself shall be saved;*) the third shall lose both himself and his work together. And as in this spiritual structure very different kinds of materials may be laid upon the same foundation, some sound and some unsound, so in either of them there is a great difference to be made betwixt such as are more contiguous to the foundation and such as be remoter off. The fuller explication of the first principles of faith, and the conclusions deduced from thence, are in the rank of those verities that be more nearly conjoined to the foundation; to which those falsities are answerable on the other side, that grate upon the foundation and any way endanger it.

For that there be divers degrees both of truths and errors in religion, which necessarily must be distinguished, is a thing acknowledged not by us alone, but by the learnedest also of our adversaries. "[72]There be some Catholic verities," say they, "which do so pertain to faith, that these being taken away, the faith itself must be taken away also. And these by common use we call not only Catholic, but verities of faith also. There are other verities which be Catholic also and universal, namely, such as the whole Church holdeth, which yet being overthrown, the faith is shaken indeed, but not overturned. And in the errors that are contrary to such truths as these the faith is obscured, not extinguished; weakened, not perished." Nevertheless,

[70] 1 Cor. iii. 14. [71] Ibid. ver. 15.

[72] Quædam sunt Catholicæ veritates, quæ ita ad fidem pertinent, ut his sublatis fides quoque ipsa tollatur: quas nos usu frequenti non solum Catholicas, sed fidei veritates appellavimus. Aliæ veritates sunt etiam ipsæ Catholicæ et universales, nempe quas universa ecclesia tenet, quibus licet eversis fides quatitur, sed non evertitur tamen. Atque in hujusmodi veritatum contrariis erroribus dixi fidem obscurari, non extingui; infirmari, non perire. Has ergo nunquam fidei veritates censui vocandas, quamvis doctrinæ Christianæ veritates sint. Melch. Canus Loc. Theolog. lib. xii. cap. 11.

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"[73]though the faith be not altogether destroyed by them, yet is it evil at ease and shaken, and as it were disposed to corruption. For as there be certain hurts of the body which do not take away the life, but yet a man is the worse for them, and disposed to corruption either in whole or in part; as there be other mortal hurts which take away the life; so likewise are there certain degrees of propositions which contain unsound doctrine, although they have not manifest heresy." In a word, the general rule concerning all these superstructions is, that the more near they are to the foundation, of so much greater importance be the truths, and so much more perilous be the errors; as again, the farther they are removed off, the less necessary doth the knowledge of such verities prove to be, and the swerving from the truth less dangerous.

Now, from all that hath been said two great questions may be resolved which trouble many. The first is, What we may judge of our forefathers who lived in the communion of the Church of Rome? Whereunto I answer, that we have no reason to think otherwise, but that they lived and died under the mercy of God. For we must distinguish the papacy from the Church wherein it is, as the Apostle doth [74]antichrist from *the temple of God* wherein he sitteth. The foundation upon which the Church standeth is that *common faith*, as we have heard, in the unity whereof all Christians do generally accord. Upon this new foundation antichrist raiseth up his new buildings, and layeth upon it not *hay* and *stubble* only, but far more vile and pernicious matter, which wrencheth and disturbeth the very foundation itself. For example: It is a ground of the Catholic faith, that "Christ was born of the Virgin Mary;" which in Scripture is thus explained: [75]*God sent forth his Son, made of a woman.* This the papacy admitteth for a certain truth, but insinuateth withal, that upon the altar

[73] Necessario oportet distinguere alios gradus propositionum, per quas etiamsi fides non destruatur omnino, tamen male habet, et quatitur, et quasi disponitur ad corruptionem. Sicut sunt quædam corporum læsiones quæ non auferunt vitam, sed male habet homo per eas, et disponitur ad corruptionem aut in toto aut in parte; aliæ vero sunt læsiones mortales, quæ vitam eripiunt; ita sunt quidam gradus propositionum, continentes doctrinam non sanam, etiamsi non habeant hæresim manifestam. Dominic. Bannes. in 2am 2æ, Quæst. XI. Artic. 2.

[74] 2 Thes. ii. 4.

[75] Gal. iv. 4.

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God sendeth forth his Son made of bread: for the transubstantiation which these men would have us believe, is not an annihilation of the bread, and a substitution of the body of Christ in the stead thereof, but a real conversion of the one into the other; such as they themselves would have esteemed to be a bringing forth of Christ, and a kind of generation of him. For, to omit the wild conceits of Postellus in his book *de Nativitate Mediatoris ultima*, this is the doctrine of their "graver divines," as Cornelius a Lapide the Jesuit doth acknowledge in his Roman Lectures, that "[76]by the words of consecration truly and really as the bread is transubstantiated, so Christ is produced and (as it were) generated upon the altar, in such a powerful and effectual manner, that if Christ as yet had not been incarnate, by these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, he should be incarnated, and assume an human body." And doth not this new divinity, think you, shrewdly threaten the ancient foundation of the Catholic belief of the incarnation?

Yet such as in the days of our forefathers opposed the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, could allege for themselves, [77]that the faith which they maintained was then "preserved among the laity, and so had anciently been preserved." And of mine own knowledge I can testify, that when I have dealt with some of the common people that would be accounted members of the Roman Church, and demanded of them what they thought of that which I knew to be the common tenet of their doctors in this point, they not only rejected it with indignation, but wondered also that I should imagine any of their side to be so foolish as to give credit to such a senseless thing. Neither may we account it to have been a small blessing of God unto our ancestors who lived in that kingdom of darkness, that the ignorance wherein they were bred freed them from the understanding of those things, which being known might prove so prejudicial to their souls' health.

[76] Per verba consecrationis vere et realiter uti transubstantiatur panis, ita producitur et quasi generatur Christus in altari adeo potenter et efficaciter, ut si Christus necdum esset incarnatus, per hæc verba, *Hoc est corpus meum*, incarnaretur, corpusque humanum assumeret; ut graves theologi docent. Cornelii a Lapide Comment. in Esai. vii. 14.

[77] Confitentur alii, quod fides sua, qua astruunt quod panis et vinum remanent post consecrationem in naturis suis, adhuc servatur laicis, et antiquitus servabatur. Jo. Tissington, in Confessione contr. Jo. Wicliff, quam MS. habeo.

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"[78]For there be some things which it is better for a man to be ignorant of than to know;" and the [79]not knowing of those profundities, which are indeed *the depths of Satan*, is, to those that have not the skill to dive into the bottom of such mysteries of iniquity, a good and an happy ignorance.

The ignorance of those principles of the Catholic Faith that are absolutely necessary to salvation, is as dangerous a gulf on the other side; but the light of those common truths of Christianity was so great and so firmly fixed in the minds of those that professed the name of Christ, that it was not possible for the power of darkness to extinguish it, nor the gates of hell to prevail against it. Nay, the very solemn days, which by the ancient institution of the Church were celebrated for the commemoration of the Blessed Trinity, the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Christ, did so preserve the memory of these things among the common people, that by the [80]Popish doctors themselves it is made an argument of gross and supine ignorance, that any should not have explicate knowledge of those mysteries of Christ which were thus publicly solemnized in the Church. And, which is the principal point of all, the ordinary instruction appointed to be given unto men upon their death-beds, was, [81]that they should look "to come to glory, not by their own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ;" that they should "place their whole confidence in his death only, and in no other thing;" and that they should "interpose his death between God and their sins, betwixt them and God's anger."

So that where these things did thus concur in any, as we doubt not but they did in many thousands, the knowledge of the common principles of the faith, the ignorance of such main errors as did endanger the foundation, a godly life, and a faithful death; there we have no cause to make any question, but that God hath fitted a subject for his mercy to work upon. And yet in saying thus we do nothing

[78] Sunt enim quædam, quæ nescire, quam scire, sit melius. Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 17.

[79] Rev. ii. 24.

[80] Sylvest. in Summa, verb. *Fides*. sect. 6. ex Thom. in 2a 2æ, Quæst. II. Art. 7.

[81] See my Treatise De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione et statu, cap. 7, sect. 21, 22.

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less than say, that such as these were Papists either in their life or in their death: members of the Roman Church perhaps they were, but such as by God's goodness were preserved from the mortality of Popery that reigned there: for Popery itself is nothing else but the botch or the plague of that church, which hazardeth the souls of those it seizeth upon, as much as any infection can do the body. And therefore, if any one will needs be so fool-hardy as to take up his lodging in such a pesthouse, after warning given of the present danger, we in our charity may well say, "Lord, have mercy upon him;" but he, in the mean time, hath great cause to fear, that God in his justice will inflict that judgment upon him which [82]in this case he hath threatened against such as will *not believe the truth, but take pleasure in unrighteousness.* And so much may suffice for that question.

The second question so rife in the mouths of our adversaries is, "Where was your Church before Luther?" Whereunto an answer may be returned from the grounds of the solution of the former question, that our Church was even there where now it is. In all places of the world where the ancient foundations were retained, and these common principles of faith, upon the profession whereof men have ever been wont to be admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ, there we doubt not but our Lord had his subjects, and we our fellow-servants: for we bring in no new faith nor no new Church. That which in the time of the ancient Fathers [83]was accounted to be "truly and properly Catholic," namely, "that which was believed every where, always, and by all," that in the succeeding ages hath evermore been preserved, and is at this day entirely professed in our Church. And it is well observed by a learned man, who hath written a full discourse of this argument, that "[84]whatsoever the Father of lies either hath

[82] 2 Thess. ii. 12.

[83] In ipsa Catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim vere proprieque Catholicum. Vincent. Lirin. cont. Hæres. cap. 3.

[84] Quicquid vel molitus sit vel moliturus sit mendacii pater, non tamen vel effecisse hactenus vel effecturum posthac, ut hæc doctrina Catholica, omnium Christianorum consensu semper et ubique rata, aboleatur; quin potius illam in densissima maxime involutarum perturbationum caligine victricem exstitisse, et in animis et in aperta confessione Christi-

attempted or shall attempt, yet neither hath he hitherto effected, nor shall ever bring it to pass hereafter, that this Catholic doctrine, ratified by the common consent of Christians always and every where, should be abolished; but that in the thickest mist rather of the most perplexed troubles it still obtained victory, both in the minds and in the open confession of all Christians, no ways overturned in the foundation thereof; and that in this verity that one Church of Christ was preserved in the midst of the tempests of the most cruel winter, or in the thickest darkness of her wanings."

Thus, if at this day we should take a survey of the several professions of Christianity that have any large spread in any part of the world, as of the religion of the Roman and the Reformed churches in our quarters, of the Egyptians and Ethiopians in the south, of the Grecians and other Christians in the eastern parts, and should put by the points wherein they did differ one from another, and gather into one body the rest of the articles wherein they all did generally agree; we should find, that in those propositions which without all controversy are universally received in the whole Christian world, so much truth is contained as, being joined with holy obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man unto everlasting salvation. Neither have we cause to doubt, but that [85]*as many as do walk according to this rule*, (neither overthrowing that which they have builded by superinducing any *damnable heresies* thereupon, nor otherwise vitiating their *holy faith* with a lewd and wicked conversation,) *peace shall be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of* God.

Now these common principles of the Christian faith, which we call *κοινόπιστα*, or things *generally believed* of all, as they have "[86]universality" and "antiquity," and "consent" concurring with them, which by Vincentius's rule are the special characters of that which is truly and

anorum omnium, in suis fundamentis nullo modo labefactatam. In illa quoque veritate unam illam ecclesiam fuisse conservatam in mediis sævissimæ hyemis tempestatibus, vel densissimis tenebris suorum interluniorum. Joh. Serranus, in Apparat. ad Fidem Cathol. edit. Paris. ann. 1607, p. 172.

[85] Gal. vi. 16.

[86] Universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem. Vincent. Lirin. cont. Hæres. cap. 3.

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properly Catholic; so for their duration we are sure that they have still held out, and been kept as the seminary of the Catholic Church in the darkest and difficultest times that ever have been: where if the Lord of hosts had not in his mercy reserved this seed unto us, we should long since [87]*have been as Sodom, and should have been like unto Gomorrah.* It cannot be denied indeed, that Satan and his instruments have used their utmost endeavour either to hide this light from men's eyes by keeping them in gross ignorance, or to deprave it by bringing in pernicious heresies; and that in these latter ages they have much prevailed both ways, as well in the West and North as in the East and South. Yet far be it, for all this, from any man to think that [88]*God should so cast away his people*, that in those times there should not be left *a remnant according to the election of grace.*

The Christian Church was never brought unto a lower ebb than was the Jewish synagogue in the days of our Saviour Christ, when [89]the *interpreters of the law* had taken away the key of knowledge; and that little knowledge that remained was miserably corrupted, not only with the leaven of the Pharisees, but also with the damnable heresy of the Sadducees. And yet a man at that time might have seen the true servants of God standing together with these men in the selfsame temple; which might well be accounted, as the *house of the saints* in regard of the one, so a *den of thieves* in respect of the other. When the pestilent heresy of the Arians had polluted the whole world, the people of Christ were not to be found among them only who made an open secession from that wicked company, but among those also who held external communion with them, and lived under their ministry; where they so learned the other truths of God from them, that they were yet ignorant of their main error; God in his providence so ordering matters, that, as it is noted by [90]St Hilary, "the people of Christ should not perish under the priests of antichrist."

[87] Isaiah i. 9. [88] Rom. xi. 2, 5.

[89] Luke xi. 52.

[90] Et hujus quidem usque adhuc impietatis occasio per fraudem perficitur, ut jam sub antichristi sacerdotibus Christi populus non occidat. Hilar. cont. Auxentium.

If you demand, then, Where was *God's temple* all this while? the answer is at hand: There where antichrist sate. Where was Christ's people? even under antichrist's priests: and yet this is no justification at all either of antichrist or of his priests, but a manifestation of God's great power, who is able to uphold his Church even there [91]*where Satan's throne is.* Babylon was an infectious place, and the infection thereof was mortal; and yet God had his people there, whom he preserved from the mortality of that infection. Else how should he have said, [92]*Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues?* If the place had not been infectious, he should not have needed to forewarn them of the danger wherein they stood of *partaking in her sins;* and if the infection had not been mortal, he would not have put them in mind of the plagues that were to follow; and if in the place thus mortally infected God had not preserved a people alive unto himself, he could not have said, *Come out of her, my people.*

The enemy indeed had there sown his tares, but [93]sown them in the Lord's field, and among the Lord's wheat: and a field, we know, may so be [94]overgrown with such evil weeds as these, that at the first sight a man would hardly think that any corn were there at all; even as in the barn itself the [95]mixture of the chaff with the wheat is sometime such, as afar off a man would imagine that he did see but a heap of chaff, and nothing else. Those worthy husbandmen, that in these last 600 years have taken pains in plucking up those pernicious weeds out of the Lord's field, and severing the chaff from his grain, cannot be rightly said, in doing this, either to have brought in another field, or to have changed the ancient grain. The field is the same, but weeded now, unweeded then; the grain the same, but winnowed now, unwinnowed then. We

[91] Rev. ii. 13. [92] Rev. xviii. 4.

[93] Matth. xiii. 24, 25.

[94] Infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ.

[95] Grana cum cœperint triturari inter paleam, se non jam tangunt, et quasi non se noverunt, quia intercedit medio palea. Et quicunque longius attendit aream, paleam solummodo putat; nisi diligentius intueatur, nisi manum porrigat, nisi spiritu oris, id est, flatu purgante discernat; difficile pervenit ad discretionem granorum. Serm. ccxxi. de Tempore, Tomo x. Oper. August.

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preach no new faith, but the same Catholic faith that ever hath been preached; neither was it any part of our meaning to begin a new Church in these latter days of the world, but to reform the old. A tree that hath the luxurious branches lopped off, and the noxious things that cleave unto it taken away, is not by this pruning and purging of it made another tree than it was before: neither is the Church *reformed* in our days another Church than that which was *deformed* in the days of our forefathers; though it hath no agreement for all that with Popery, which is *the pestilence that walked in* those times of *darkness*, and *the destruction that* now *wasteth at noonday*.

And thus have I finished that which I had to speak concerning *the unity of the faith;* for the further explication whereof the Apostle addeth, *and of the knowledge of the Son of God.* Wherein we may observe both the nature of this grace, and the object of it. For the former, we see that faith is here described unto us by knowledge, to shew unto us that knowledge is that thing that is necessarily required in true believing; whereof this may be an argument sufficient, that in matters of faith the Scripture doth use indifferently the terms of *knowing* and *believing.* So Job xix. 25, *I know that my Redeemer liveth;* John xvii. 3, *This is life eternal, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent;* Isaiah LIII. 11, *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many.* As, therefore, in the fundamental truths of Christian religion, *unity of the faith* is required among all those that belong to the Catholic Church, so in those main grounds likewise there is *unity of knowledge* generally required among all that profess the name of Christ.

For some things there be, the knowledge whereof is absolutely necessary, [96]*necessitate medii vel finis*, as the

[96] Necessarium necessitate medii appellant theologi illud, quod ex lege ordinaria Dei sic ad salutem necessarium est, ut quicunque etiam ob ignorantiam invincibilem vel quacunque alia de causa id non fuerit assecutus, is nequeat etiam consequi salutem. Greg. de Valentia, Tom. III. Commentar. Theolog. Quæst. II. Punct. 2, col. 299. Illa quæ sunt necessaria necessitate finis, si desint nobis etiam sine culpa nostra, non excusabunt nos ab æterna morte; quamvis non fuerit in nostra potestate illa assequi. Quamadmodum etiam si non sit nisi unicum remedium, ut aliquis fugiat mortem corporalem, et tale remedium ignoretur et ab infirmo et medico, sine dubio peribit homo ille. Dom. Bannes, in 2am 2æ, Quæst. II. Art. 8. col. 348.

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schoolmen speak, without which no man may expect, by God's ordinary law, to attain unto the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul. And in these a man may lose himself, not by heresy only, which is a flat denying, but by ignorance also, which is a bare not knowing of them; these things being acknowledged to be so necessary, that although it lay not in our power to attain thereunto, yet this invincible ignorance should not excuse us from everlasting death. Even as if there were one only remedy whereby a sick man could be recovered and freed from corporal death: suppose the patient and the physician both were ignorant of it, the man must perish, as well not knowing it, as if, being brought unto him, he had refused it. And therefore in this case it is resolved, that [97] from the explicit faith and actual knowledge of these things nothing can excuse but only such an incapacity as is found in infants, naturals, and distracted persons; and that in all others which have the use of reason, although they want the means of instruction, this ignorance is not only perilous, but also damnable.

The danger, then, of this ignorance being, by the confession of the most judicious divines of both sides, acknowledged to be so great, the woeful estate of the poor country wherein I live is much to be lamented, where the people generally are suffered to perish for want of knowledge; the vulgar superstitions of Popery not doing them half that hurt that the ignorance of those common principles of the faith doth, which all true Christians are bound to learn. The consideration whereof hath sometime drawn me to treat with those of the opposite party, and to move them, that howsoever in other things we did differ one from another, yet we should join together in teaching those main points, the knowledge whereof was so necessary unto salvation, and of the truth whereof there was no controversy betwixt us. But what for the jealousies which these distractions in matters of religion have bred among us, and what for other

[97] Sicut ad legis Christi habitualem fidem omnis viator obligatur sine ulla exceptione; sic ab ejus actuali fide nullus excusatur, nisi sola incapacitate, &c. Parvulos autem et furiosos, ceterisque passionibus mente captos, seu alia naturali impossibilitate prohibitos, incapaces voco, etsi non simpliciter tamen secundum quid; scilicet dum his defectibus laborant. Petr. de Alliaco in quæstione Vesperiarum.

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respects, the motion took small effect; and so betwixt us both the poor people are kept still in miserable ignorance, neither knowing the grounds of the one religion nor of the other.

Here the case, God be thanked, is far otherwise, where your MAJESTY's care can never be sufficiently commended, in taking order that the chief heads of the catechism should, in the ordinary ministry, be diligently propounded and explained unto the people throughout the land: which I wish were as duly executed every where, as it was piously by you intended. Great scholars, possibly, may think that it standeth not so well with their credit to stoop thus low, and to spend so much of their time in teaching these rudiments and first principles of the doctrine of Christ. But they should consider, that the laying of the foundation skilfully, as it is the matter of greatest importance in the whole building, so is it the very masterpiece of the wisest builder. [98]*According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master builder, I have laid the foundation*, saith the great Apostle. And let the learnedest of us all try it whenever we please, we shall find that to lay this groundwork rightly, that is, to apply ourselves unto the capacity of the common auditory, and to make an ignorant man to understand these mysteries in some good measure, will put us to the trial of our skill, and trouble us a great deal more than if we were to discuss a controversy, or handle a subtil point of learning in the schools. Yet [99]Christ did give as well his Apostles and Prophets and Evangelists, as his ordinary Pastors and Teachers, to bring us all, both learned and unlearned, unto *the unity of this faith and knowledge;* and the neglecting of this is the frustrating of the whole *work of the ministry.* For let us preach never so many sermons unto the people, our labour is but lost as long as the foundation is unlaid, and the first principles untaught upon which all other doctrine must be builded.

He therefore that will [100]*study to shew himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, dividing the word of God aright*, must have a special care

[98] 1 Cor. iii. 10. [99] Ephes. iv. 11. [100] 2 Tim. ii. 15.

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to plant this kingdom both in the minds and in the hearts of them that hear him. I say, in the hearts as well as in the minds; because we may not content ourselves with a bare theoretical knowledge, which is an information only of the understanding, and goeth no further than the brain; but we must labour to attain unto a further degree both of experimental and of practical knowledge in the things that we have learned. A young man may talk much of the troubles of the world, and a scholar in the university may shew a great deal of wit in making a large declaration upon that argument; but when the same men have afterwards been beaten in the world, they will confess that they spake before they knew not what, and count their former apprehension of these things to be but mere ignorance in respect of that new learning which now they have bought by dear experience. The tree in paradise, of which our first parents were forbidden to eat, was called [101]*the tree of knowledge of good and evil*, because it signified unto them, that as now, while they stood upon terms of obedience with their Creator, they knew nothing but *good*, so at what time soever they did transgress his commandment, they should begin to know *evil* also, whereof before they had no knowledge; not but that they had an *intellectual* knowledge of it before, (for he that knoweth good cannot be ignorant of that which is contrary to it, *rectum* being always *index sui et obliqui;*) but that till then they never had felt any evil, they never had any *experimental* knowledge of it. So our Apostle in this Epistle boweth his knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would grant unto these Ephesians [102]*to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge;* shewing that there is a further degree of knowledge in this kind that may be felt by the heart, though not comprehended by the brain: and in the Epistle to the Philippians [103]he counteth all things but loss *for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus his Lord;* meaning hereby a knowledge grounded upon deep experience of the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection in his own soul, as he expoundeth it himself in the words

[101] Gen. ii. 9, 17. [102] Ephes. iii. 19. [103] Phil. iii. 8.

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following: [104]*That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, and be made conformable unto his death.*

There is an *experimental* knowledge, then, to be looked after beside the *mental;* and so is there a *practical* knowledge likewise, as well as an *intellectual.* When Christ is said to have *known no sin,* we cannot understand this of *intellectual* knowledge, (for had he not thus known sin, he could not have reproved it as he did,) but of *practical.* So that [105]*He knew no sin,* in St Paul, must be conceived to be the very same with [106]*He did no sin,* in St Peter. In the first to the Romans, they that [107]*knew God,* because they *glorified him not as God,* are therefore said [108]*not to have God in their knowledge.* God made his ways and his laws known to the children of Israel in the desert; and yet he [109]said of them, *It is a people that do err in their hearts, and they have not known my ways.* For there is an error in the heart as well as in the brain; and a kind of ignorance arising from the will as well as from the mind. And therefore in the Epistle to the Hebrews, [110]all sins are termed *ἀγνοήματα, ignorances,* and [111]sinners *ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ πλανώμενοι, ignorant and erring* persons; because however in the general the understanding may be informed rightly, yet when particular actions come to be resolved upon, men's perverse wills and inordinate affections cloud their minds and lead them out of the way. That therefore is to be accounted sound knowledge which sinketh from the brain into the heart, and from thence breaketh forth into action, setting head, heart, hand, and all a-work; and so much only must thou reckon thyself to know in Christianity, as thou art able to make use of in practice. For, as St James saith of faith, [112]*Shew me thy faith by thy works;* so doth he in like manner of knowledge, [113]*Who is a wise man, and endued with know-*

[104] Phil. iii. 10. [105] 2 Cor. v. 21.
[106] 1 Pet. ii. 22. [107] Rom. i. 21.
[108] Ibid. ver. 18.
[109] Psalm xcv. 10; Heb. iii. 10.
[110] Heb. ix. 7, compared with Levit. xvi. 16, 17.
[111] Heb. v. 2. Aristot. Ethic. lib. iii. cap. I. Ἀγνοεῖ μὲν οὖν πᾶς ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, καὶ ὧν δὴ ἀφεκτέον. καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἁμαρτίαν ἄδικοι καὶ ὅλως κακοὶ γίνονται.
[112] James ii. 8. [113] James iii. 13.

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ledge amongst you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. And St John much to the same purpose: [114] *Hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.*

He speaketh there of Jesus Christ the righteous, *the Son of God,* who is here in my text likewise made the object of this knowledge. [115] *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God,* is by Christ himself made the rock upon which the whole Church is builded. And [116] *other foundation,* saith St Paul, *can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Christ.* [117] Not that we should think that there were no other fundamental doctrine to be acknowledged but this alone, (for the articles of the Holy Ghost, Forgiveness of Sins, Resurrection of the Dead, eternal Judgment, and such other like, have their place also in the [118] foundation,) but because this is the most special object of faith, and the primary foundation of the other. For, *first,* as God is made the coæquate object of the whole body of divinity, notwithstanding it treateth also of men and angels, heaven and hell, sin and obedience, and sundry other particulars; because all these are brought to God reductively, if not as explications of his nature, yet of his works and kingdom; so likewise may Christ be made the primary head of other fundamental articles, because they have all reference unto him, being such as concern either his Father, or his Spirit, or his incarnation, or his office of mediation, or his Church, or the special benefits which he hath purchased for it.

Secondly, howsoever this faith and knowledge, being taken in their larger extent, have for their full object whatever is revealed in the word of God; yet as they build us upon the foundation, as they incorporate us into the mystical body, as they are the means of our justification and life, they look upon the *Son of God,* and him only. *The holy Scriptures,* within the bounds whereof the utmost extent of all our faith and knowledge must

[114] 1 John ii. 3, 4.
[115] Matth. xvi. 16, 18.
[116] 1 Cor. iii. 11.
[117] Vide Aug. lib. de Fide et Oper. cap. 9.
[118] Heb. vi. 1, 2.

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be contained, *are able to make us wise unto salvation;* but yet *through faith which is in Christ Jesus,* 2 Tim. iii. 15. So, *by his knowledge,* or the knowledge of himself, *shall my righteous servant justify many,* saith the Father of the Son, Isaiah LIII. 11. And, *the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me,* saith the Apostle, Gal. ii. 20. The children of Israel in the wilderness being stung with fiery serpents, were directed, for their recovery, to look upon the brazen serpent; which was a figure of [119]*the Son of man lifted up* upon the cross, *that whosoever did believe in him might not perish, but have eternal life.* Now, as the Israelites with the same eyes, and with the same visive faculty wherewith they beheld the sands and the mountains in the desert, did look upon the brazen serpent also, but were cured by fastening their sight upon that alone, and not by looking upon any other object; so by the same faith and knowledge whereby we are justified [120]*we understand that the world was framed by the word of God,* and believe all other truths revealed; and yet *fides qua justificans,* "faith as it doth justify us," doth not look upon these, but fixeth itself solely upon the Son of God, not knowing anything here but *Jesus Christ and him crucified.* And thus hath our Saviour a special and peculiar place in that larger foundation; according to that of the Apostle, Ephes. ii. 20, *Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,* [121]*of which,* (for so his words in the original may well bear it,) *Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone.*

It followeth now that we should proceed from the *foundation* to the *structure;* and so, [122]*leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, go on unto perfection,* [*unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*]. There is a time wherein Christ is but begun, and as it were a-breeding in us; Gal. iv. 19, *My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.* After that he hath been formed

[119] John iii. 14, 15.

[120] Heb. xi. 3.

[121] Ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου αὐτοῦ (sc. θεμελίου) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[122] Heb. vi. 1.

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in our hearts, he is at first but as a babe there, yet resteth not at that stay; but as in his natural body he [123] *increased in stature*, so in every part of his mystical body he hath set for himself a certain *measure of stature*, and a *fulness* of growth; which being attained unto, a Christian is thereby made *a perfect man.* And for this end also doth the Apostle here shew that the ministry was instituted, [124] *that we henceforth should be no more children*, as it is in the words immediately following in my text, but that we might *grow up into him in all things, which is the head*, even Christ. For the perfection which the Apostle here speaketh of is not to be taken absolutely, as if any absolute perfection could be found among men in this life, but in comparison with childhood; as the opposition is more clearly made by him in 1 Cor. xiv. 20, *Brethren, be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be perfect*, that is to say, of man's estate. And Heb. v. 13, 14, *Every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe: but strong meat belongeth to them that are perfect*, that is, *that are of full age*, as our interpreters have rightly rendered it.

Now, as there is great difference among men in their natural growth, so is there no less variety among them also in respect of their spiritual stature; there being several degrees of this imperfect kind of perfection here spoken of, which, according to the diversity of times, places, and persons, may admit a greater or a lesser measure. For we may not think that the same measure of knowledge, for example, is sufficient for a learned man and an unlearned; for a pastor, and for an ordinary Christian; for those that lived in the time of darkness, and them that enjoy the light of the Gospel; for them that have the means, and them that want it: but, according to the measure of the gift of God, we must know notwithstanding, that it is required generally of all men that they *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 2 Pet. iii. 18: not in *knowledge* only, but in *grace;* even [125] *grow up into him in* ALL *things, which*

[123] Luke ii. 52. [124] Ephes. iv. 14, 15. [125] Ephes. iv. 15.

is the head, as our Apostle here admonisheth us. We must proceed *from faith to faith,* Rom. i. 17, that is, from one measure and degree of it unto another; and this being the root, and other graces as it were the branches, if it grow apace, other graces also must hasten and ripen and grow proportionably with it: else thou mayest justly suspect that thy growth is not sound and answerable to that which the Apostle sheweth to be in the mystical body of Christ; which, [126]*according to the effectual working in the measure of* EVERY *part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love.* The time will not permit me to proceed any further, and therefore here I end. [127]*Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of his everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

[126] Ephes. iv. 16. [127] Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

THE END.

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